

# AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORIC CONTEXT REPORT FOR THE CITY OF FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

AUGUST 2022



**PLANNING &  
COMMUNITY  
DEVELOPMENT**



On the cover (clockwise from upper left):  
Wilkinson Street in the Crow neighborhood, 1912 (Kentucky Historical Society)  
Freedom March at State Capitol, 1964 (Capital City Museum)  
Odd Fellows Hall in the Crow neighborhood, 1917 (Russ Hatter)  
Hume Hall at Kentucky State University, 1913 (Kentucky Historical Society)  
Clinton Street School postcard, circa 1910 (Kentucky Historical Society)

**PROJECT MANAGER**

Vicki Birenberg, AICP  
Historic Preservation Officer  
City of Frankfort

**PREPARED BY**

Carolyn Brackett  
Principal, Cultural Heritage Works  
Nashville, Tennessee

Robbie D. Jones  
Principal Senior Architectural Historian and Tennessee Branch  
Manager  
Richard Grubb and Associates, Inc.  
Nashville, Tennessee

This project was funded in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and administered by the Kentucky Heritage Council. The contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior. The U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability or age. Any person who believes that he or she has been discriminated against should contact the Office of Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Layne Wilkerson, Mayor  
Kelly May, Commissioner  
Leesa Unger, Commissioner  
Katrisha Waldrige, Commissioner  
Anna Marie Rosen, Commissioner

### Department of Planning & Community Development

Eric Cockley, Director  
Jordan Miller – Senior Planner  
Vicki Birenberg, AICP, Historic Preservation Officer

### City of Frankfort

Laura Hagg, City Manager  
Rebecca Hall, Grants Manager  
Blair Hecker, Project Specialist  
Penny Peavler, Strategic Initiatives Consultant

## PARTNERS AND SPONSORS

### Capital City Museum

Eleanor Hasken-Wagner, Ph.D., Museum and Historic Sites Supervisor  
Beth Shields, City Historian



### Kentucky Heritage Council

Craig Potts – Executive Director and State Historic Preservation Officer  
Dr. Orloff Miller – Certified Local Government Program and Planning Coordinator  
Lisa M. Thompson – National Register Program Coordinator  
Tressa Brown – African American and Native American Heritage Coordinator



### Kentucky Historical Society

Scott Alvey – Executive Director  
Allysa Ollier – Digital Archivist  
Stuart Sanders – Director of Research and Collections





CAPITAL OF KENTUCKY

**Layne Wilkerson, Mayor**

Kelly May, Commissioner

Leesa Unger, Commissioner

Katrishia Waldrige, Commissioner

Anna Marie Rosen, Commissioner

August 1, 2022

Dear Citizens of Frankfort,

The history of Frankfort's African American community is integral to understanding our past and informing our future. This important project supports the City's efforts of equity and inclusion, as part of our Strategic Plan, and provides important context in telling the story of Kentucky's capital city.

We are grateful for the community's assistance and enthusiasm for the development of this report, which will be used to plan for the continued preservation of important places related to Frankfort's Black heritage and to keep the stories of the individuals associated with those places alive and relevant. I invite you to read it, share it and use it to help reach a broader understanding of our inclusive history as we move forward together.

Sincerely,

Layne Wilkerson, Mayor

## Table of Contents

<b>I. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
▪ Project Team	1
▪ Project Advisors	1
▪ Methodology	3
▪ Terminology	5
▪ Uses of Historic Context Narrative and Resource Report	5
<b>II. Historic Context Narrative</b>	<b>9</b>
▪ Chapter 1: Founding to War - 1791-1860	9
▪ Chapter 2: Civil War – 1860-1865	32
▪ Chapter 3: Reconstruction – 1865-1900	46
▪ Chapter 4: A New Century – 1900-1954	75
▪ Chapter 5: Civil Rights – 1954-1976	101
<b>III. Historic Resources</b>	<b>131</b>
▪ Chapter 6: The Built Environment	131
▪ Chapter 7: Architects and Builders	236
<b>IV. Bibliography</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>V. Historic Resources Survey</b>	<b>284</b>
▪ Chapter 8: Historic Resources Survey	284
▪ Surveyed Resources	284
▪ NRHP-Listed Resources	289
▪ NRHP-Eligible Resources	292
▪ Recommendations	313

## Appendices

- A. Resource Survey Maps
- B. List of Figures and Sources
- C. Project Team Biographies

# SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

In February 2021, the Frankfort Board of Commissioners authorized an application for a Certified Local Government grant from the Kentucky Heritage Council to complete an African American Historic Context Report to serve as a preservation planning tool for the city.

The city's intention was for a report focused in three areas:

- **Document:** The report would address the deficit in documenting and recognizing contributions by the Black community to Frankfort's rich history and would identify the social, political, economic, educational, artistic and physical environment that influenced the growth of the Black community and how it changed over time.
- **Evaluate:** Associated property types (buildings, structures, sites, districts and objects) would be identified and evaluated for eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.
- **Educate:** The report would provide a foundation for education, recognition and promotion of Frankfort's African American heritage.

The Kentucky Heritage Council awarded a grant in the summer of 2021, and a Request for Proposals was issued in September 2021.

## ***Project Team***

Vicki Birenberg, Historic Preservation Officer for the City of Frankfort, served as project manager. This historic context report was prepared by Carolyn Brackett, Principal, Cultural Heritage Works, consultant team lead, and Robbie D. Jones, Principal Senior Architectural Historian, Richard Grubb and Associates. Brackett meets the Secretary of Interior's Professional Qualifications for History. Jones meets the Secretary of Interior's Professional Qualifications for History and Architectural History.

## ***Project Advisors***

This project benefited from the support of professional historians, researchers and city planners as well as members of the African American community who had memories and first-hand knowledge of events in Frankfort's past. These included:

### Advisory Group

- Dr. Mary Barr – Assistant Professor of Sociology, Kentucky State University
- Gerry Seavo James – Freelance Journalist; Founder of Explore Kentucky Initiative
- Irma Johnson – Architectural Review Board Member, Realtor
- Dr. Karen Cotton McDaniel – Professor Emeritus, Kentucky State University, and Founding Editor, *Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*
- Elizabeth McGraph – Member of Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church
- Marty Perry – former Kentucky Heritage Council National Register Coordinator

- Brittany Sams – Architectural Review Board Member, Historic Preservation Specialist
- Vanessa Smith – Western Hills High School Social Studies Teacher
- Deana Thomas – Kentucky Historical Society Archivist
- James E. Wallace – Associate Editor, *Communities Memories*; former Assistant Director, Kentucky Historical Society
- Barbara White – Historian of African American History

#### Community Members and Research Volunteers

- Shelia Mason Burton – Associate Editor, *Community Memories*
- Mary Clay – Community Activist
- Mary Lynn Collins – Current Owner of the Professor William H. Mayo House
- Nash Cox – Author and Historian
- Sara Elliot – Director, Liberty Hall Historic Site
- Joanna Hay – Joanna Hay Productions (documentaries and oral histories)
- Russ Hatter – former City Historian
- Terrones Mitchell – First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church
- Ed Powe – founding Member, Focus on Race Relations: Frankfort
- Lisa Reed – First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church
- Pam Reeves
- John Rodgers – Researcher
- Sonia Sanders – Kentucky State University Public Engagement and Outreach
- Emma Tillman – Green Hill neighborhood
- John Tillman – Green Hill neighborhood
- Jesse Williams – Curator Liberty Hall Historic Site

Special thanks to Frankfort resident and volunteer Angela Fitzpatrick for her extensive research of deeds, wills, and other legal records which provided new information and insights for this report.



## Methodology

Development of this historic context report included in-depth research, an on-the-ground survey and documentation of historic resources, and community engagement. The study focused on the boundaries within the city of Frankfort, although references were included to significant places and events in Franklin County as appropriate to convey a complete story.

The time period for the study extended from the founding of Kentucky and Frankfort in the 1790s to the 1970s. Because properties considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places are generally at least 50 years old, the decade of the 1970s was chosen as the cutoff date. (See Section V for details on the National Register and properties in Frankfort.)

Research examined Frankfort's African American history through three lenses:

- **A City** – Considering how the built environment grew and changed over time and the events that involved the African Americans who lived here.
- **State Capital** – Because Frankfort is the state capital of Kentucky, many events happened here that involved the governor, the General Assembly, and statewide organizations. This influenced events in Frankfort and connected to events throughout the state.
- **Connection to National Events** – In each era of history, there were many events that occurred in Frankfort and in the state of Kentucky that reflected or played a role in national events.

A wide range of primary and secondary resources were used to document Frankfort's African American history, to review and fact-check previous studies, and to result in a cohesive narrative. (See Bibliography for a complete list.) These included:

- American Institute of Architects records
- Capital City Museum archives, exhibits and photographs
- City directories, deeds and property records
- City of Frankfort's planning and zoning documents
- Genealogical records, cemetery records and family histories
- Historic American Buildings Survey Documentation
- Historic photographs, illustrations, postcards and maps
- Interviews with local experts
- Kentucky Historical Society archives
- Kentucky Military Museum records
- Kentucky State Historic Preservation Office Survey Site Forms
- Kentucky State University records
- Library of Congress records

- Military service records
- National Archives records
- National Register of Historic Places nominations
- Newspapers, books, journal articles, dissertations and other publications
- Notable Kentucky African American Database
- Oral histories
- Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps
- Society of Architectural Historians *Archipedia* entries
- The Civil Rights History Project collections at Kentucky Historical Society
- University of Kentucky archives
- U.S. Censuses
- U.S. Freedman Bureau records

The on-site reconnaissance survey encompassed North Frankfort, South Frankfort, Green Hill, Normal Heights, College Park subdivision, Cherokee subdivision and Langford Avenue, Glenn's Creek and the campus of Kentucky State University. The rural African American communities of Hickman Hill, located east of Frankfort along Leestown Road, and Farmdale, south of Frankfort along U.S. 127, are referenced in this document. Because this project's scope was within Frankfort's city limits, these communities were not surveyed.

The historic context narrative is organized into five chapters tracing Frankfort's historical eras:

- Founding to War - 1791-1860
- Civil War – 1860-1865
- Reconstruction – 1865-1900
- A New Century – 1900-1954
- Civil Rights – 1954-1976

Topics addressed within these chapters include education, religion, enslavement and emancipation, Jim Crow segregation laws, civil rights, wars and military service, work, commerce, economics, political action and elections, family life, homes, neighborhoods, and community leadership.

Chapters on the built environment, city planning, and architecture provide an overview of how Frankfort grew and changed over time, with architectural descriptions of significant buildings and biographies of prominent architects and builders who worked in Frankfort.

The final section includes a summary of the onsite survey and recommendations of properties potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and existing National Register nominations that should be updated to include African American history and context.

Additionally, the report includes an appendix containing resource survey maps. A spreadsheet database containing a list of extant and demolished resources with these details: name, address, construction date, architectural style, use, designer/builder, National Register of Historic Places status, fieldnotes and significance was created as part of the project. The database is on file with the City of Frankfort's Preservation Officer. Photography and GIS data support this information.

The historic context report process and content summary was shared in a meeting with the advisory group. Two public meetings were held to present the report – one virtual and one in person. Subject matter experts from the advisory group provided information and reviewed the report to ensure the accuracy of information (Figure 0.1).

## **Terminology**

The report follows current best practices in terminology for documenting African American history. The terms *African American* and *Black* (capitalized) are used interchangeably. The terms *Colored* and *Negro* are used if they appear in a quote from an earlier time period or are part of the name of an organization or building.

In sections of the report addressing slavery, the terms *enslaver* and *enslaved* are used rather than the previous – and now considered offensive – terms *slave owner* and *slave*. When information was available through census or other records, when a white man is discussed, the number of persons he enslaved is included. Rather than the previously used *runaway* or *fugitive*, which carry connotations of criminality, the term *self-emancipated* is used for enslaved persons who reached freedom. The previously used term *slave cabin* is not used, instead homes for enslaved persons are identified as a *house* or *dwelling*.

Attributions of the African American people who constructed buildings – stonemasons, brick masons, carpenters, plasterers, craftsmen, contractors – are provided when known, instead of attribution to the property owner. Likewise, African American architects who designed buildings are properly acknowledged. African American members of property households, whether enslaved or paid workers who lived in employee housing on the property, are included in property histories. And properties not traditionally associated with African American history, such as transportation infrastructure, courthouses, capitol buildings, military buildings, and recreational facilities, were documented due to their association with events inextricably tied to the African American cultural landscape.

Specific to Frankfort, the area of town variously referred to as Crawfish Bottom, the Bottom, Bottom, the Craw and Craw is identified as Craw throughout the report as this name is most often used in publications and by former residents of the neighborhood.

## **Uses of Historic Context Narrative and Resource Report**

The historic context report provided an opportunity to study Frankfort's history through the lens of African American history. The report benefited greatly from the dedicated efforts of Frankfort's historians and community activists to document aspects of this history such as the Civil Rights movement, the destruction of Craw, and the memories of residents who attended segregated schools. Publications such as *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, the *Notable Kentucky African American Database* hosted by the University of Kentucky, *The Civil Rights History Project* compiled by the Kentucky Historical Society, and documentation for the new African American history exhibit at the Capital City Museum are examples of the commitment to telling a fuller story of Frankfort's history. Going forward there is an opportunity to expand the places where the story of Frankfort's African American history is told. This historic context report can provide a foundation for new programs and projects which will engage residents and visitors to learn about Frankfort's African American history. Opportunities are found in the following areas:



## **Frankfort African American Historic Context Public Presentation**

**Hosted by the City of Frankfort and featuring Carolyn Brackett,  
Principal, Cultural Heritage Works, and Robbie Jones, Richard  
Grubb & Associates, Inc.**

**With Introductory Remarks by Rep. Derrick Graham, Sponsors and Supporters**

This event is funded in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and administered by the Kentucky Heritage Council. The contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior. The U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability or age. Any person who believes that he or she has been discriminated against should contact the Office of Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240.

**Join us to learn about this preservation and planning  
project designed to tell a fuller story of the African  
American experience and highlight the associated  
significant buildings and sites.**



**Thursday, June 16, 2022**

**At 5:00 p.m.**

**Paul Sawyer Public Library River Room**

Figure 0.1 African American Historic Context Report Public Meeting Announcement  
Source: City of Frankfort

### ***Interpretation, Education and Heritage Tourism***

The new African American history exhibit at the Capital City Museum is an excellent example of how research and documentation can transition into interpretation, education and heritage tourism. This historic context report can be used to develop other forms of interpretation such as tours, interpretive signage, programs and events.

Frankfort could also consider taking the lead in working with the Kentucky Department of Tourism and the Kentucky Heritage Council to develop a regional or statewide African American Heritage Trail. Currently, the state's tourism website includes a page titled "Exploring Kentucky's African American History" which lists sites in several towns. Only two sites are included from Frankfort – the Barracks and Green Hill Cemetery. The website also features six heritage trails – Civil War, Civil Rights, Lincoln, Boone Trail, Country Music Highway and Hatfield and McCoy. The Civil Rights Trail only includes four sites and does not include any sites in Frankfort: <https://www.kentuckytourism.com/culture/history-heritage/heritage-trails>

Examples that could provide models are:

- **Maryland Underground Railroad** – In Maryland, a Network to Freedom heritage trail guides visitors to sites that tell the story of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and others who endured slavery, fled oppression or fought for freedom and equality prior to the Civil War. <https://www.visitmaryland.org/article/harriet-tubman-underground-railroadafrican-american-heritage-travel-itinerary>
- **Mississippi Freedom Trail** – The Freedom Trail in Mississippi leads visitors to sites related to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and introduces movement leaders like Fannie Lou Hamer. The Mississippi Delta National Heritage Area is currently developing the region's Civil Rights story using historic context research. <https://www.mississippimarkers.com/civil-rights.html>

An additional opportunity could be engagement with the United States Civil Rights Trail. The trail was created in 2018 featuring approximately 100 sites documented by Georgia State University and state tourism offices in 15 states and the District of Columbia. In addition to a website, <https://civilrightstrail.com/>, there is also a guidebook, <https://civilrightstrail.com/book-landing-page/>. Only four sites are included from Kentucky – none are in Frankfort - <https://civilrightstrail.com/state/kentucky/>. As interpretation is developed on this period of Frankfort's history, an application could be submitted for inclusion in the trail: <https://civilrightstrail.com/continuing-the-journey/>.

Frankfort's African American history could also be included in school curriculum. Engaging heritage education experts with experience in developing African American history curriculum for various grade levels can result in new lesson plans, field trips and programs. The National Education Association provides examples: <https://www.nea.org/professional-excellence/student-engagement/tools-tips/black-history-month-lessons-resources> as well as the National Park Service: <https://www.nps.gov/teachers/index.htm>. In Kentucky, KET Education provides resources for teaching African American history: <https://education.ket.org/?s=African+American+history>

### ***Remembering and Honoring***

Studies such as this one provide new perspectives on the past and greater understanding of the work of many people over many eras to build a more equitable society. The **Equal Justice Initiative** provides guidance and works with communities across the country to engage residents, to learn about the community's history and to remember the past through a variety of ways including community conversations, documentaries, exhibits, artist performances, oral history projects, and reflective gatherings. <https://eji.org/>

### ***Recognition and Preservation***

A primary objective for this study and report stated by the City of Frankfort is to “provide a framework to evaluate the significance of historic resources associated with the City’s African American community and assist in determining their eligibility for the **National Register of Historic Places.**” Section V includes a list of surveyed resources that are recommended as potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places for African American architectural, cultural and historical significance. These resources include buildings, structures, sites, objects and districts. Additionally, existing National Register of Historic Places nominations that could be updated and amended to include information on African American history and contributing resources are listed.

# SECTION II. HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

## Chapter One: Founding to War - 1791-1860

### ***A New State, A New Capital***

On March 1, 1791, Abigail Adams, who would become First Lady in 1797 with the election of her husband John Adams to the presidency, wrote in a letter to her friend Cotton Tufts, “Kentucky is also agreed to be received but her government is not yet organized (sic). Thus sir, one pillar rises after another, and add strength I hope to the union.”<sup>1</sup>

Congress had recently approved a statehood admission act for Kentucky and Vermont. On June 1, 1792, Kentucky became the 15<sup>th</sup> state admitted to the Union and the first state west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Efforts to achieve statehood in the lands which were part of Virginia began after the American Revolution. Legislation introduced to Congress in 1785 declared “Whereas it is represented to be the desire of the good people inhabiting the district known by the name of the Kentucky district, that the same should be separated from this commonwealth whereof it is a part, and be formed into an independent member of the American confederacy, and it is judged by the general assembly that such a partition of the commonwealth is rendered expedient by the remoteness of the more fertile, which must be the more populous part of the said district, and by the interjacent natural impediments (mountains) to a convenient and regular communication therewith.”<sup>2</sup>

The path forward was lengthy, totaling nine conventions to discuss the separation. The state’s constitution was adopted in April of 1792, and on June 1, 1792, Kentucky achieved statehood. The constitution would be revised three times – in 1799, 1850 and 1891.

Frankfort was chosen to be Kentucky’s capital city. The commission appointed to select the capital’s location considered several towns. Businessman Andrew Holmes led the effort for Frankfort’s selection. Historical records note “No other Kentucky location came close to matching Frankfort’s offer of a minimum of 38 town lots, a substantial quantity of building materials, \$3,000 in specie, and the use of the ‘house and tenement lately occupied by General Wilkinson.” The commission’s recommendation of Frankfort was approved by the General Assembly on December 8, 1792. Work began on the capitol building in 1793.<sup>3</sup> The structure was the first of four state capitol buildings. The first two burned. The third, completed in 1830, became known as the Old State Capitol (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1974, 2009) when the present capitol was constructed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 1-1). Lexington architect Gideon Shryock (1802-1880) designed the original State Capitol, the first Greek Revival-style state house west of the Appalachian Mountains, in 1827. Although documentation is scarce, it is believed that enslaved and free Blacks worked to construct the first three capitol buildings. Tracing this work is difficult; however, documentation does confirm that Harry Mordecai (1784-1853) worked on the third capitol building. Mordecai was a Black bricklayer and plasterer born into slavery in Virginia and freed in 1817 when he was 33 years old. Mordecai appears to have learned the skills of bricklaying and plastering as a youth when he assisted his enslaver, Francis Radcliffe (1755-1814), in building Liberty Hall (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009), a home for John Brown and his family. Although oral tradition maintains that Mordecai was responsible for all the elaborate plasterwork at the Old State Capitol, payment records do not support this tradition. Rather, it is likely that the prime contractor, William Shackelford, hired many plasterers including Mordecai.<sup>4</sup>



Figure 1-1. Old State Capitol  
Source: Public Domain

After living in Virginia and North Carolina and serving in the legislatures of both states, Isaac Shelby (1750-1826), who played a pivotal role in the Revolutionary War Battle of King’s Mountain, relocated to Kentucky and became a strong advocate for statehood. His work was rewarded when he was chosen as the new state’s first governor, serving from 1792-1796, and again from 1812-1816.<sup>5</sup> Shelby enslaved Blacks, selling some individuals and leaving others to his children in his will. In a letter date April 15, 1809, Shelby asked his friend Thomas Hart to assist in shipping an enslaved person named Ben Givens to New Orleans to be sold because “...he has been ruined by too kind treatment.”<sup>6</sup>

By 1800, Frankfort’s population had grown to 628, and it was the second largest city in the state, after Lexington (Figure 1-2). In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, the town had a population of 3,702 including 1,024 enslaved and 258 free Black residents. Table 1 shows Frankfort’s population growth over 60 years:<sup>7</sup>

Table 1. Population Growth of Frankfort, 1800 to 1860

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>WHITE</b>	<b>ENSLAVED</b>	<b>FREE BLACK</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
1800	363	260	5	628
1810	599	407	93	1,099
1820	976	643	60	1,679
1830	1,125	764	79	1,968
1840	1,138	647	132	1,917
1850	2,079	1,106	213	3,398
1860	2,420	1,024	258	3,702



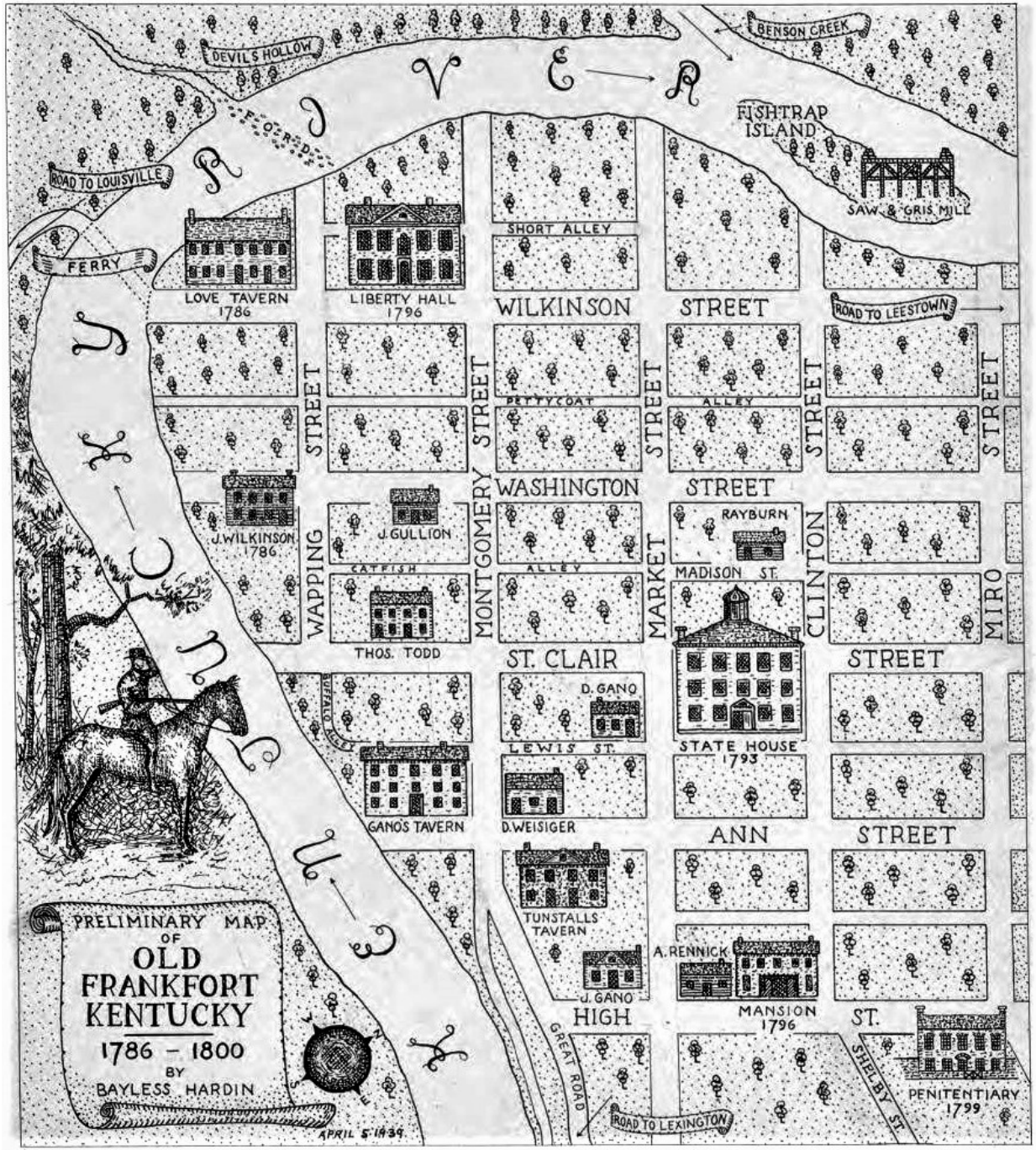


Figure 1-2. Map of Frankfort, 1786-1800  
 Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Slavery was introduced by the earliest white explorers and settlers, including Daniel Boone (1734-1820), who relied on an enslaved man to guide him through the territory in 1760 and who brought more enslaved persons with white settlers in the 1770s. The practice was made official when Kentucky was admitted to the Union as a slave-holding state. The state's first constitution, adopted in 1792, mandated "The Legislature shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners or without paying their owners, previous to emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated; they shall

have no power to prevent emigrants to this state from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be in continued slavery by the laws of this state.”

The mandate recognized the right of owners to emancipate their enslaved persons. This was followed by a law passed in 1794 providing the right of emancipation through a will or legal document approved in county court with two witnesses. An additional act passed in 1798 required every emancipated person to have a certificate of freedom from the county court “on parchment with the county seal affixed thereto” paid for by the emancipator at a cost of five shillings. In 1823, the requirement of certification and witnesses had been rescinded; instead, emancipated persons were required to appear in county court so that detailed descriptions could be recorded. The law was changed again in 1852 to reinstate the 1798 requirement, adding that a person was emancipated only after leaving the state of Kentucky.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves was not passed by Congress until 1808, Kentucky’s constitution declared “they (Legislature) shall have full power to prevent any slave being brought into this state from a foreign country, and to prevent those from being brought into this state who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be, imported into the United States from a foreign country.” The final section of the article addressed the treatment of enslaved persons while making clear that all rights of monetary benefit was retained by the enslavers: “And they (Legislature) shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary, to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions, to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb; and in the case of neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.”<sup>9</sup>

The number of enslaved persons in the state would continue to grow as the following Census records show.<sup>10</sup>

*Table 2: Kentucky Population, 1790-1850*

<b>KENTUCKY POPULATION</b>						
<b>YEAR</b>	<b>WHITE</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>ENSLAVED</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>FREE BLACK</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>
1790	61,133	83	12,430	16.9	114	0.1
1800	179,873	81.4	40,343	18.2	739	0.3
1810	324,237	79.7	80,561	19.8	1,713	0.4
1820	434,644	75.9	126,732	23.4	2,759	0.7
1830	517,787	75.2	165,213	24	4,917	0.7
1840	590,253	75.7	182,258	23.3	7,317	0.9
1850	761,413	77.5	210,981	21.4	10,011	1.1
1860	919,517	79.56	225,483	19.5	10,684	4.52

Franklin County was formed in 1794 from parts of surrounding counties. By 1800, the county’s population was 5,078. This included 3,687 whites, 1,369 enslaved, and 22 free Blacks or Mulatto. Federal census records show these numbers continued to increase before the Civil War:

Table 3. Population of Franklin County, 1850 to 1860

<b>1850 CENSUS</b>				
<b>OWNERS</b>	<b>BLACK ENSLAVED</b>	<b>MULATTO ENSLAVED</b>	<b>BLACK FREE</b>	<b>MULATTO FREE</b>
634	2,748	612	248	110
<b>1860 CENSUS</b>				
<b>OWNERS</b>	<b>BLACK ENSLAVED</b>	<b>MULATTO ENSLAVED</b>	<b>BLACK FREE</b>	<b>MULATTO FREE</b>
598	2,553	834	252	197

Illustrating the complexity of the institution, a 1924 study found the 1830 U.S. Census listed African Americans who enslaved Blacks in 29 counties in Kentucky. Six were listed in Franklin County/Frankfort, including Harry Mordecai. It is not known if the enslaved were relatives who were not emancipated or who had been purchased and were allowed to work off their purchase.

As the state’s population grew, the majority of enslaved persons were in the state’s central bluegrass region. Most worked on farms, planting and cultivating crops. By 1840, records show that Kentucky was emerging as a major tobacco producer in addition to raising corn, oats, wheat, hemp and other crops. Frankfort’s warehousing businesses developed in support of the tobacco industry. Also in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Franklin County became a major bourbon producer. In Frankfort and other Kentucky cities and towns, enslaved persons were sent to work on farms in the 1820s and early 1830s. As Frankfort’s white citizens prospered, enslaved persons were assigned to care for their households – cleaning, cooking, gardening, groundskeeping and other domestic duties – or in skilled labor such as building construction.

During this era, a neighborhood that would become known as Crawfish Bottom or Craw developed on low-lying ground near the Kentucky River that was home to poor whites and free Blacks. Although some of the city’s enslaved persons lived in houses or multi-purpose service buildings located along alleys or behind their enslaver’s homes, others may have lived in rented cabins or boarding houses in this neighborhood. These were most often persons who worked in their enslavers’ commercial or industrial enterprises or who were hired from other owners. Due to the poor quality of the boarding houses and cabins, urban enclaves such as Crawfish Bottom were often referred to as shanty towns or slums.<sup>11</sup>

### ***A Proliferation of Slave Codes***

From its earliest days, the Kentucky General Assembly, meeting at the State Capitol in Frankfort, adopted laws which emphasized complete control of enslaved African Americans by white men. Among the 1798 slave code law’s provisions were the following: “Slaves are to be deemed as real estate and shall descend to the heirs and widows of deceased owners as lands are directed to descendants,” and “A slaveholder is to be paid the value of an enslaved Black who was executed.” The law addressed “runaways” with specifics about rewards and how runaways were to be apprehended. The code’s only provisions intended to restrict white men’s control was a penalty of \$300 for importing an enslaved Black person from a foreign country and prohibition of hiring out enslaved workers.<sup>12</sup> The second provision would be ignored in the years to come. Although exact numbers are not known, by the 1840s and 1850s, hiring of enslaved persons was so prevalent that a Frankfort newspaper in 1857 noted: “There are more men able to own slaves in Kentucky who do not own them, than there are slaveholders.”<sup>13</sup>

The harshness of life for enslaved persons was clear in the judgments for various infractions. A report from 1802 stated that “Zachary, a slave, the property of Lucy Samuels, was accused of trespass, and on January 31<sup>st</sup>, tried by a jury and convicted.” The judgment was: “It is therefore

considered by this Court that said Zachary receive thirty-nine lashes well laid on his bare back at the public whipping post and that the sheriff of this county do cause execution of this judgment.”<sup>14</sup>

### ***Frankfort Grows and Prospers***

A history of Franklin County published in 1910 describes the growth of Frankfort in the 1830s and the surrounding county as transportation routes were constructed, government was established, and schools and businesses opened. New transportation routes included the Frankfort, Lexington and Versailles Road, a ferry, steamboats, and a railroad from Frankfort to Lexington. It is unknown if enslaved persons worked on building the railroad. One history notes “Immediately after the first rail was laid and the construction of the road had begun in earnest, a request for laborers in almost any quantity was advertised. The contractors offered employment and liberal wages....A large number of stone sills had to be cut.” With the arrival of the railroad in 1832, a local newspaper noted: “In a few days Frankfort and Lexington will be only one hour apart.”<sup>15</sup> The railroad’s arrival sparked more growth with new businesses such as drugstores, bakeries, grocery stores and clothing stores.<sup>16</sup> The expansion of railroads throughout the state would become the center of Jim Crow laws in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Separate Coach bill was passed, requiring African Americans and whites to be seated in separate cars when traveling in Kentucky.

Frankfort was incorporated by an act of the state Legislature on February 28, 1835. Also in that year, the Greek Revival-style Franklin County Courthouse (NRHP, 1974 2009), a two-story stone building designed by architect Gideon Shryock, was completed at 218 St. Clair Street. Signs of the town’s growth included three newspapers, a lyceum, public schools, completion of a water supply system, and several churches. During these years, Frankfort’s economy was built on manufacturing and shipping goods. Historical accounts identify a multitude of products made in Frankfort including glass, shoes brushes, pot hooks, axes, hoes, plough shares, irons, boxes for sardines, wagons, pork barrels, linsey and lumber. Both working class white men and enslaved Black men worked as carpenters, plasterers, masons, blacksmiths, coopers, painters and shoemakers. They also worked on the docks in a variety of shipping-related jobs. Enslaved Black men worked in factories making hemp rope and bags – a job that white men refused to do. Free or hired-out enslaved men also worked as barbers, waiters, cooks, drivers and well diggers. Free and enslaved Black women worked as housemaids, seamstresses, nurses and cooks, and some sold handicrafts or garden produce. Enslaved children began work doing household chores and working in gardens, fields and factories at a young age. Free Black men had a few more options for work in Frankfort that required skilled labor. These jobs included catering, stable services, barbering and hemp processing.<sup>17</sup>

In some cases, careful review provides indications of workers and their status as free or enslaved. The story of Ebenezer Hiram Stedman (1808-1885) gives this type of insight. Ebenezer Stedman and his brother, Sam, purchased a mill along Elkhorn Creek a few miles east of Frankfort in 1833. The complex included a paper mill, grist mill, sawmill, a settlement for workers and a stone dam. The property was owned by Amos Kendall who put it up for sale in 1829 when he accepted a position in President Andrew Jackson’s cabinet. A newspaper advertisement offered a “GREAT bargain.” The ad additionally noted “Also for sale, a NEGRO MAN, who has been used to working in a printing office as a pressman, and a NEGRO WOMAN, who is a good house servant.”<sup>18</sup>

The Stedmans bought the property in 1833 but records do not indicate if they purchased the enslaved man and woman. It appears from additional records that the brothers hired workers who were not enslaved. Records from 1850 report a prosperous business producing paper, wheat and flour through the labors of 10 men and two women. Other references appear to confirm that the Stedmans hired workers, such as a “Carpenter from Frankfort by the name of Peter Franscisco” to build a stable, and a house built for “Jack Herein, the man that drove our waggon (sic) for some 5 years. After he moved away, Father and Mother lived there...”<sup>19</sup>

Ebenezer Stedman's personal accounts, written late in his life, reflect both hiring and purchasing Black workers. Written to his daughter, Sophy, with frequent misspellings, Stedman recalled "... your dear Mother after we had Bin married & Keepin house two month Thought we had Best hire an old negro woman By the name of Aunt Rachel. She was the neatest, proudest, most industrious old Negro & She was as Spry...although She I think was at least 70 years Old." In another recollection, Stedman reports purchasing humans as the mill complex prospered: "...we war know (were known) as Industrious Money Making Men. As I mentioned I had Bought a negro women Isabella and hur Child, a Girl 6 or 8 year old...for 500 dollars. Sam Bought a woman...I think he paid 800 for hur. He had Hired hur and was so pleased with hur he Bought hur."<sup>20</sup>

Humans owned as property were included in assessing Franklin County's wealth shown in a report from 1840: "There were 217,920 acres of land, which was valued at \$1,777,089. There were 2,593 slaves which were valued at \$982,400, and thirty-five stores valued at \$114,740. The total valuation of all property was \$4,096,666. Negroes made up about one-fourth of the assessed valuation of the county, the average assessment being \$378.50." The report went on to recount: "The barter and sale of negroes was greater than that of any other property." The newspapers of the period were full of such advertisements, such as: "For sale – A very likely negro woman; a first-rate cook, washer, etc., and three children....A very likely and intelligent mulatto boy, twelve years old, for sale; persons wanting such a boy would do well to call and see him, as I will sell a bargain for cash in hand."<sup>21</sup>

A newspaper advertisement reflects the era's use of African Americans as property. An ad placed by attorney Thomas Triplett (1792-1835) in 1834 describes 20,000 acres of land and houses for sale in Kentucky and Ohio and states: "Negroes will be taken in payment of part or all – and for the land in Fleming, horses mares, etc. will also be taken in payment."<sup>22</sup> The 1830 federal census indicates that Triplett enslaved 15 Black persons. In 1839, Triplett's wife, Rebecca Triplett (1799-1842), donated land for St. John's African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Although the institution of slavery continued in Kentucky until the end of the Civil War, the state was the setting for dueling agendas in support of the enslavement of humans and the intention to outlaw the practice.

Additional slave codes would be passed seven times in the decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as enslavers became increasingly fearful of "runaways and rebellions." As Kentucky was a border state between slave-holding and free states, enslaved persons had only to reach Ohio to escape bondage. These codes provided a death sentence for enslaved persons conspiring against their owners, prohibited enslaved persons to be transported across the Ohio River without a note from their owner, mandated a penalty of imprisonment for "tempting" enslaved persons to run away or rebel, and restricted the sale or gift of liquor to an enslaved person. Additionally, as the anti-slavery movement gained ground, an 1850 code required that emancipated persons must leave the state, and their former owners must pay for transportation and provide one year's subsistence.<sup>23</sup>

### ***Sales of Humans, The Underground Railroad and Lawsuits***

Participating in the Underground Railroad to help enslaved persons to reach freedom could result in imprisonment in the Kentucky State Penitentiary, constructed in Frankfort in 1800. Between 1844 and 1864, 44 men and women of both races were sentenced and served time in the Kentucky State Penitentiary for "Assisting Slaves to Runaway."<sup>24</sup>

Among those sentenced were Rev. Calvin Fairbank (1825-1897) who aided the escape of 52 persons and spent over 17 years in prison (Figure 1-3) and Delia Webster who was convicted and sentenced to two years.

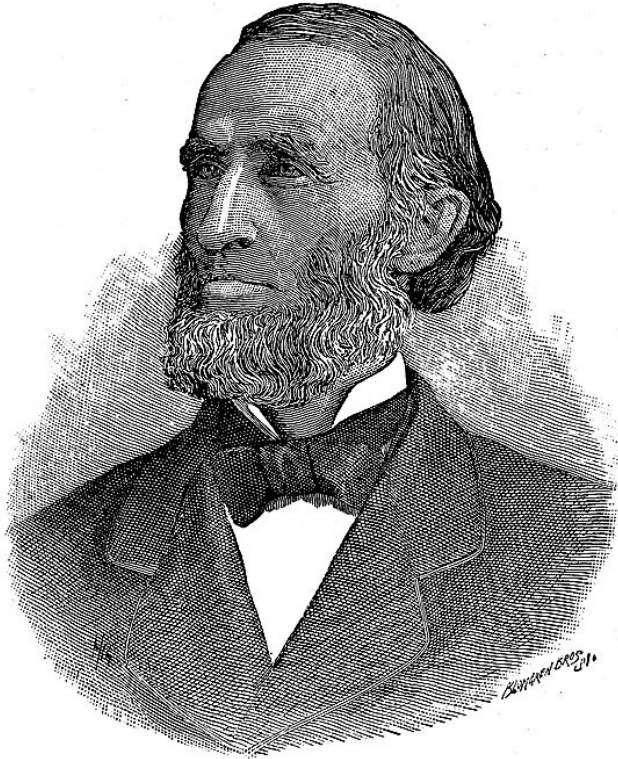


Figure 1-3. Rev. Calvin Fairbank  
Source: Public Domain

Fairbank's 1844 trial was reported by the Boston-based abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. The article recounted the charges against Fairbank for aiding Lewis Hayden (1811-1889), his wife Harriet (1816-1893), and their son Louis to escape from Lexington to Canada. (The Haydens would later establish a school for African Americans in Boston where they became national leaders in the abolition movement. They aided numerous people, often sheltering them in their Beacon Hill home which is a National Historic Site and one of the best-known Underground Railroad safe houses in the U.S.)

Following the jury's guilty verdict, the judge told Fairbank: "The law under which you stand convicted is a merciful one, for to my mind death itself does not appear too severe a punishment....You have placed us in danger of our lives; you have endangered the very existence of our community as a community, by the efforts of yourself and your fanatic

co-laborers to sow discontent among our slaves; to incite them to insurrectionary movements in order to regain their liberty."<sup>25</sup>

In 1849, after nearly five years of imprisonment, Governor John J. Crittenden (1787-1863), who lived at 401 West Main Street (NRHP, 1971, 2009), pardoned Fairbank. Undismayed by his "rough experience," Fairbank resumed his efforts to help Kentucky fugitives, working with abolitionists including Frederick Douglass. His last rescue was a young woman in Louisville who was about to be sold on the auction block. Fairbank then fled to Jeffersonville, Indiana, where he was arrested on November 1, 1851, and taken to Frankfort for trial where he was again sentenced to 15 years in prison at the State Penitentiary. The 1860 federal census documents Fairbank as a "laborer" incarcerated at the penitentiary for "Stealing Slaves." On April 15, 1864, he was pardoned by Lt. Governor Richard Taylor Jacob. A native of New York, Fairbank's obituary, written by famed abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) and published in a Boston newspaper, stated:

Calvin Fairbank ranks among the martyrs of the anti-slavery cause with Torrey and Lovejoy. Educated for the Methodist ministry, at Oberlin College, he early enlisted in the warfare against slavery, especially devoting himself to the department of freeing fugitive slaves, which is known in history as the Underground Railroad. His activity in aiding the fugitives dates from 1837 to 1844, at which time he was arrested at Lexington, Ky. and sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor in the Kentucky Penitentiary, at Frankfort...[After his second trial and imprisonment from 1851 to 1864, it] is a wonder Mr. Fairbank survived his severe treatment, having received 1003 floggings with the strap during his seventeen years' confinement, but strange to say, he has outlived most of his coadjutors in the crusade against slavery.<sup>26</sup>

Also on trial in 1844 for “assisting slaves to escape from their masters” was Delia Webster (1817-1904), an art teacher from Vermont who had moved to Lexington in 1843 and co-founded the Lexington Female Academy. She assisted Fairbank with aiding the escape of the Hayden family. Tried separately, upon conviction in 1845, she was brought to Frankfort to serve a two-year sentence of hard labor at the Kentucky State Penitentiary. However, Gov. Crittenden pardoned her after only two months. An essayist later relayed the story of her release in what he considered a humorous story: “Miss Delia Webster is the lady who was sentenced to the state penitentiary for abducting our silly old servants into Ohio. But the jury of Kentucky noblemen who returned the verdict – being married men and long used to forgiving a woman anything – petitioned the governor to pardon Miss Delia on the ground that she belongs to the sex that can do no wrong – and be punished for it. Whereupon the governor, seasoned to the like large experience, pardoned the lady.”<sup>27</sup>

Webster also attended Ohio’s Oberlin College, the first integrated college in the U.S. and a center of the abolition movement. In 1854, Boston abolitionists assisted Webster in buying a 600-acre farm, called Mt. Orison, along the Ohio River in Trimble County, Kentucky, which she operated as a safe house along the Underground Railroad. She was arrested a second time for her efforts in aiding fugitives, but the trial was discharged. In 1866, her home and barns at Mt. Orison were destroyed by arsonists. As a result, she moved to Indiana.

Elijah Anderson was an African American who ran a blacksmith shop in Madison, Indiana, and helped an estimated 800 enslaved persons in Kentucky escape along the Underground Railroad. Because of his light skin, Anderson was able to travel with freedom seekers to Canada on steamboats and trains, posing as a master traveling with his enslaved people. A \$1,000 bounty was placed on Anderson in Kentucky, and in December of 1856 Louisville police officers arrested him on an Ohio River steamboat. He was found guilty of aiding runaways and sentenced to an eight-year prison term. Imprisoned in the State Penitentiary at Frankfort, Anderson was to be released early, in 1861. On the day he was to be released, he was found dead in his cell.<sup>28</sup>

For those engaged in the ownership of humans, the ability to select and purchase persons was easy as markets were located in Louisville, Lexington, and other towns. In Frankfort, advertisements such as this one from 1838 confirm sales at the Franklin County Courthouse.

“Look at This!!  
Public Sale of Land & Slaves  
On Monday the 8<sup>th</sup> day of December next, at the Court-House door, in the town of  
Frankfort. Slaves to sold on a credit of one year. All of them likely, and some of  
the boys have been accustomed to working in a hemp factory.  
Philip Swigert, Comm’r.<sup>29</sup>

In 1849, Philip Swigert (1798-1871) became the Frankfort’s first mayor following the city’s charter by the Kentucky General Assembly. He served several terms as mayor. By 1860 Swigert owned 22 enslaved persons who lived in five houses located behind his riverside mansion, called The Terraces, on Wapping Street. At least three of the men enslaved by Swigert self-emancipated and served in the Union Army.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the multitude of laws and codes governing their lives, persons held in bondage did have the right to bring lawsuits before the courts to contest their enslavement. Estimates of cases litigated in Kentucky’s circuit courts between 1792 and 1865 may have numbered in the thousands, suggesting support from abolitionists and anti-slavery societies. Of these, the Kentucky Court of Appeals, based in Frankfort at the Old State Capitol complex, heard an estimated 100 of the cases on appeal.<sup>31</sup>

Lawsuits were brought for a broad range of reasons:

- A large number of cases addressed occasions when an enslaver took a person held in bondage to a free state for an extended period of time. Descriptions of these lawsuits illustrate the complicated nature of slave-holding vs. free states and the often conflicting rulings and hint at the seeds of discord that would eventually lead to Civil War. The first case, in 1809, was lost by the plaintiffs when the court ruled that although they had been in the free state of Pennsylvania for several years in the 1780s, their bondage was legal because their enslaver was a resident of Virginia. Eleven years later the court's ruling was different. The case was brought by Lydia (no surname given) who was born enslaved in Kentucky. Her enslaver took her to Indiana and sold her to a resident of the Indiana Territory, who then sold her to a Kentuckian who brought her back to the state and sold her again. The Court of Appeals ruled that Lydia was free because the Northwest Territory prohibited slavery.
- Two cases heard by the Court of Appeals focused on the argument that the enslaved people were not Black. In an 1848 case, the Court of Appeals agreed with a lower court that the plaintiffs were free persons because they descended from an Indian woman.
- Unfulfilled promises of emancipation were the basis for rulings by the Court of Appeals that the enslaved person had no recourse for enforcement. In 1823, an oral will between the enslaved Peter (no surname given) and his enslaver, William Cooke, promising freedom upon Peter's payment of \$250 did not result in his emancipation. The court ruled in favor of Cooke's widow, stating that because Peter was enslaved at the time of the agreement it had no legal standing.
- The question of freedom for descendants of enslaved persons born after an agreement for emancipation was reached but before it was enacted brought varying rulings. In one case, Charles (no surname given), born in 1802, argued that he was free because his mother had been promised in 1794 that she would "go free at the expiration of eight years from this date" and that the deed of emancipation took effect in 1794. The court agreed, and after 29 years as an enslaved person, Charles was declared free in 1831.
- Between 1847 and 1865, the Court of Appeals heard five cases related to wills which offered emancipation for persons willing to move to Liberia. In one particularly interesting case, an enslaved man, Sam (no surname given), would be offered to the colonization society to be relocated to Liberia. Instead, Sam asked another man named Winn to purchase him so he could stay in Kentucky. When the plan failed, Sam went to Liberia but returned to New York on the same boat, contacting Winn who purchased him in 1846. In 1859, Sam sued for his freedom, losing his case in the Court of Appeals.<sup>32</sup>
- As enslaved persons suffered under their bondage, Frankfort's free persons of color, although not enslaved, were still subject to control by white men as seen in an extraordinary event in 1842. Under the guise of a census, city leaders required all free Blacks to appear before Frankfort's Board of Trustees on July 16. Each person was interrogated with white people allowed to speak on their behalf or against them. The white men then decided whether each free Black resident could stay or would be told to leave the city.<sup>33</sup>

### ***An Anti-Slavery Movement Emerges***

Kentucky's position as a border state that was deeply divided over the issue of slavery was evident by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the same years that pro-slavery forces continued to enslave Blacks, legislate slave codes, imprison those who assisted their escape and sought to maintain control over free Blacks, a vocal anti-slavery movement emerged and gained strength leading up to the Civil War.



The anti-slavery movement manifested itself in many different ways in Kentucky including helping enslaved persons to reach freedom along the Underground Railroad, abolitionists' advocacy for outlawing slavery, plans for gradual emancipation and education to prepare enslaved persons for freedom, and relocation of freed persons to Liberia.

Opposition to slavery emerged from the state's largest religious denominations, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists, although not without debate and division among many churches. In gatherings around the state, churches crafted statements such as this one from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1780 which declared slavery was "contrary to law of God, man, nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience, and pure religion...."<sup>34</sup>

Following the model of eastern states, churches and other anti-slavery advocates, Kentucky abolition societies were formed and became part of the American Convention of Delegates of Abolition Societies. The Kentucky Abolition Society was organized in 1808 and grew slowly. In 1815, an amended constitution was presented by society president and Baptist minister David Barrow which declared slavery "a system of oppression pregnant with moral, national and domestic evils, ruinous to national tranquility, honor and enjoyment, and which every good man wishes to be abolished....have in several neighborhoods, towns and counties in this state formed, and wish to form, societies to endeavor to bring about a constitutional and legal abolition of slavery in this commonwealth." Among the constitution's provisions were three actions for society members:

- To have regard to free negroes and mulattoes, to inculcate upon them the great duties of morality, industry and economy, and also the education of their children, by every, and the best means, they may be able to devise
- To meliorate the condition of sales, by pursuing every method which may be in their power, under the constitutional laws of this state
- To seek justice in favor of such negroes and mulattoes, who are held in bondage, contrary to the existing laws of this commonwealth<sup>35</sup>

In 1815, the Kentucky Abolition Society met in Franklin County, noted in meeting records as "near Frankfort," and took its most visible action – a petition to Congress. Noting that many enslaved persons had been emancipated and the number would increase, owing to the "Genius of our Government, & from a Spirit of Benevolence that is taking Place among all Classes of Citizens," the petition asked Congress to "cause a suitable Territory of Lands to be laid off, as an Asylum for all those Negroes & Mulattoes, who have been, and those who may be hereafter emancipated within the United States to reside in." Additionally, the petition requested financial support for freed persons "...Donations, Allowances, Encouragemints (sic) and Assistance be afforded them as may be necessary in conveying them...and settling them therein."<sup>36</sup>

The petition was next presented to a committee of the Kentucky House of Representatives in January of 1816 but did not pass. Undiscouraged, the society continued its work. At the annual convention in 1822, the society approved a message to auxiliary branches and "our fellow citizens in general." Stating the society's mission as the "relief of suffering humanity," continuing "To the Auxiliary Branches we would say – 'Be not weary in well doing, for in due time you shall reap if you faint not.'" The society reported that it had great progress over the previous 20 years and predicted even more success in the next 20 years.<sup>37</sup>

As the Kentucky Abolition Society worked to present a unified voice to outlaw slavery, efforts emerged on other fronts, most notably through churches and a colonization society which sought to relocate freed persons to Liberia.

In Frankfort, Senator John Brown (1757-1837) chaired a committee of Presbyterians to prepare a plan for the instruction and emancipation of enslaved persons. Brown was an esteemed statesman who had served in the Revolutionary War and had come to Frankfort to open a law practice following admission to the bar in 1782. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress and the House of Representatives, introduced the bill for Kentucky's admission for statehood and served as a senator from Kentucky from 1792 to 1805.

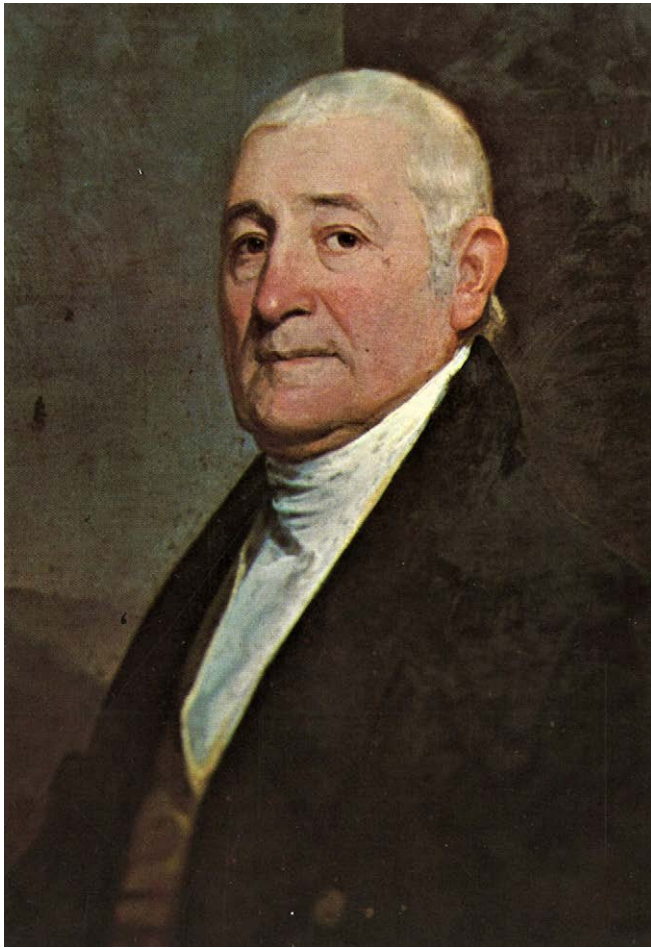


Figure 1-4. Postcard advertising Liberty Hall;  
Senator John Brown  
Source: Capital City Museum Postcard Collection

In 1796, Senator Brown initiated construction of a stately Federal-style brick home known as Liberty Hall (Figure 1-4) (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009). Located at 218 Wilkinson Street, the home was built by both enslaved and free persons.<sup>38</sup> Brown contracted with Francis Radcliffe and George Rowland to complete the brickwork. At the time, a young Harry Mordecai was enslaved by Radcliffe, and documents show that he worked on home. (Mordecai was later emancipated by Radcliffe's son, George.)<sup>39</sup>

In 1799, Brown married Margaretta Mason, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Only two of their five children, Mason and Orlando, survived to adulthood. Margaretta Mason Brown would have an impact on religious instruction for young white people, teaching Sunday School first for boys and, in 1819, becoming superintendent, secretary and treasurer for a Sabbath school for girls.<sup>40</sup>

As leading citizens of Frankfort, the Browns would have a complicated relationship with slavery.

Margaretta Brown recorded conflicting declarations. In 1804 she wrote "We have no slaves ourselves but hire all our servants; and have found great advantage of being esteemed the friends of emancipation." As she continued to decry "the monster slavery" she later confessed that she and her husband owned "as many slaves as were necessary for our personal accommodation." Records in the ensuing years show the Browns "personal accommodation" meant an increasing number of enslaved persons from two enslaved men in 1806 to 13 enslaved persons in 1830.<sup>41</sup>

Among those enslaved by the Browns was Miles Stepney who is first mentioned in family letters in 1811. His wife Hannah gave birth to at least eight children: Rose, Joseph, Selim, George, Mary, James, Mourning and Edwin between 1808 and 1826. Other enslaved people mentioned in letters include Henry, Franky, Harriet, and two women named Fanny. They cooked, did household chores, and worked in the garden, stable, and laundry. In the midst of the increase in ownership of humans, Margaretta Brown's account book shows donations to the American Colonization Society in 1828 and 1829.<sup>42</sup>

John Brown eventually came to the belief that gradual emancipation was the solution to ending slavery. His religious faith was likely to have influenced this change. The Browns were active members of the Presbyterian Church in Frankfort. Prior to the construction of the first church building, services were held at the home of the Browns (as well as another member's home). Margaretta Brown sent her young sons door to door in town to gather a congregation. In 1824, a church building was completed on Wapping Street (former location of Good Shepherd Catholic Church, currently an event venue). This building served the congregation for 25 years until a new building was constructed in 1849 for the First Presbyterian Church (NRHP, 1971, 2009) across from Liberty Hall. Church budget records show a donation of \$365 to the colonization society prior to the Civil War. After the war, records show "Remittances Made...For Education and Evangelization of the Freedman."<sup>43</sup>

In 1836, during the years the Brown family worshipped at the Wapping Street church location, John Brown and a committee of nine men prepared *An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky Proposing a Plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of Their Slaves* which they requested ministers to read to their congregations (Figure 1-5). The 36-page address is grounded in convincing Presbyterians of "our firm conviction that the cause which we advocate is the cause of God, and that his assistance will make it finally prevail."

The address begins with the blunt statement: "We all admit that the system of slavery, which exists among us, is not right. Why, then, do we assist in perpetuating it?" The writers then "examine the system" declaring it a violation of the laws of God for three reasons followed by a lengthy discussion of each: It is "a deprivation of the right of property, a deprivation of personal liberty, and a deprivation of personal security." The address focuses on the great cruelty of slavery, noting: "The law places the whip in the hands of the master, and its use, provided he avoid destroying life, is limited only by his own pleasure," continuing "The law does not recognize the family relations of a slave, and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments." The writers pose the question: "How is this to be done?" to overcome the cruelties of slavery. Answering their own question, they write "Certainly not by merely treating our slaves kindly....This can be effected only by a legal provision of their release from bondage."<sup>44</sup>

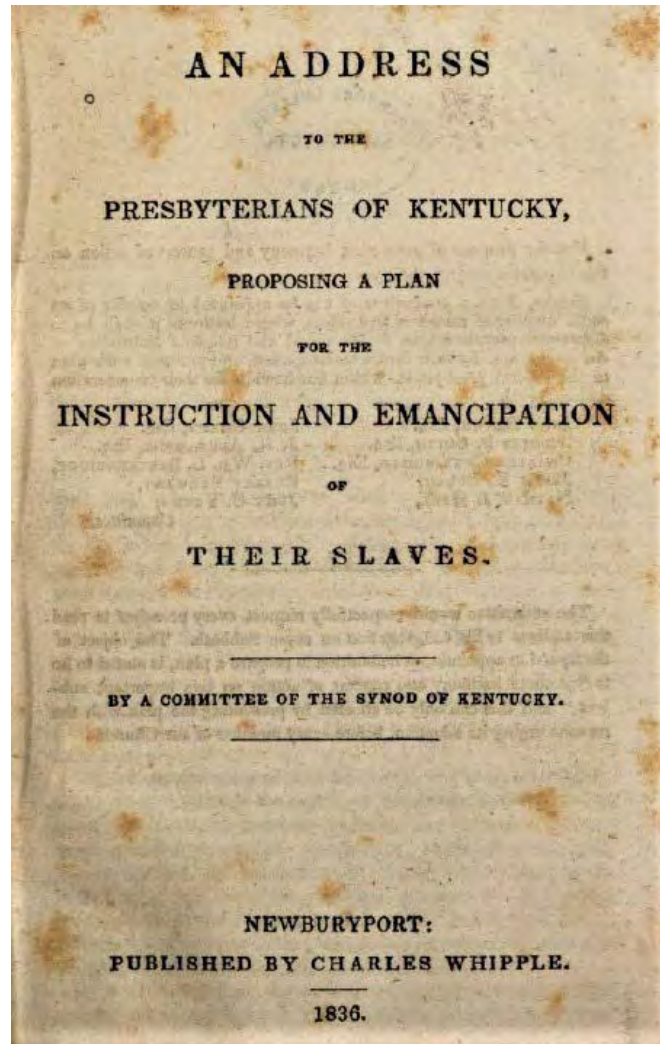


Figure 1-5. *An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, 1836*  
Source: Public Domain

In 1836, John Brown put the call for emancipation into action when he filed deeds of manumission for four of the people he had enslaved - Miles and Hannah Stepney and their oldest children Rose and Joseph. He also prepared deeds that directed for the manumission of four other Stepney children when they turned 25. However, the Browns' sons, Mason and Orlando, became enslavers. Orlando Brown was a writer and co-founded the newspaper *Commonwealth*. In 1835, he hired architect Gideon Shryock to design a large Greek Revival-style home (NRHP, 1971, 2009) on Wilkinson Street next to Liberty Hall. In 1833 Orlando was taxed for seven slaves and continued to enslave people until the passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment which outlawed slavery in 1865. His riverfront property on Wilkinson Street included three houses for enslaved persons in 1860. During the Civil War, he enslaved 20 people and did not support the Emancipation Proclamation. He waited to inform the people he enslaved of the 13th Amendment, writing to his son: "I am daily looking for the authentic announcement of the adoption of the Amendment. When it comes, I will let our Servants know that they are free. What they intend to do and what we intend to do is equally unknown." By 1860, Mason Brown was a wealthy lawyer who had inherited Liberty Hall and enslaved 51 people. That year, his riverfront property included four houses for enslaved persons. Twenty of persons he enslaved were in Owen County where he had a plantation. The sons supported the Union during the Civil War even as they held people in bondage.<sup>45</sup>

### ***African American Churches Established***

Even as some churches of white congregations, many of whom were enslavers, became advocates for emancipation, two churches for African Americans were formed in Frankfort. The earliest appears to be the Baptist Church. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, congregations of white and enslaved Blacks worshiped in the same building, although Blacks were seated separately at the back of the church or in a gallery. A history of the denomination in Kentucky states that enslaved persons could be enrolled as members and participate in rituals such as baptism, but they could not vote because "they, being slaves and under the control of their owners, might be influenced in their voting to the detriment of the church." Additionally, the history notes: "All through the period of slavery, there were occasions when the colored members were permitted to organize independent churches, and when possible, they would call preachers of their own race." The first independent Baptist Church for Blacks was organized in Kentucky in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup>

In Frankfort, this was the case for First Baptist Church, which was also known as Bethel Baptist Church, Big Bethel Baptist Church and the Colored Baptist Church in its early years. A history of the church written in 1906 stated: "The white and colored people worshiped together until 1833. Beginning with that year certain leading members of the white Baptist Church thought it wise for the colored people to worship separately." This matter-of-fact statement is intriguing for several reasons. First, even though "white and colored people" were attending the same church, the reference to the "white Baptist Church" makes clear whose church it is understood to be. Second, no reason is given for why white congregants "thought it wise" to have separate churches. Third, it is not clear how many of the Black congregants were enslaved or free. Fourth, assuming most of the Black congregants were enslaved persons, it is interesting that their white enslavers would encourage and allow them to worship separately. Finally, it appears that the white congregants provided no assistance to Black congregants to establish a new church. The history written in 1906 records "The two colored men taking a leading part in this movement were Messrs. John Ward and Ziah Black. The former donated the lot where the present (in 1906) building now stands. The colored Baptists, however, worshipped in different private homes prior to the occupancy of the present building."<sup>47</sup>

John Ward (1778-1851) was a free Black man who had the means to own and donate property. Federal census records indicate that Ward was a prosperous grocer and free Black originally from Maryland. However, it appears the Black congregation did not have funds to construct a church

building for more than a decade. If most Black congregants were enslaved persons, it is unclear how they raised funds to build a church. The location of the church was 132 East Clinton Street, adjacent to the state penitentiary.<sup>48</sup>

In 1839, Rebecca Anderson Triplett (1799-1842), wife of attorney Thomas Triplett (1792-1835) and referred to in later histories as a “generous hearted white lady,”<sup>49</sup> gave land to two people she enslaved, Benjamin Dunmore and Benjamin Hunley, to establish a church. The first church building was located along Buffalo Alley (later renamed Lewis Street); some accounts refer to it as the Early Congregation. Although it is not clear the year that the church affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal denomination, the church was officially named St. John’s African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1881.<sup>50</sup>

The AME church was founded in Philadelphia by Richard Allen, a free man of color, in the late 18th century. AME churches were formed in the mid-Atlantic and northeast states in the early 19th century, and several in slave-holding states. The AME Church was the first African American denomination in the United States and the first denomination formed in the country due to race rather than theology.<sup>51</sup>

The AME church explains its name: “The word *African* means that the church was organized by people of African descent and heritage. It does not mean that the church was founded in Africa, or that it was for persons of African descent only. The church’s roots are of the family of *Methodist* churches. *Episcopal* refers to the form of government under which the church operates....”<sup>52</sup>

### ***The American Colonization Society Forms***

As groups such as the Kentucky Abolition Society and others advocated for emancipation in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, plans for colonization – relocating freed Blacks to the African country of Liberia – began to grow. The idea of relocation had been discussed since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, while not proposing a specific location, that to avoid “mixing” of Blacks and whites “When freed, he (Black persons) is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.”<sup>53</sup>

Plans for colonization were not limited to slave-holding states nor were they limited to enslaved persons. As early as 1816, meetings were held in northern states to discuss relocating free Blacks. In New Jersey, participants in a meeting in Princeton on November 6, 1816 resolved “that a committee of five be appointed to obtain signatures to a memorial to the Legislature of that State, praying them to use their influence with the National Legislature (Congress) to adopt some plan of colonizing the *Free Blacks*” (italics included).<sup>54</sup>

Following a similar meeting in Philadelphia in 1817, a meeting of “People of Colour” convened to prepare a resolution opposing colonization. Led by Rev. Absalom Jones, an abolitionist and the first African American priest ordained by the Episcopal Church in 1802 (today recognized as a saint by the church), the resolution addressed the plan “to exile us from the land of our nativity.” Declaring colonization to be a “circuitous route to return them to perpetual bondage,” the resolution stated “Whereas our ancestors (not of choice) were the first cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured, and that, by any measure, or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of the republic.” The resolution also addressed enslaved persons “...we will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country: they are our brethren by the ties of...suffering, and of wrongs....”<sup>55</sup>

By this time, a national organization had formed – the American Colonization Society (ACS), originally known as the American Society for Colonizing Free People of Color. At a meeting held in Washington in December of 1816, Kentuckian – and enslaver - Henry Clay (1777-1852) presided

as a resolution for “promoting the prosperity and happiness of our country” recommended the formation of “an association or society for the purpose of giving aid and assistance in the colonization of free people of color in the United States.”<sup>56</sup>

Although formed for colonization of free Black people, the society soon drew support from enslavers, particularly in border states including Kentucky, the Protestant and Presbyterian churches, and federal government officials. The society would issue conflicting statements over the years about its relationship to the cause of emancipation. In its first annual report in 1818, the society’s hope was expressed: “...should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them...”<sup>57</sup>

But at the society’s annual meeting in 1826, Henry Clay, who was by then president of the ACS, disputed this idea, declaring: “From its origin, and throughout the whole of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property (enslaved persons), or the object of emancipation gradual or immediate.” However, Clay qualified his statement by adding that if colonization was successful “the cause of emancipation, either by states or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced.”<sup>58</sup> Clay repeated his belief in an address to the society in 1827: “The object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, not the slaves of the country.”<sup>59</sup>

Those who supported the society did so for complicated, sometimes overlapping, reasons. For some, the desire to remove Blacks – free and formerly enslaved – from the United States was due to the belief that it would be impossible for whites and free Blacks to live together peacefully. Others saw the society as a benevolent organization, aiding Blacks to find a better life in Liberia. And others believed the society could help to abolish slavery.

Despite Clay’s declarations, in Kentucky the causes of emancipation and colonization were intertwined. Kentucky’s leading citizens would play a large role in colonization efforts, although the results for the state would be minimal. Between 1822 and 1828, auxiliary societies of the national organization were formed in Maysville, Lexington and Russellville. By 1823 the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky had appointed a committee to support the society’s work, reflected in the 1836 plan for emancipation. The governing bodies of the Methodist and Baptist churches voiced approval of colonization. Kentucky’s newspapers also began to report approvingly about the colonization movement.

In 1827, the Kentucky General Assembly, meeting in Frankfort, passed a resolution stating: “That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa, for the free people of colour of the United States...”<sup>60</sup> (After the State House burned in 1823, the Kentucky Legislature met in the Franklin County Courthouse until the Old State Capitol was completed in 1830.)

By the end of 1828, the Kentucky Colonization Society was formed following a meeting in Frankfort to align local branches in the state and to connect with the national organization. Meeting attendees approved a resolution confirming as the society’s purpose: “Its scheme is one calculated to relieve the citizens of this Commonwealth from the serious inconveniences resulting from the existence among them of a rapidly increasing number of free persons of colour, who are not subject to the restraints of slavery...” Formation of a state-based society spurred the establishment of a multitude of new chapters, receiving the admiration of the national organization which issued a statement: “Probably in no state in the Union has the scheme of African colonization found more decided friends or met with more general approbation.”<sup>61</sup>

In addition to donors to the society, such as Margaretta Brown, the colonization of formerly enslaved persons was realized by other Frankfort residents. The connections of Emily Thomas Tubman (1794-1885) to Frankfort provided a solution when she was not allowed by the

Georgia Legislature to free those she enslaved in that state (Figure 1-6). Tubman had grown up in Frankfort where she was under the legal protection of Henry Clay following the death of her father. In 1818, she married wealthy Georgia planter Richard Tubman, and upon his death in 1836 she inherited an estate which included 140 enslaved persons. Her husband's will had directed that everyone be freed, but the Georgia Legislature would not allow freed Blacks to stay in the state. Emily Tubman wrote to Henry Clay for advice, and he recommended colonization to Liberia. She then offered those enslaved an option – she would pay their way to Liberia, or they could stay on the plantation where they would receive individual parcels to farm and be paid for their labors. Tradition maintains that approximately half decided to move to Liberia and half stayed on the plantation.<sup>62</sup> Tubman retained an urban townhouse (NRHP, 1971, 2009) at 300-316 Washington Street in Frankfort where she spent summers. (She died in 1885 and is buried in Frankfort Cemetery.)



Figure 1-6. Emily Thomas Tubman, 1818  
Source: Image courtesy of Dr. Russell Rechenbach

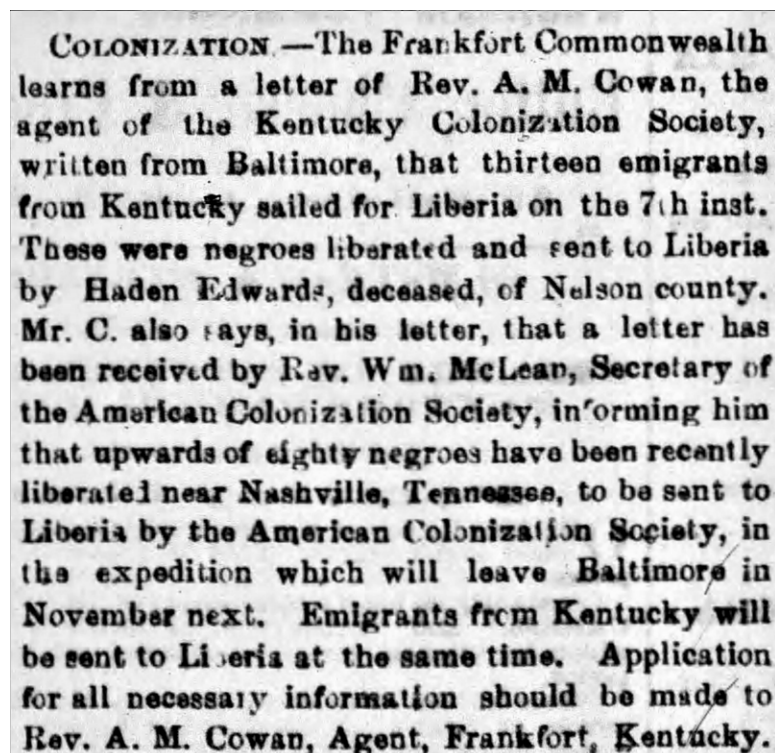
The acquisition of land in Africa for colonization was aided by President James Monroe (1758-1831) who appointed an agent to enforce an 1819 act authorizing the president to make arrangements for removal of "all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color." In 1820, an agent of the society accompanied 86 people, the first group to relocate to Liberia. The following year a treaty was signed acquiring the colony of Liberia.<sup>63</sup>

Although Kentucky's society started with great enthusiasm, within a few years the focus had shifted to accusations of mismanagement of funds, difficulty raising funds and dwindling interest among members. The society attempted to raise funds in the early 1830s by submitting requests – first to Congress and then to the Kentucky General Assembly – asking for appropriations to transport free Blacks to Liberia. Neither request was successful. The assumption by society members that free and formerly enslaved persons who had been born in America and had never been to Africa would willingly relocate was another primary hinderance to their success. At a meeting of the Kentucky Colonization Society in Frankfort on December 1, 1831, keynote speaker Daniel Mayes (1792-1861), professor of law at Transylvania University in Lexington, described the situation for free Blacks as he saw it: "Are we ignorant of the fact that his presence is looked upon in others as so great an evil that it is now in contemplation to banish him from them? What can he do but go? He has no alternative. Go he will, through choice, but if otherwise, go he must of necessity."<sup>64</sup>

Records from the meeting also show that eight of the society's officers were from Frankfort. These included Dr. Luke Munsell who had created the first large-scale map of the Commonwealth of Kentucky; James G. Dana, attorney and editor of the *Commentator* newspaper; attorney Jacob Swigert, who then lived at 308 Washington Street (NRHP, 1971, 2009); former Senator John Brown; Baptist minister Rev. Silas M. Noel; and Presbyterian minister Rev. John T. Edgar. In 1860, Jacob Swigert enslaved 25 Black persons at his mansion at 300 Washington Street (NRHP, 1971, 2009), which included three houses and a detached kitchen house that still stands.

In 1844, several decisions activated the society. In that year, Henry Clay became ACS president, and, perhaps due to Clay's personal interest in Kentucky, the society appointed the Rev. Alexander M. Cowan as agent to Kentucky who would be based in Frankfort. Additionally, a campaign began to raise \$5,000 to purchase land in Liberia for free Blacks from the state. Funds were raised by the end of the year, and a 40 square mile tract of land was purchased.<sup>65</sup>

In the years that followed, Cowan's efforts to increase colonization met with minimal success (Figure 1-7). An ongoing challenge was convincing enslavers to not only free those they enslaved but also to pay for their transportation and settlement costs. For those who were already free and agreed to move to Liberia, the society paid transportation costs and provided support for six months after arrival, necessitating continual fundraising. By 1849, the Kentucky Colonization Society broke with the ACS, although Cowan continued as Kentucky's agent. The Kentucky society intended to charter ships and supervise transportation on its own. Despite this intent, the two societies continued to coordinate some efforts, resulting in a complicated record of fundraising and payments. Records show that between 1853 and 1858, the Kentucky Colonization Society paid \$16,645 to the ACS treasurer and relocated 347 Blacks to Africa. The Kentucky Colonization Society continued its work until after the Civil War. A report from Cowan in 1862, giving his address at Frankfort, noted "thirteen emigrants from Kentucky sailed for Liberia on the 7<sup>th</sup>...."<sup>66</sup>



**COLONIZATION — The Frankfort Commonwealth learns from a letter of Rev. A. M. Cowan, the agent of the Kentucky Colonization Society, written from Baltimore, that thirteen emigrants from Kentucky sailed for Liberia on the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. These were negroes liberated and sent to Liberia by Haden Edwards, deceased, of Nelson county. Mr. C. also says, in his letter, that a letter has been received by Rev. Wm. McLean, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, informing him that upwards of eighty negroes have been recently liberated near Nashville, Tennessee, to be sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society, in the expedition which will leave Baltimore in November next. Emigrants from Kentucky will be sent to Liberia at the same time. Application for all necessary information should be made to Rev. A. M. Cowan, Agent, Frankfort, Kentucky.**

Figure 1-7. Colonization  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Louisville, June 21, 1862

According to the American Colonization Society's 1867 annual report, in the years from 1833, when the first deportation to Liberia occurred, to 1866, Kentucky relocated 675 Blacks to Liberia. During these years, the annual increase of the Black population was 2,500, including an average of 200 free Blacks each year adding more than 82,000 Blacks to the existing population.<sup>67</sup>

#### ***A Constitutional Convention***

On April 24, 1849, the *Louisville Daily Courier* reported "A number of persons left for Frankfort, on the *Sea Gull*, and many more will start today in carriages, buggies, etc. The Emancipation Convention promises to be largely attended."<sup>68</sup>

The convention resulted from several years of meetings about the need for a constitutional



convention to address the issue of slavery. After several attempts, a bill for a constitutional convention was approved by the Kentucky General Assembly and scheduled for October 1, 1849, at the Old State Capitol in Frankfort. The House of Representatives qualified its approval of the constitutional convention with a resolution stating: "...we, the representatives of the people are opposed to abolition or emancipation in any form or shape whatever, except as now provided by the laws of the state."<sup>69</sup>

Despite this caution from the state's elected officials, a report from Frankfort on April 25, 1849, noted that the convention "which will convene at 11 o'clock this morning, in the State House, will comprise among its members many of the ablest, most intelligent and popular men in the Commonwealth – men of free thought, bold action, and enlightened patriotism....It (emancipation) only requires proper and discreet discussion and a little time to give it a power that cannot be successfully resisted."<sup>70</sup> The newspaper next reported that Henry Clay had been elected president of the convention, 23 counties (some accounts state 24 counties) were represented, and 150 delegates were in attendance.<sup>71</sup>

Convention delegates approved a declaration (unanimous minus one vote) stating: "Believing that involuntary, hereditary slavery as it exists by law in this state is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and adverse to a pure state or morals, we are of the opinion that it ought not to be increased, and that it ought not to be perpetuated in the Commonwealth."<sup>72</sup>

Aside from this lofty declaration, delegates did not reach agreement on a plan for emancipation. They did agree on what became known as the "Frankfort Platform" - to work for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention who would support revising the state's constitution to provide for gradual emancipation and to prohibit bringing any more enslaved persons to Kentucky. Throughout the summer, meetings were held across the state with most adopting the Frankfort Platform and nominating candidates for the convention. A newspaper reported: "In thirty-three counties, already, meetings have been held, delegates nominated, and a complete organization effected. In about thirty other counties the friends of emancipation have commenced the work... The friends of Emancipation are full of heart and hope."<sup>73</sup>

At the same time, pro-slavery forces were also organizing and spreading the message that the emancipationists had no practical plans for emancipation or colonization and that emancipation would align Kentucky with the North, resulting in the dissolution of the Union.

### ***A Revised State Constitution***

On October 1, 1849, the Constitution Convention assembled at the Old State Capitol in Frankfort. Slavery was the first topic to be addressed with many long speeches, prompting one attendee to note: "The slavery question in the Constitutional Convention has been discussed to death. The mind of the delegates is made up and cannot be changed, and when a delegate gets the floor and proceeds to make a speech upon it, as he cannot be stopped, all the others can do is to kill time as well as they can until he sits down."<sup>74</sup>

Ten days later the Committee on Slavery and General Provisions submitted a report recommending multiple provisions to safeguard slavery and the rights of enslavers. Among these were that the General Assembly:

- Could not pass laws for emancipation without including compensation for enslavers.
- Could not pass laws authorizing emancipation without a provision for removal from the state.
- Could not prevent enslavers moving to Kentucky from bringing their enslaved persons.

- Could pass laws requiring “free Negroes and mulattoes” to leave the state and to imprison those who refuse to leave.
- Enslaved persons could not be brought from a foreign country (the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves had been federal law since 1808).
- Could pass laws requiring enslavers to not inflict injury on their enslaved persons.

The report was followed with a request from supporters of emancipation to include a clause providing for gradual emancipation. This request was met with the response that the General Assembly did not have the power to interfere with a citizen’s property (enslaved persons). In mid-December, pro-slavery forces prevailed as most of the original provisions were adopted. An additional provision was included in the state’s bill of rights: “The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave and its increase is the same, and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.” When the Constitution of 1850 was adopted the next June, in addition to these provisions, the General Assembly added provisions requiring all emancipated persons to be expelled from the state and forbade free Blacks from moving to Kentucky.<sup>75</sup>

Although efforts would continue for emancipation and colonization, the issue would become a focal point as the state and the nation moved toward Civil War. As one historian observed: “As the hostility between the North and South increased after 1850, the sectional lines in Kentucky became more closely fixed and the national questions such as the extension of slavery into the territories of the United States and the right of secession attracted more and more attention. Because of the loyalty of the great majority of Kentuckians to the Union, slavery in Kentucky became so closely associated with these national questions that were rapidly dividing the Union into two hostile camps that it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to treat them separately.”<sup>76</sup>

## Endnotes

- 1 Abigail Adams (1744-1818) to Cotton Tufts (1734-1815), 11 March 1791, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-09-02-0107>, accessed March 7, 2022 [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 9, *January 1790–December 1793*, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Karen N. Barzilay, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary T. Claffey, Robert F. Karachuk, and Sara B. Sikes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 196–200.] (John Adams 1735-1826)
- 2 “Act Concerning Statehood for the Kentucky District, 22 December 1785,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-08-02-0236>, accessed March 7, 2022 [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 8, *10 March 1784–28 March 1786*, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973, pp. 450–453.]
- 3 “Capital Question: Efforts to Relocate Kentucky’s Seat of Government” Robert M. Ireland, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 104, no. 2 (2006): 249–83 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23386673>, accessed March 7, 2022
- 4 “Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort, Kentucky,” Sharon Cox, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Volume 42, 2020.
- 5 Isaac Shelby, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/isaac-shelby>, accessed March 7, 2022
- 6 Isaac Shelby letter, MS 727, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.
- 7 “Frankfort’s Forgotten Cemetery,” David Pollack, A. Gwynn Henderson, Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Archaeological Survey, Education Series No 10, Kentucky Heritage Council and the University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, Lexington, Kentucky, 2009
- 8 “Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves,” Edward M. Post, B.A. LL.B., Taustine, Post, Sotsky, Berman, Fineman and Kohn law firm, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3, July 1985
- 9 First Constitution of Kentucky, Article IX, 1792
- 10 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, (from federal Census), Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing and “A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891,” Marion B. Lucas, Western Kentucky University, 2003
- 11 “Frankfort’s Forgotten Cemetery,” David Pollack, A. Gwynn Henderson, Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Archaeological Survey, Education Series No 10, Kentucky Heritage Council and the University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, Lexington, Kentucky, 2009
- 12 <https://shacklesandchains.wordpress.com/kentucky-slave-laws-in-brief/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- 13 *Frankfort Commonwealth*, March 10, 1857
- 14 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912
- 15 Ibid
- 16 “Frankfort’s Forgotten Cemetery,” David Pollack, A. Gwynn Henderson, Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Archaeological Survey, Education Series No 10, Kentucky Heritage Council and the University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, Lexington, Kentucky, 2009
- 17 Ibid
- 18 “For Sale: The Franklin Paper, Saw, and Grist Mills,” *The Argus of Western America*, Frankfort, September 23, 1829
- 19 “Ebenezer Stedman’s Mills: A Nineteenth Century Paper, Grist, and Lumber Milling Complex Near Frankfort, Kentucky,” Charles D. Hockensmith, Kentucky Heritage Council, Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology, 1998
- 20 *Bluegrass Craftsman: Being the Reminiscences of Ebenezer Hiram Stedman, Papermaker, 1808-1885*, Edited by Frances L.S. Duger and Jacqueline P Bull, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1959
- 21 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912
- 22 “For Sale,” *The Frankfort Argus*, April 23, 1834
- 23 “Flight to Freedom,” Teacher’s Guide, Mission US, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 2022
- 24 “Kentucky’s Underground Railroad: Passage to Freedom,” <https://education.ket.org/resources/kentuckys-underground-railroad-passage-freedom/>
- 25 “The Case of Mr. Fairbanks,” *The Liberator*, Boston, Massachusetts, March 7, 1845
- 26 “A Hero In Need,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, William Lloyd Garrison, September 9, 1897: 6.
- 27 *Aftermath: Part Second of A Kentucky Cardinal*, James Lane Allen, Macmillan Co., 1911

28 "Aboard the Underground Railroad: Madison Historic District," National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/madison.html>, accessed March 11, 2022

29 "Negroes for Sale: The Slave Trade in Antebellum Kentucky," Benjamin Lewis Fitzpatrick, Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History, Notre Dame, Indiana, December 2008

30 "Sites, Slaves and Soldiers: The Terraces," Tim Talbott, Random Thoughts on History, 2013, <http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/12/sites-slaves-and-soldiers-terraces.html>, accessed March 8, 2022

31 "Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves," Edward M. Post, B.A. LL.B., Taustine, Post, Sotsky, Berman, Fineman and Kohn law firm, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3, July 1985

32 Ibid

33 "Frankfort, Kentucky, Census of Free Blacks, 1842," Lewis J. Bellardo Jr., *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December 1975

34 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing

35 "Kentucky Abolition Society," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Greeneville, Tennessee, April 1, 1822

36 Reverend David Barrow's Petition of the Kentucky Abolition Society, Oct. 18-19, 1815, Ohio Archives

37 "Circular: To the Auxiliary Branches Composing the Kentucky Abolition Society," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Greeneville, Tennessee, October 1, 1822

38 Interview with Sarah Elliot, Executive Director, and Jesse Williams, Curator of Collections, Liberty Hall, Carolyn Brackett, March 2, 2022

39 "Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort," Kentucky, Sharon Cox, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Volume 42, 2021

40 *A History of the First Presbyterian Church, Frankfort, Kentucky, Together with the Churches in Franklin County in Connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, W. H. Averill, Clerk of the Session of the First Presbyterian Church, Monfort and Co. Print, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1902

41 <https://www.libertyhall.org/learn/slavery>, accessed March 13, 2022

42 Ibid

43 Ibid

44 *An address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky: proposing a plan for the instruction and emancipation of their slaves*, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Synod of Kentucky., Young, J. Clarke. (1836). Newburyport [Ky.]: Charles Whipple.

45 <https://www.libertyhall.org/learn/slavery>, accessed March 13, 2022 and 1860 Census Records.

46 *A History of Baptists in Kentucky*, Frank M. Masters, Kentucky Historical Society, Louisville, 1953

47 *A Brief History of the Colored Churches of Frankfort, Kentucky*, Edward Ellsworth Underwood, 1906

48 Ibid and Census Record

49 Ibid and Census Record

50 49 <https://www.learnreligions.com/african-methodist-episcopal-church-699933>, accessed March 17, 2022

51 50 <https://www.ame-church.com/our-church/our-name/>, accessed March 17, 2022

52 Ibid

53 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson, 1781

54 "African Colonization," *Lancaster Intelligencer and Journal*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, December 13, 1816

55 *United States Gazette for the Country*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 13, 1817

56 "The Negro Colonization Movement in Kentucky," Mary Kaltenbrun, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1821., <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1821>, accessed March 18, 2022

57 "The first annual report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States: and the proceedings of the Society at their annual meeting in the city of Washington, on the first day of January," American Society for Colonizing The Free People Of Colour Of The United States, and Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection. Washington: Printed by D. Rapine, 1819, <https://www.loc.gov/item/91898198/>, accessed March 18, 2022

58 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, (from federal Census), Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing and "A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891," Marion B. Lucas,

Western Kentucky University, 2003

- 59 "Colonization Society: Henry Clay's Speech," *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, March 2, 1827
- 60 "Colonization Society," *Kentucky Reporter*, Lexington, Kentucky, January 27, 1827
- 61 "The Negro Colonization Movement in Kentucky," Mary Kaltenbrun, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1821, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1821>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 62 <https://www.discipleshistory.org/history/people/emily-tubman>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 63 "The Negro Colonization Movement in Kentucky," Mary Kaltenbrun, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1821, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1821>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 64 "The Proceedings of the Colonization Society of Kentucky," annual meeting, Frankfort, December 1, 1831, Printed at the Commentator Office, Frankfort.
- 65 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing
- 66 "Colonization," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, June 21, 1862
- 67 "The Negro Colonization Movement in Kentucky," Mary Kaltenbrun, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1821, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1821>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 68 *Louisville Courier Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, April 24, 1849
- 69 "The issues in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention 1849-1850," Gertrude Pettus, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations, Paper 1846, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1846>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 70 Editorial Correspondence: Frankfort, Wednesday Morning, April 25, 1849," *Louisville Daily Courier*, "Louisville, April 26, 1849
- 71 "Letter from Frankfort: The Emancipation Convention," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Louisville, April 26, 1849
- 72 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing
- 73 *The Examiner*, Louisville, June 9, 1849
- 74 "The issues in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention 1849-1850," Gertrude Pettus, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations, Paper 1846, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1846>, accessed March 18, 2022
- 75 Ibid
- 76 *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing

# SECTION II. HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

## Chapter Two: Civil War – 1860-1865

### ***To Lose Kentucky...To Lose the Whole Game***

“I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game,” wrote President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) to Illinois Congressman Orville Browning (1806-1881) in September of 1861 (Figure 2-1). Lincoln was responding to Union General John Fremont’s (1813-1890) unilateral emancipation proclamation of all enslaved persons in Missouri. Lincoln’s concern was not Missouri – it was singularly focused on Kentucky where many pro-Union residents were also enslavers.<sup>1</sup>

Lincoln asked Fremont to modify his proclamation, writing: “I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating of slaves of traitorous owners will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us - perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky.” Although Lincoln would later issue his own emancipation proclamation freeing enslaved persons in the Confederate states, at this early point in the war, the president’s only goal was to save the Union. (Fremont refused the request and was relieved of command.)<sup>2</sup>

This exchange reflects the unusual position of Kentucky in the Civil War. The state remained in the Union by *not* holding a vote in the General Assembly on whether to secede, rather than an actual vote to remain. Kentucky would be a state where brother would fight against brother in the opposing armies, where slavery would remain legal until passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in December of 1865, and where a senator would be indicted for treason for resigning from Congress to join the Confederate army.

Of greatest consequence was the attempt of many enslavers to continue the institution of slavery while professing loyalty to the Union. Frankfort’s leading trader of enslaved persons, Archibald Williams, continued to buy and sell humans throughout the war. Correspondence between two brothers, Alexander and Sam Major, from 1863 into 1864 document their efforts to purchase enslaved persons in the Frankfort area. In August of 1863, Alexander advised his brother: “I think the best course will be

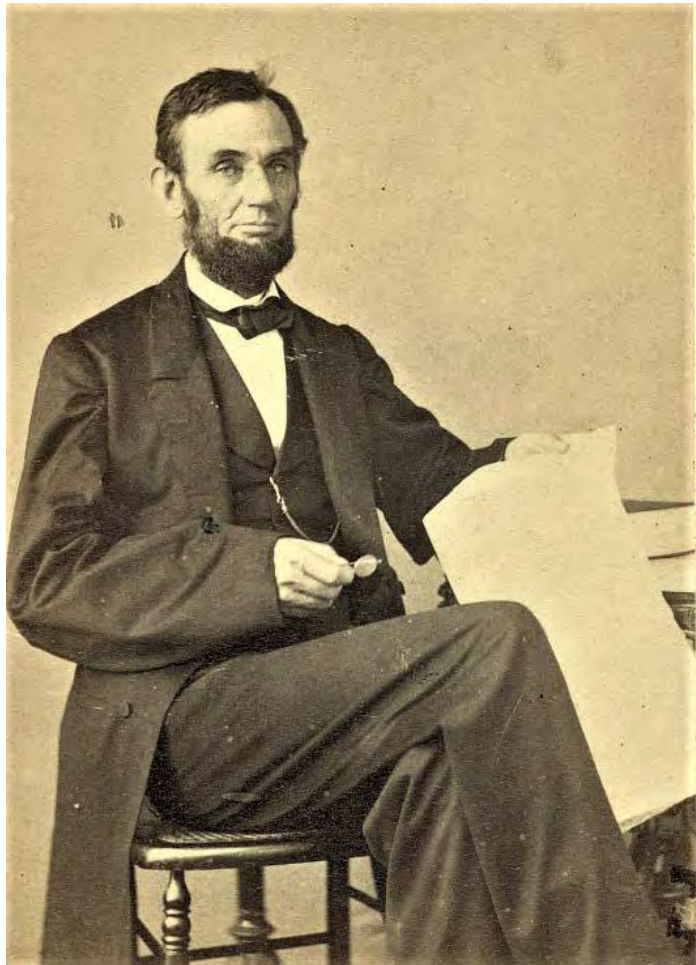


Figure 2-1. President Abraham Lincoln 1863

Source: Library of Congress

for you to enlist Arch Williams in the matter, give a commission as heretofor." In another letter, Alexander instructs his brother: "Put Williams to work. Tell him I need them at once, tell him to buy good ones – buy quick – and give him his commission...." <sup>3</sup>

Enslavers in Frankfort continued their efforts to control their human property, placing advertisements and taking complaints to court. On May 18, 1863, enslaver W.W. Stephens offered a reward ranging from \$20 to \$100 for the recovery of a 38-year-old man, depending on how far away he was found. Also in 1863, an enslaver filed a lawsuit against the Louisville and Frankfort Railroad Company asking for \$1,000 in damages for giving an enslaved woman named Maria passage "whereby said slave escaped...." (The lawsuit was dismissed.) <sup>4</sup>

As late in the war as November of 1863, a notice was posted in Frankfort (Figure 2-2): <sup>5</sup>

Public Sale of Slaves!!  
Franklin County Circuit Court  
Monday, November 16, 1863 (County Court Day)  
Sell at Public Auction, the following Slaves:  
Three Negro Men; One Negro Woman and a Small Child, Adopted;  
One Negro Woman and Two Children

**PUBLIC SALE**  
**OF SLAVES!!**

---

**FRANKLIN CIRCUIT COURT.**

JAMES HARLAN'S Administrators, Plaintiffs, }  
vs. } In Equity.  
JAMES HARLAN'S Heirs, Defendants, }

The undersigned, as COMMISSIONER of said Court, will, on

**Monday, November 16, 1863,**  
(County Court day,) sell at public auction, the following Slaves, viz:

**THREE NEGRO MEN;  
ONE NEGRO WOMAN AND A SMALL CHILD, ADOPTED;  
ONE NEGRO WOMAN AND TWO CHILDREN.**

**TERMS—Six months credit, with interest from date, the purchasers giving bond with security, to have the force and effect of replevin bond.**

**GEORGE W. GWIN,**  
Master Commissioner.

OCTOBER 30, 1863.

Figure 2-2. Advertisement, 1863  
Source: Public Domain

Auctions such as this one took place on the front steps of the Franklin County Courthouse. Even as sales of humans continued, free and self-emancipated Blacks rushed to join the Union Army. By the war's end 23,703 African Americans in Kentucky would serve in the U.S. Colored troops, including more than 200 from Franklin County.

To encourage enlistment, Congress passed a law stating that the wife and children of any person mustered into the Union army or navy would be free. In an 1865 case contesting the continued enslavement of Milly (no surname given), the wife of a Union soldier, the Kentucky Court of Appeals in Frankfort ruled that Congress's act was unconstitutional because it had taken private property (humans) without compensation. <sup>6</sup>

Kentucky was the birthplace of both Abraham Lincoln, 16<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, who did not win his home state in the elections of 1860 and 1864, and Jefferson Davis (1809-1889) who was selected by the Confederate Congress to serve as President of the Confederate States of America, a government that was never recognized as legitimate by the United States or other nations.

Although Lincoln was a native son, he finished fourth out of four candidates, winning only 1,364 votes, less than one percent of the popular vote. John Bell (1796-1869) from the Constitutional Union Party, whose platform had one plank – save the Union - won 45 percent of the popular vote in Kentucky. In the national vote, Lincoln won a victory in both the popular vote and the electoral vote, with just under 40 percent of the popular vote, which totaled 1,866,452, and 180 electoral votes. <sup>7</sup>

With Lincoln's election in November of 1860, southern states began to secede from the Union. By February, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana had seceded; by July, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina had joined to comprise the Confederate States of America. Fighting began in April of 1861.

Elected in 1859, Kentucky Governor Beriah Magoffin (1815-1885) was pro-slavery and supported the right of states to secede. In January of 1861, from his office in the State Capitol at Frankfort, the governor asked the Kentucky General Assembly to schedule a convention to decide whether the state would stay in the Union or join the Confederacy. Magoffin's sympathies were clear in his request: "The seceding states have not in their haste and inconsiderate action our approval, but their cause is our right, and they have our sympathies. The people of Kentucky will never stand by with folded arms while those states are struggling for their constitutional rights and resisting oppression and being subjected to an anti-slavery government." <sup>8</sup>

Although the Kentucky General Assembly stayed in session until May of 1861, the legislative body did not act on the governor's request. In April, as the war began with Confederates firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina, Governor Magoffin refused to supply troops in response to President Lincoln's call for 75,000 soldiers. In a telegram, the governor informed Lincoln: "I say emphatically Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." <sup>9</sup>

### ***Border State Convention***

With the war beginning, Kentucky's leaders concluded the state should have a leading role in preserving the Union by remaining neutral and serving as an arbiter between North and South – all while preserving the institution of slavery. To that end, the Kentucky General Assembly scheduled a Border State Convention at the State Capitol in Frankfort on May 27, 1861. The assembly directed "That an election shall be held on the first Saturday in May next, at all election precincts in this state, to elect twelve delegates to a convention of the border slave states and other such slave states as have not passed an ordinance of secession, to meet at Frankfort, Kentucky..." <sup>10</sup> Delegates were appointed from two slave-holding states – Kentucky and Missouri. The states of Maryland and Delaware did not respond.



Of the four slave-holding states that did not secede, Kentucky had by far the largest number of enslaved persons, although the total was much less than states to the south: <sup>11</sup>

Table 4: Number of Enslaved Persons, Total Population in 1860

Number of Enslaved Persons and Total Population in 1860			
Region	Enslaved	Population	Percentage
<b>BORDER STATES</b>			
Delaware	1,798	112,212	1.6
Maryland	87,189	687,049	12.7
Kentucky	225,483	1,155,651	19.5
Missouri	114,931	1,181,912	9.7
<b>UPPER SOUTH</b>			
VA, NC, TN, AR	1,208,758	4,168,723	29.0
<b>DEEP SOUTH</b>			
SC, GA, AL, MS, LA, TX, FL	2,312,352	4,868,449	47.5

By the eve of the Civil War, Frankfort, although the capital city, was a small town with a total population of 3,702. The total included 1,024 enslaved persons and 238 free persons of color.<sup>12</sup>

When delegates gathered in Frankfort on May 27, 1861, the first order of business was to select John J. Crittenden (1787-1863) as president of the convention (Figure 2-3). Crittenden was a Kentucky elder statesman whose 50-year political career shifted constantly, including several terms in the Kentucky House of Representatives and as U.S. Senator, attorney general for President William Henry Harrison (1773-1841) and again for President Millard Fillmore (1800-1874), and as governor of Kentucky from 1848-1850. Crittenden had just completed a Senate term and shifted to the House of Representatives in 1861 as a member of the Unionist Party.<sup>13</sup> Crittenden’s family would be emblematic of Kentucky’s divisions as one son, George, became a general in the Confederate Army, and another son, Thomas Leonidas, became a general in the Union Army. In addition to his political career and legal practice, Crittenden also enslaved people. In 1830, his household at 401 West Main Street (NRHP, 1971/2009) included 12 free white persons and six enslaved Blacks. In 1850, Crittenden

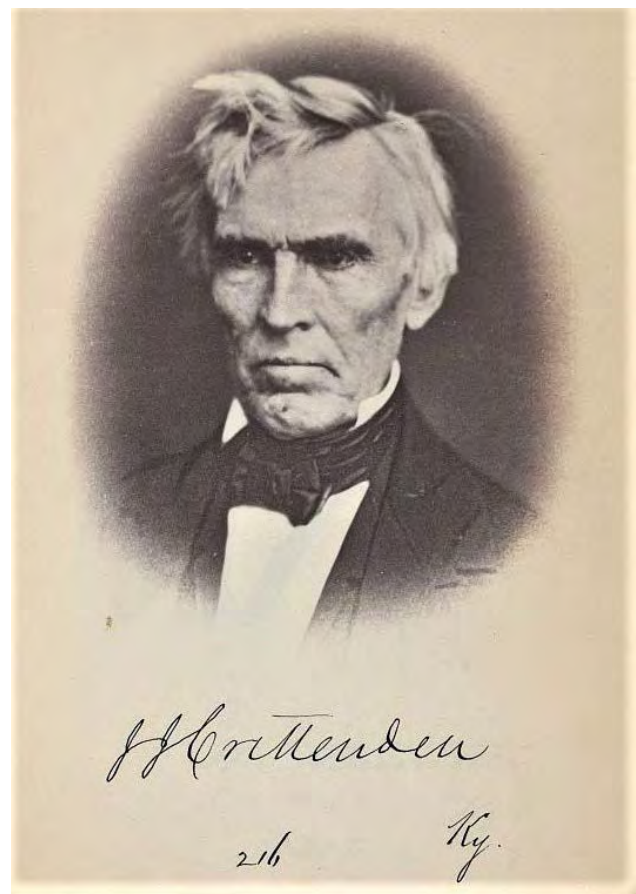


Figure 2-3. John J. Crittenden, 1859  
Source: Library of Congress

enslaved 44 people (11 women, seven men, 13 boys and 13 girls). In 1860, Crittenden enslaved 10 people - all were mulattos.<sup>14</sup>

Crittenden brought to the convention what he hoped was a solution to war. As a U.S. Senator, Crittenden had already introduced a compromise to Congress in December of 1860 without success as the proposal would have guaranteed the right of enslavement of humans in perpetuity. With Crittenden's leadership, the Frankfort convention adopted two addresses which were signed by delegates – one to the people of the United States and one to the people of Kentucky. Both addresses were printed in full by the *New York Times*.

## **THE BORDER STATE CONVENTION.**

### **Addresses to the People of the United States and to the Citizens of Kentucky.**

#### **THE NEUTRALITY OF KENTUCKY TO BE MAINTAINED.**

The Border State Convention, which has been in session at Frankfort, has adopted two addresses, one to the people of the United States, and another to the people of Kentucky. The following is the address

##### **TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

**FELLOW-CITIZENS:** The Delegates to a Convention of the Border Slave States, assembled in the City of Frankfort, desire to address you in relation to the present condition of the country.

None of us have ever expected to live to see the spectacle now exhibited in our distracted land. The cry to arms resounds throughout our borders, and in a few short weeks we have seen all over the land the marshaling of troops ready for the conflict. The pursuits of peace are neglected and abandoned, and the fell spirit of war has seized almost every heart, until even gentle and tender woman yields to the fierce impulse, and encourages the strife, and the maternal eye scarce gathers a tear as the son seizes his arms, and rushes towards the field of carnage and of death.

If this warlike spirit—this terrible energy—were displayed in preparing to meet the legions of an invading enemy, our hearts would exult in the exhibition of the martial spirit of our countrymen; but, alas! the combatants are descendants of sires who stood side by side in the day of battle, to maintain the independence of our country, and in the approaching conflict brother is to fall by the hand of brother.

Can we hope, in this day of fierce passion, that our

Figure 2-4. The Border State Convention  
Source: *New York Times*, June 9, 1861

The lengthy address to the people of the U.S., from the “Delegates to a Convention of Border Slave States, assembled in the City of Frankfort,” included a vivid description of the “spectacle now exhibited” when a “warlike spirit” meant that “in the approaching conflict brother is to fall by the hand of brother.” Sidestepping the question of the right of states to secede, the address focused on “any intervention by which the shedding of blood and the desolation of civil war could be avoided....” concluding “the obligation exists to maintain the Constitution of the United States and to preserve the Union unimpaired.” Observing that the Constitution did not currently allow the abolition of slavery by Congress this could be “subject to repeal or authorization.” Making a “solemn appeal to the people of the United States,” the address presented two propositions “as likely to lead to pacification:

- Congress would amend the Constitution to secure ‘slaveholders their legal rights’ and to guarantee there would be no ‘encroachments’ (changes to the law) in the future;
- If Constitutional amendments fail, a voluntary convention should be called to seek ‘measures of peaceable adjustment’ to rescue the nation from war.”<sup>15</sup>

The convention committee then turned its attention to the people of Kentucky, beginning with praise for not providing troops as requested by President Lincoln, avoiding “hostile collision with the slave states of Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, which have not seceded on the one hand, nor the slave states which have and are in the process of secession on the other....” Praise was followed by statements of tangled logic of loyalty to the Union and complete neutrality in the war. Declaring that Kentucky “will follow the Stars and Stripes to the utmost regions of the earth and defend it from foreign insult...all she asks is permission to keep out of this unnatural strife.” The address concluded with a scriptural-sounding entreaty to neutrality: “Endeavor to be of one mind, and strive to keep the state steady in her present position....Trust and love one another. Avoid angry strife. Frown upon the petty ambition of demagogues who would stir up bad passions among you.”<sup>16</sup> Affirming that the state would not secede, the Kentucky General Assembly ordered the U.S. flag be flown over the State Capitol at Frankfort.<sup>17</sup>

The convention’s proposals had little impact as Congress was not interested in a Constitutional amendment to enshrine slavery and the state of Kentucky was already being torn apart by loyalties to the Union or the Confederacy. Newspapers in the North and South lambasted the convention accusing Kentucky of actions in support of the other side.

On May 30 came a mocking report from Memphis, Tennessee blaming the border states for causing the war: “The few old fogies who assembled at Frankfort, Ky., on Monday, calling themselves a Border State Convention...were said to have been a dismal looking set. They have been tinkering away at Union saving, until they have gotten the country involved in a tremendous war, induced by the encouragement which they and their co-Unionists have given Lincoln; and now, with inconceivable folly and impudence, they presume to dictate to the states which they have betrayed, and against which they have excited an atrocious war, and talk to them about returning to the old rotten, abolitionized Union, to which their own craven and slavish souls cling for want of courage and manliness to leave it.”<sup>18</sup> (Tennessee did not vote to secede until June 8, 1861.)

A newspaper in Nashville took issue with the convention’s intent for Kentucky to remain neutral and concluded this would result in Kentucky supporting the Confederacy: “Mr. Crittenden and his friends tell us they want the Union preserved but they suggest very peculiar methods for preserving it. They wish the Union preserved but wish to take no part in the war by which only can it be preserved. The simple truth is that if Kentucky intends to occupy the position marked out for her by the Border State Convention, then she intends to side with the rebels.”<sup>19</sup>

And from Brooklyn, New York came a scathing assessment of the convention's "principal question...what concessions the free states ought to make to the states in rebellion." The report continued: "They had nothing to say about the personal outrages perpetrated on the friends of the Union at the South, nor have they any suggestions to make to the seceders in regard to the property of the United States, or that any of their acts of treason are in any particular blameworthy but assume to be mediators between two belligerent parties having equal rights and equally entitled to their sympathy and counsel." The article observes that the convention had proposed the war could be changed to peace without "observance of the Constitution and the laws but with amendments to the Constitution so as to give further guarantee to the slave interest, but no concession or reparation on the part of the South is hinted at."<sup>20</sup>

Even as the war was beginning and Kentucky leaders were espousing neutrality, citizens were rallying to the Union or Confederate cause, and men were rushing to enlist. In total, Kentucky accounted for 100,000 Union soldiers, including almost 24,000 African American soldiers, and between 25,000 and 40,000 Confederate soldiers.

### ***Divided Loyalties and African American Enlistment***

In May of 1861, as the war began, Union loyalists in Frankfort decorated their homes and businesses with American flags, and in June a large flag made by women in Frankfort was raised as part of a ceremony of music and patriotic speeches. Franklin County seems to have followed the state's policy of neutrality. Of 2,013 men of age to serve, 12.5 percent enlisted in the Union Army and 9.4 percent enlisted in the Confederate Army – a higher percentage not enlisting than the state overall.<sup>21</sup>

From the war's outset, enslavers in Kentucky unsuccessfully sought to keep news from those they enslaved. In the summer of 1861, U.S. War Department officer Alan Pinkerton (1819-1884) was informed by an enslaver in Bowling Green: "There has been so much talk about the matter all through the state (that the enslaved) know as much about it as we do...and too much for our safety and peace of minds."<sup>22</sup>

As military units were formed in Kentucky and other units arrived from Northern states, enslaved persons greeted their arrival. By November of 1862, a soldier with the 19<sup>th</sup> Ohio Battery in Kentucky reported to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*: "They are posted (informed) on all the important battles that have taken place, particularly in their own state. They are decidedly true to the Union – every one of them." As the war continued, increasing numbers of Blacks self-emancipated and made their way to Union camps.<sup>23</sup>

Although no personal accounts of African Americans from Frankfort have been found, some recollections were made by others in Kentucky. When news came of President Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862, Mary Crane, who was at the time enslaved in LaRue County, recalled "I remember that my father and most of the younger slave men left the farms to join the Union army."<sup>24</sup>

The U.S. government's enlistment of Black men – free or formerly enslaved - to carry weapons and fight for the Union was extremely controversial. As the war began, free Black men rushed to enlist but were turned away due to a 1792 federal law forbidding their service. President Lincoln avoided the option, in particular due to concerns that Kentuckians would oppose it and move away from supporting the Union. But President Lincoln continued to consider the idea, growing more certain that it was necessary as the war dragged into its second year, the number of white volunteers declined, and more Blacks throughout the South self-emancipated and wanted to enlist. In the first two years of the war, Lincoln's cabinet officers, Union generals and even Congress made steps toward enlisting Blacks, in some cases enraging white supporters in Kentucky and other border states. But the opportunity for Black men to enlist became a reality when President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863.<sup>25</sup> In addition

to freeing enslaved persons in Confederate states, the proclamation declared “such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.”<sup>26</sup>

Lincoln responded to widespread protests from elected officials, including writing a letter to James C. Conklin in Springfield, Illinois which was printed in newspapers including the *Louisville Daily Journal* on September 9, 1863. Declaring that “the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion...” Lincoln wrote to Conklin “You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you...Negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive – even the promise of freedom – and the promise, being made, must be kept.”<sup>27</sup>

**MEN OF COLOR  
TO ARMS! TO ARMS!  
NOW OR NEVER**

This is our golden moment! The Government of the United States calls for every Able-bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the

**Three Years' Service!**

And join in Fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed. Now, therefore, is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms!

**FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED**

...this the will of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our home, we must strike our white country (alls); we must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are slaves cowardly, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves! Shall we leave this inheritance of Shame to our Children? No! a thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! The alternative is upon us. Let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty? If we say that we have manhood now is the time to prove it. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. If we would be regarded men, if we would forever silence the tongue of Calumny, of Prejudice and Hate, let us Rise Now and Fly to Arms! We have seen what Valor and Heroism our Brethren displayed at Fort Hudson and Milliken's Bend, though they are just from the calling, joining group of Slavery, they have started the World by the most exalted heroism. If they have proved themselves heroes, cannot WE FREE & OUR BROTHER MEN?

**ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES**

More than a Million White Men have left Comfortable Homes and joined the Armies of the Union to save their Country. Cannot we leave ours, and swell the Hosts of the Union, to save our Liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve well of our Country. MEN OF COLOR! the Englishman, the Irishman, the Frenchman, the German, the American, have been called to meet their claim to freedom and a manly character, by an appeal to the sword. The day that has seen an colored race in arms has, in all history, seen their last trial. We now see that our last opportunity has come. If we are not lower in the scale of humanity than Englishmen, Irishmen, White Americans and other Races, we can show it now. Men of Color, Brethren and Fathers, we appeal to you, by all your concerns for yourselves and your Liberties, by all your regard for God and humanity, by all your desire for Citizenship and Equality before the law, by all your love for the Country, to step at no moment, there is nothing that shall drive you from calling for the Army. Come Forward, and at once Enroll your Names for the Three Years' Service. Notho men, and you are honorably and forever Freemen!

E. D. Bassett,	Rev. J. Underdug,	P. J. Armstrong,	Rev. J. C. Gibbs,	Elijah J. Davis,
William D. Forten,	John W. Price,	J. W. Simpson,	Daniel George,	John P. Burr,
Frederick Douglass,	Augustus Dorsey,	Rev. J. B. Trusty,	Robert M. Adger,	Robert Jones,
Wm. Whipper,	Rev. Stephen Smith,	S. Morgan Smith,	Henry M. Cropper,	G. V. Catto,
D. B. Turner,	N. W. Depee,	William E. Gipson,	Rev. J. B. Reeve,	Thos. J. Dorsey,
Jan. McCrummel,	Dr. J. H. Wilson,	Rev. J. Boulden,	Rev. J. A. Williams,	I. D. Child,
A. S. Cassey,	J. W. Cassey,	Rev. J. Asher,	Rev. A. L. Stanford,	Jacob C. White,
A. M. Green,	James Needham,	Rev. Elsha Weaver,	Thomas J. Bowers,	Morris Hall,
J. W. Fugy,	Ebenezer Black,	David B. Bowser,	J. C. White, Jr.,	J. P. Johnson,
L. R. Seymour,	James R. Gordon,	Henry Winton,	Rev. J. P. Campbell,	Franklin Turner,
Rev. William T. Catto,	Samuel Stewart,	Daniel Colley,	Rev. W. J. Alston,	Jesse E. Glasgow.

A Meeting in furtherance of the above named object will be held

And will be Addressed by

U. S. Steam-Power Book and Job Printing Establishment, Ledger Buildings, Third and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia.

Advertisements soon appeared such as this one signed by famed abolitionist Frederick Douglas (Figure 2-5).<sup>28</sup>

Men of Color  
To Arms! To Arms!  
Now or Never

This is our golden moment. The Government of the United States calls for every Able-bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for Three Years' Service!

And join in Fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed. Now, therefore, is our most precious moment.

Fail Now & Our Race is Doomed

Meeting in Frankfort in February of 1863, the Kentucky General Assembly immediately objected to the enlistment of African American men, even though the proclamation did not technically apply to the state. State Senator Thornton F. Marshall (1819-1901), who enslaved four persons in 1860, introduced a lengthy resolution in protest. Affirming that “Kentucky, ever loyal to the

Figure 2-5. Advertisement, 1863  
Source: Public Domain

Constitution and the Union, does not look to secession as a remedy....” the resolution declares that “negroes, free or slave, are not citizens of the United States, nor do they constitute the militia which the Constitution authorizes....In the Constitution of Kentucky, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians are expressly excepted (from citizenship)...So much of the proclamation, therefore, which authorizes negroes to be received into the ‘armed service of the United States,’ is unwise, impolitic, unconstitutional, and tends to the destruction of our common country.” To the ‘question of emancipation’ the resolution asserted states’ rights: “They do not desire to liberate slaves of the state, either with or without compensation....”<sup>29</sup>

Legislators were not finished with this question, following up with another declaration: “We shall not boast of the loyalty of Kentucky. Half her loyal population, fit to bear arms in the field against the rebellion are her witnesses.” Acknowledging the obligation to respect the Constitution and federal law, legislators maintained “...the latter is bound to respect the Constitution and laws of Kentucky, and the Federal troops in this state cannot be allowed to entice slaves from their masters and protect them in their camps....”<sup>30</sup>

Ignoring the protests of the General Assembly, African Americans quickly mustered into service. By the end of the war, Kentucky had provided more Black soldiers than any other state except Louisiana.<sup>31</sup>

A historian recounted the formation of troops: “In June 1863, the 4<sup>th</sup> US Colored Field Artillery (Heavy) located in Columbus (Ohio) was the first to organize with African Americans from Tennessee and Kentucky. The last to organize was the 125<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, Feb. 12- June 2, 1865 – at Louisville. Kentucky provided two Cavalry, four Field Artillery (Heavy), and 17 infantry regiments for a total of 23 regiments to fight for the Union and Freedom.”<sup>32</sup>

Although units were first assigned to guard and garrison duty, they saw action in skirmishes at several locations in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Arkansas. The 109<sup>th</sup>, 114<sup>th</sup>, 116<sup>th</sup> and 117<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry were present at Appomattox on April 9, 1865 to witness the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the Confederacy, ending the war.<sup>33</sup>

In December of 1863, Secretary of War William Seward (1801-1872) issued a report lauding the service of African American troops and documenting the discrimination they received from the U.S. government: “Fifty thousand colored men are now organizing, and the number will rapidly increase as our armies advance. The freed slaves make good soldiers, are easily disciplined, and are full of courage. The slave has proved his manhood and capacity, and makes a good infantry artillery, or cavalry soldier....The colored troops...can only, by the existing laws, receive \$10 per month for their services, while white soldiers receive \$13, with clothing a daily ration.” The report also acknowledged the families of many of the soldiers: “The fortunes of war have brought within our lines large numbers of colored women and children, and some aged and infirm persons. A solemn trust rests upon the government for their care and protection.”<sup>34</sup>

Governor Thomas E. Bramlette (1817-1875) continued to protest the recruiting of Black regiments in Kentucky. Elected in September of 1863, Bramlette had already served in the Union Army. Ignoring Kentucky’s pledge of neutrality as the war began in 1861, Bramlette raised and commanded the Third Kentucky Infantry Regiment and served until 1862 when President Lincoln appointed him to the office of U.S. Attorney General. By 1864, Bramlette saw slavery as a dying institution but still resisted African American citizenship which he believed would be enabled by allowing Blacks to serve in the Union Army.<sup>35</sup>

In March of 1864, Governor Bramlette, joined by Archibald Dixon (1802-1876) and Albert Gallatin Hodges (1802-1881), traveled from Frankfort to Washington D.C. to meet with President Lincoln to protest recruitment of Black soldiers. Dixon had served in the U.S. Senate from 1852 to 1855. Hodges was the editor of the *Frankfort Commonwealth* newspaper which supported the Union

during the war. President Lincoln persuaded the men to support his plan. Hodges followed up by requesting that the president put his statements in writing. President Lincoln obliged with a lengthy letter dated April 4, 1864 and addressed to A.G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Ky. explaining his position from non-interference to emancipation: "I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel. And yet I never understood that the presidency conferred on me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling...." Lincoln described his progression from believing that emancipation and arming of Black soldiers was not an "indispensable necessity" to believing the alternative was "either surrendering of the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of laying a strong hand on the colored element. I chose the latter." Lincoln observed the results of his choice: "More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force – no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers."<sup>36</sup>

As news of the meeting with President Lincoln spread, some newspapers mocked the governor: "Gov. Bramlette's visit to the White House didn't do him much good. He didn't want the negroes to enlist...However the colored males in Kentucky are enlisting by the thousands....Recruiting officers, with soul stirring music and banners unfolded to the breeze, are marching through cities, and towns and neighborhoods, and the loyal blacks are flocking around them by the hundreds and thousands. They want to assist in striking the last blow which is to separate and forever divorce this government from the institution of slavery....They know their foes, and the wrongs they have received at the hands of 'chivalry' will prompt them to deeds known only to those who have been robbed of their liberties."<sup>37</sup>

Not until June of 1864 did the Union begin enlistments for the U.S. Colored Troops at Camp Nelson in Jessamine County, Kentucky. By the end of the war, units were also formed in Columbus, Paducah, Covington, Louisville, Bowling Green, Maysville and Louisville.

On June 13, 1864, Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas (1804-1879) issued orders: "Recruiting of colored troops will take place in the State of Kentucky as rapidly as possible, and one or more officers will be placed in each county to receive the able-bodied colored men as they present themselves or are delivered by their owners. The unconditional Union men will, it is believed, cheerfully bring forward their slaves to assist in crushing the rebellion; and if others do not, it makes no difference, as all who present themselves for enlistment will be received and enlisted into the service of the United States."<sup>38</sup>

As orders were issued to form Black fighting units across the state that June, Frankfort was attacked by Confederate forces. The town had been captured and held by Confederates for a month in 1862 – the only Union capitol to fall to the Confederacy – until it was retaken by the Union Army. In June of 1864, Confederate troops' attempt to once again take Frankfort was repelled by the town's militia which included Governor Bramlette and state attorney general John Marshall Harlan.<sup>39</sup>

One year and five days after Bramlette, Hodges and Dixon met with President Lincoln, the Civil War ended with the surrender of Confederate forces at Appomattox, Virginia on April 9, 1865. *The Louisville Courier Journal*, in an editorial titled "The End," did not mention the end of slavery as it envisioned the future: "This glorious event virtually ends this bloody and melancholy war. The nation emerges in splendor from the great conflict. At home we shall soon have peace and prosperity again....Let all the wounds inflicted by war be healed in the balm of national pardon and love. Let the light of all-embracing peace envelop the whole broad land. They who were our brothers in the past are to be our brothers again. Civil war shall no more desolate our fields. As a free and mighty people, we shall dwell together in PEACE and UNION."<sup>40</sup>

In another five days, triumph turned to tragedy as President Lincoln was assassinated. Governor Bramlette issued a proclamation which was printed in the state's newspapers: PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY, COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, FRANKFORT, April 21, 1865: In view of the sad calamity which has fallen upon our country by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, it becomes us as a people to humble ourselves before a merciful God, and pray Him that the sin of our people, which has culminated in such great crime, be forgiven....For this purpose Thursday, the 25<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1865, is hereby appointed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On that day the people of Kentucky are invoked to suspend all secular business, and at the usual hour for service attend their respective places of worship...."<sup>41</sup> (The date was changed to June 1 to coincide with a national day of fasting and prayer declared by President Andrew Johnson.)

Underneath the governor's proclamation on the newspaper page was an article that reflected President Lincoln's legacy. "Negroes Enlisted in Kentucky" provided counts by counties and districts of "colored persons received into the United States service in the State of Kentucky, from April 1, 1864 to March 31, 1865 – totaling 19,333 people, including 243 from Franklin County. The article explained that the report "includes only volunteers. Those who were drafted or put in as substitutes are not included" because the Deputy Provost Marshal had "not reported them separately but mixed up with white men." The report concluded that when the accurate total was completed "it will increase the number to 25,000." The report reached further, enumerating estimates of soldiers mustered at camps across the state as well as in Tennessee, concluding that a total "number of slaves in service from Kentucky has been underestimated, and that the actual number is more than 33,000."<sup>42</sup>

Freedom for enslaved Blacks in Kentucky was not official until passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution in December of 1865 (Figure 2-6). Governor Bramlett unsuccessfully proposed the federal government make a \$34 million payment to former enslavers in return for the state's ratification of the amendment which abolished slavery – the first time the word "slavery" was used in the Constitution. On February 24, 1865, the Kentucky General Assembly, meeting in Frankfort, refused to endorse the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, one three states, including Delaware and Mississippi, which refused to ratify the amendment. The vote was overwhelming: 56-18 in the House and 23-10 in the Senate. <sup>43</sup> (Kentucky ratified the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1976.)

On New Year's Day of 1866, African Americans in Frankfort held a freedom celebration which included a brass band from Camp Nelson. Albert Gallatin Hodges was invited to speak to the crowd. Hodges told those gathered "what freedom was and in a few words counselled them to order, sobriety, obedience to law and a special faithfulness to constraints...." Ignoring the fact that those who were formerly enslaved had likely known nothing but labor throughout their lives, "he endeavored to impress on them the urgent necessity and blessing of labor."<sup>44</sup>

The war had ended, but the fight for equality and citizenship for African Americans in Frankfort and throughout the state of Kentucky had just begun.





Endnotes

- 1 <http://www.mrlincolnandfreedom.org/civil-war/military-initiatives/john-c-fremont-missouri/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- 2 Ibid
- 3 *Embattled Capital: Frankfort Kentucky in the Civil War*," James M. Prichard; Local Soldier Roster by Russell Hatter; Green Hill Cemetery by John Trowbridge; Editors: Nicky Hughes, Susan Hughes, Dr. Richard Taylor and Dr. Beth Van Allen, Frankfort Heritage Press, 2014
- 4 Ibid
- 5 <https://pa.cair.com/blog/thoughts-juneteenth/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- 6 *Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves*, Edward M. Post, B.A. LL.B., Taustine, Post, Sotsky, Berman, Fineman and Kohn law firm, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3, July 1985
- 7 [https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/LegislativeMoments/moments08RS/35\\_web\\_leg\\_moments.htm](https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/LegislativeMoments/moments08RS/35_web_leg_moments.htm), accessed March 10, 2022
- 8 "The Defeat of Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861," *The Journal of Negro History*, William T. McKinney, October 1916, Vol. 1, No 4, Association for the Study of African American Life and History and the University of Chicago Press
- 9 Ibid
- 10 "Border State Convention," *The Louisville Daily Courier*, Louisville, May 28, 1861
- 11 *The Negro's Civil War*, James M. McPherson, New York, Pantheon Books, 1965
- 12 *Embattled Capital: Frankfort Kentucky in the Civil War*," James M. Prichard; Local Soldier Roster by Russell Hatter; Green Hill Cemetery by John Trowbridge; Editors: Nicky Hughes, Susan Hughes, Dr. Richard Taylor and Dr. Beth Van Allen, Frankfort Heritage Press, 2014
- 13 <https://millercenter.org/president/fillmore/essays/crittenden-1850-attorney-general>, accessed March 10, 2022
- 14 1830 U.S. Federal Census for Frankfort, Franklin County, Kentucky; 1850 and 1860 U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedule for Franklin County, Kentucky district 1
- 15 "The Border State Convention: Addresses to the People of the United States and to the Citizens of Kentucky," *New York Times* June 9, 1861
- 16 Ibid
- 17 "The Defeat of Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861," *The Journal of Negro History*, William T. McKinney, October 1916, Vol. 1, No 4, Association for the Study of African American Life and History and the University of Chicago Press
- 18 *The Daily Memphis Avalanche*, Memphis, Tennessee, May 30, 1861
- 19 "The Border State Convention," *Daily Nashville Patriot*, Nashville, June 15, 1861
- 20 "The Border State Convention," *Brooklyn Evening Star*, Brooklyn, New York, June 13, 1861
- 21 "'The Weeds and The Flowers Are Closely Mixed': Allegiance, Law, And White Supremacy In Kentucky's Bluegrass Region, 1861-1865." Stephen Rockenbach, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 111, no. 4, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24641053>, accessed March 11, 2022
- 22 "The Civil War in Kentucky: The Slave Claims His Freedom," *Journal of Negro History*, Victor B. Howard, Fall, 1982
- 23 Ibid
- 24 "The Defeat of Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861," *The Journal of Negro History*, William T. McKinney, October 1916, Vol. 1, No 4, Association for the Study of African American Life and History and the University of Chicago Press
- 25 "Abraham Lincoln and the Recruitment of Black Soldiers," <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jala/2629860.0002.103/--abraham-lincoln-and-the-recruitment-of-black-soldiers?rgn=main;view=fulltext>, accessed March 14, 2022
- 26 "A Proclamation," Abraham Lincoln, President and William Seward, Secretary of State, January 1, 1863
- 27 "Hon. James C. Conklin," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, September 9, 1863
- 28 <https://www.lincolncollection.org/collection/categories/item/?cat=14&item=52522&page=68>, accessed March 14, 2022
- 29 "Resolutions," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, February 2, 1863
- 30 *The Owensboro Monitor*, February 11, 1863

- 31 "Kentucky's United States Colored Troops," Kentucky National Guard, John Trowbridge, February 23, 2022
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 "Secretary of War Report," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, December 10, 1862
- 35 "Civil War Governors," <http://discovery.civilwargovernors.org/thomas-e-bramlette-1863-1867>, accessed March 25, 2022
- 36 "Letter to Albert G. Hodges," *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler, editor
- 37 "Kentucky Consistency," *The Tipton Advertiser*, Tipton, Iowa, April 28, 1864
- 38 "United States Colored Troops," <https://www.nps.gov/cane/united-states-colored-troops.htm>, accessed March 25, 2022
- 39 "1864 Attack on Frankfort," Tim Talbott, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/497>, accessed March 27, 2022
- 40 "The End," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, April 11, 1865
- 41 "Proclamation of the Governor of Kentucky," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, April 30, 1865
- 42 "Negroes Enlisted in Kentucky," *The Louisville Daily Journal*, April 30, 1865
- 43 "Kentucky and the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment," <http://usslave.blogspot.com/2013/02/kentucky-and-13th-amendment.html>, accessed March 27, 2022
- 44 *Embattled Capital: Frankfort Kentucky in the Civil War*, James M. Prichard; Local Soldier Roster by Russell Hatter; Green Hill Cemetery by John Trowbridge; Editors: Nicky Hughes, Susan Hughes, Dr. Richard Taylor and Dr. Beth Van Allen, Frankfort Heritage Press, 2014

# SECTION II. HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

## Chapter Three: Reconstruction – 1865-1910

To: 42<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session  
April 11, 1871

*We would respectfully state that life, liberty, and property are unprotected among the colored race of this State. Organized bands of desperate and lawless men, mainly composed of soldiers of the late rebel armies, armed, disciplined, and disguised, and bound by oath and secret obligations, have, by force, terror, and violence, subverted all civil society among colored people... We believe you are not familiar with the description of the Ku Klux Klan's riding nightly over the country, going from county to county...spreading terror wherever they go by robbing, whipping, ravishing, and killing our people without provocation....*

### **A Committee Appointed at a Meeting of Colored Citizens of Frankfort, KY. and Vicinity**

**Henry Marrs, Teacher, Colored School**

**Henry Lynn, Livery Stable Keeper**

**H.H. Trumbo, Grocer**

**Samuel Demsey**

**B. Smith**

**B.J. Crampton, Barber <sup>1</sup>**

-----

*"Ku Klux Klan" Theatrical Production  
September 1913*

*The play, "Ku Klux Klan," is merely an incident of some of the outrages that were perpetrated by negroes through the help of the carpetbagger. There is nothing in the play to offend. It is just a cleverly constructed narrative of the workings of the Ku Klux Klan in showing the negro his proper place and keeping him there. Even to this day the mention of "Ku Klux" will cause an old negro to turn his head and look in every direction as if he expected to see one of the robed figures at his very elbow. The play is a wholesome one, with a moral in every line, and a lesson in every act, and one every southerner should see, a lesson for every school child and a monument to the honor of every member of that great organization "The Ku Klux Klan."<sup>2</sup>*

----

### **Frankfort's African American Society Grows**

In the years that followed the Civil War, Frankfort's newly freed and previously free Blacks and their descendants would meet overwhelming challenges to build a new society of neighborhoods, schools, churches, clubs, social services and occupations. Undergirding this change and growth was perhaps the most remarkable development of all – the emergence of a strong, united and fearless voice of African American women and men advocating for rights and opportunities as citizens of the United States.

These accomplishments were all the more remarkable because they were shaped out of a white-dominated world that offered a confusing array of support from some quarters and unrelenting - and often terrorizing - control from others.

During the 1860s, the population of Frankfort grew by 46 percent to 5,396 by 1870. Ten years later, the population had increased to over 6,958. During this decade, the Black population reached 2,335 or 43 percent of the city's population. African Americans established communities in North Frankfort and South Frankfort; each had homes, churches, schools, businesses and gathering places. The primarily Black community in North Frankfort was known as Crawfish Bottom or Craw, which referred to the crayfish, also known as crawfish or crawdaddies, found along the riverfront after periodic flooding. Over time, Craw stretched from the river east along the base of Fort Hill and along Mero and Clinton streets and the north side of the State Capitol toward the state prison at High Street.<sup>3</sup>

After the Civil War, Mary Carroll Freeze (1814-1874), (also spelled Fries and Freese) an Irish Catholic immigrant who settled in Frankfort in the 1840s, constructed several tenement houses along Ann, High and Mero streets near the city's original cemetery. Freeze rented the tenements to Black residents. Located in the eastern end of Craw, the neighborhood of African American rental houses became known as Freestown. Six tenements were located along the south side of East Clinton Street adjacent to the state prison and First Baptist Church. In 1873, these tenements were sold at auction to Black residents.<sup>4</sup>

As Frankfort grew in the 1870s and early 1880s, African Americans developed a neighborhood in South Frankfort. Located in the northeast corner along the river, the neighborhood was adjacent to the Hermitage Distillery that had operated there since 1868. Separated from the distillery by stone fences, the residential area was concentrated along Murray, East 2nd and East 3rd streets as well as intersecting alleys. By 1871, it contained around 20 homes. The neighborhood was bound on the north and south by riverside sawmills, planing mills and a slaughterhouse.<sup>5</sup>

By the early 1880s, the Black neighborhood in South Frankfort had around 50 homes. Several homes were constructed for former enslaved persons and veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops, including George Washington (c.1846-c.1908), a distillery worker at 222 East 2nd Street; Anthony Williams (1835-1900), a carpenter at 226 East 3rd Street; Elias Spaulding (1844-1907), a church sexton at 708 East 3rd Street; and Warren Green (b.1827) at 317 East 3rd Street. Many homes were two stories with outbuildings (all NRHP, 1983, 2008). Around 1886, Adolphus Dilger (1843-1910), a German immigrant, constructed a two-story grocery store at 216 Murray Street, near the center of the neighborhood.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to traditional work for African Americans – domestic labor for women and farming or early industrial labor for men – after the Civil War new types of occupations emerged. These included occupations such as teaching, the ministry, owning or working in a business, and construction among others.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, African Americans in Frankfort gained a newspaper targeted to their interests. *The Owensboro Messenger* reported on September 29, 1898: "The leading negroes of Frankfort are to start a weekly



Figure 3-1. Dr. Edward Ellsworth Underwood, 1900  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

paper here in the interest of their race. It will be called the *Blue Grass Bugle*. The articles of incorporation, with \$200 stock, were filed in the office of the secretary of state this morning. Dr. E.E. Underwood is to be editor and manager.”<sup>7</sup> Dr. Edward Ellsworth (E.E.) Underwood (1864-1942) served as editor until 1918 (Figure 3-1). Underwood was also a physician, minister and poet and later founded the Frankfort chapter of the NAACP. (A new high school in the 1920s was named in honor of William Mayo and E.E. Underwood – Mayo-Underwood High School.)<sup>8</sup> The newspaper was started and supported by a group of successful African American men in Frankfort including contractor and builder Thomas L. Brooks, William H. Mayo, Rev. A.R. Ward of St. John’s A.M.E. Church, and Rev. Robert Mitchell of First Baptist Church. The newspaper featured articles of local interest as well as national news<sup>9</sup>

Churches in Frankfort became a cornerstone of African American society after the Civil War. In August of 1865, representatives from 12 Baptist churches met in Louisville and formed the State Convention of Colored Baptists (renamed the General Association of Colored Baptists in 1873). Peter Smith of Frankfort was named treasurer. A year later the second session was held at First Baptist Church in Frankfort and included an address from the General Association of White Baptists. An early idea of the organization was to establish a school for training ministers. Louisville won out over Frankfort by one vote, 25 to 24.<sup>10</sup> (Simmons College of Kentucky is an HBCU – Historically Black College and University – which continues to operate in Louisville. The organization is headquartered in Louisville and now named the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky.)



Figure 3-2. First Baptist Church  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

One of the earliest churches was the First Baptist Church, organized in 1833 (Figure 3-2). At the close of the Civil War, the church was one of 17 independent churches (not under the supervision of a white church) in the state. In May 1898, the congregation purchased a lot at 370 High Street for \$4,000 from Kate M. Rogers (1844-1924), a widow, for a new church. Deed records document the congregation paid \$1,000 up front with \$1500 due on May 10, 1899, and \$1,500 to be paid on May 10, 1900. They were not allowed to take possession until paying off the total price in 1900.<sup>11</sup> The lien was released August 10, 1900, and the congregation took possession of the corner lot. In 1901, the Rogers' house was demolished— she retained three mantels - and cleared the parcel for building a new sanctuary at 100 West Clinton Street, across from the Governor's Mansion and one block west of their church at 132 East Clinton Street.

In September 1901, as work began on a new church, city police arrested the contractor, who was white, and three members of church's board of trustees, accusing them of building without a permit. The governor and adjacent property owners opposed construction of the church, declaring it a public nuisance. The congregation hired local attorneys James Hervey Hazelrigg and James Andrew Scott and the case entered the courts, climbing to the Kentucky Court of Appeals which ruled in favor of the church. A newspaper report stated the church "won out on Saturday last, the Court of Appeals holding the city ordinance forbidding the contemplated building to be unconstitutional."<sup>12</sup> Court of Appeals Judge J.D. White later commented "It was the first time in all his experience on the bench that he ever heard of a church of Jesus Christ being denounced as a nuisance." In July of 1907, the church announced "...these humble people are going to arise and build their new church."<sup>13</sup> The building was completed in 1908.

In 1876, as a result of a split in the congregation of First Baptist, a new church, First Independent Baptist Church, was formed. The congregation met in a school until the mid-1880s when a Gothic Revival-influenced building was constructed on East Clinton Street. Rev. R.H.C. Mitchell's leadership was credited with the congregation's progress and, upon his departure in 1890, the *Frankfort Roundabout* stated: "...they have the finest built colored church in the city."<sup>14</sup> In 1891 came an announcement of a "big rally day" which raised "quite a large sum towards paying off the church debt." The church also announced: "The first baptizing that was ever performed in a pool inside of a colored church in Frankfort will be administered by Rev. Credit Sunday night."<sup>15</sup>

In 1893, the church's name was changed to First Corinthian Baptist Church (later changed again to the present-day First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church). The announcement also noted: "Quite a revival of interest in church work has been brought about by their new pastor, Rev. B. W. Farris, who has a large congregation every Sunday. Opera chairs are to replace the old pews and the interior of the church is to be otherwise improved."<sup>16</sup> Later that year, the will of Jennie Mosby (no additional information was provided but likely a church member) directed "that a lot on Murray Street owned by her be sold and the proceeds, with the exception of ten dollars, be paid to the Corinthian Baptist Church to be used in liquidating the church debt."<sup>17</sup>

Around 1890, the congregation of Grace Methodist Episcopal Community Church constructed a one-story frame sanctuary at 315 East 3rd Street in South Frankfort. Established in 1880 as the first and only Black church in South Frankfort, the congregation initially met in private homes. In 1923, the congregation hired Thomas L. Brooks, a local Black contractor, to build a new church at this location. It was Brooks' final commission before he died that year.<sup>18</sup>

In 1893, St. John's A.M.E. Church, originally organized in 1839, completed a new building on the corner of Clinton and Lewis Streets (Figure 3-3). Moses Davis, an instructor of Mechanical Arts at Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, is credited as the architect for the Gothic-style building.<sup>19</sup> In September of 1892 the *Frankfort Roundabout* reported: "The Colored Methodist Church on the old jail lot...is under roof and exteriorly approaching completion. This is one of the handsomest church edifices for colored persons in the state and in fact will present a most favorable contrast with the leading church buildings here for white people."<sup>20</sup> In November of 1892 it was reported:

“Though the handsome new colored Methodist Church is not quite finished it was dedicated Sunday with imposing services. There were five meetings of the congregation during the day and night, at each of which the church was filled to overflowing. Many white people were present to participate in the dedication.”<sup>21</sup>

The Green Hill Colored School opened in 1890 outside of Frankfort’s city limits. Located near the Green Hill Cemetery, which was established in 1865, in 1891 the schoolhouse also became a house of worship - the Green Hill Colored Baptist Church.<sup>22</sup> The first pastor was Rev. Arnold Walker (1866-1926) from Louisville, followed by Rev. Alfred W. Harris (1862-1927), an African American clergyman from Georgetown in Scott County. Rev. Harris was licensed to preach in 1886 and ordained in 1893. The church was destroyed by fire during a service in December 1920. The following year, the congregation built a new church at the site on Greenhill Avenue. The congregation conducted baptisms at nearby Black’s Pond.<sup>23</sup> In the 1960s, the congregation changed its name to Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church.



Figure 3-3. St. John’s A.M.E. Church  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

### ***Threats of Violence***

Although there had been an active emancipation movement in Kentucky as early as 1815 and the state had – while declaring itself neutral – largely supported the Union cause, as the Civil War came to a close Kentucky’s enslavers clung to the dying institution with as many as 70,000 people still enslaved in 1865 until the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery at the end of that year.<sup>24</sup> It was these remnants of slavery, the dashed expectations of some white former enslavers that they had supported the Union with the understanding that slavery would be preserved, white people’s fears of a newly freed Black population, the return of Confederate soldiers who took control of the state’s political systems, and the growing nostalgia for a lost cause that transitioned Kentucky from a predominately Union-supporting stronghold into a state sympathetic to the Confederacy in the decades after the Civil War.

A report in the *Louisville Daily Journal* in April of 1865 reflects this mindset. The report of “Negroes Enlisted in Kentucky” in the U.S. military includes charts showing enlistment numbers for each county. The article states: “Estimates show that the number of slaves in the service from Kentucky has been underestimated” (the article does not acknowledge free Blacks serving in



the military). The article concludes: "Add to this the large number who left their homes and are loitering about, including women and children, we may safely put the slaves lost to the farming interest in Kentucky at 45,000."<sup>25</sup>

In Frankfort, *Kentucky Yeoman* editor J. Stoddard Johnson (1833-1913) informed his readers in 1867 "to remember they have been robbed of more than one hundred million (dollars) of slave property."<sup>26</sup> Johnson was an attorney who had served in the Confederate army, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel and would later write a book detailing Kentucky's Confederate military history.

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, well-to-do white citizens in Frankfort had meshed veterans from the Union and Confederacy into one narrative of brave soldiers fighting for their country. A book written in 1922 detailing the families of an area of town dubbed Corner in Celebrities seeks to tell the stories of "some noble old houses which sheltered sires and sons whose deeds brought fame and everlasting glory to Kentucky." The book gives equal accolades to the military service of men who fought on opposing sides and now lived in the same neighborhood.<sup>27</sup>

For those Black men who served in the U.S. Colored Troops, the war presented new opportunities for freedom, economic gain and respect from white soldiers and citizens – opportunities which were sometimes realized but more often not. Following the war, some units continued in service, both at posts in Kentucky – as martial law remained in effect through 1867 – and in other states.<sup>28</sup>

The long-term, sometimes condescending, esteem for Black soldiers by some white persons is reflected in an obituary from 1906 for Levi Berry (1841-1906). Headlined "Honorable and Upright Colored Man Passes Away," the article states that Berry was better known as "Uncle Levi" and was "universally popular because of his integrity and fair dealing." Berry owned a farm where he raised fruits and vegetables which he sold on the streets of Frankfort. The article notes "He was a brave soldier during the civil war" and was a member of the George W. Monroe Post, G.A.R." (an African American post in Frankfort).<sup>29</sup> Berry had self-emancipated from a farm in Taylor County and in 1864 enlisted for three years of service in the 107<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry, later relocating to Frankfort. (Berry was a member of Green Hill Colored Baptist Church and is buried in Green Hill Cemetery.)<sup>30</sup>

For those who were not in the military, the first priorities were the rights of citizenship - safety, sustenance, education and a place to call home. Safety quickly became tenuous as white citizens formed vigilante forces which used violence to ensure a subservient status of Blacks. An instance recorded in a history of Franklin County occurred in May of 1866 when an African American boy, accused of assaulting a seven-year-old white girl, was "taken from the jail by a mob and hung." The account matter-of-factly reports: "The hanging was done without any excitement or disorder. A merited punishment was speedily administered, an example was set...the women and girls of Franklin County must be protected." The account, written in 1912, further reports that in the past 50 years, no African Americans had been tried in court for criminal assault and it would not be likely to happen in the next 50 years. Justifying mob attacks, the author insists "Such crimes arouse a natural indignation, and the general public demands an immediate execution...."<sup>31</sup>

A second lynching in 1868 brought the head of the Good Shepherd Catholic Parish into the aftermath. A mob of Irish and Catholic men surrounded the jail, located behind the courthouse and next to the Catholic church, where a Black man accused of assaulting a white woman was held. Father Lambert Young was summoned and pleaded with the men to leave. Ignoring the priest, the mob seized the Black man and hung him. As Kentucky was under jurisdiction of the U.S. Court, the U.S. marshal arrested more than a dozen men – all were released following a hearing. Father Young was briefly jailed after he was subpoenaed and refused to testify, citing his presence at the jail "solely because of my priestly character."<sup>32</sup>

The intent to control Black people through terror became organized by 1870 with the formation of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Franklin County. Originally formed in 1865 by a group of Confederate veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Ku Klux Klan grew quickly throughout the South. The KKK operated as an open secret as men who were well known in their communities donned white sheets and covered their faces, riding through the countryside to terrorize Blacks with cross burnings, beatings and lynchings. The emergence of the KKK and other terrorist groups coincided with passage of Constitutional amendments and laws guaranteeing the rights of citizenship to African Americans.

The Civil Rights Bill of 1866 was the first piece of legislation passed by Congress following the Civil War to address citizenship, declaring “all persons born in the United States,” with the exception of American Indians, were “hereby declared to be citizens of the United States.” The legislation granted all citizens the “full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property.”<sup>33</sup>

The Civil Rights Bill of 1866 was a bridge between the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, passed in December of 1865, and the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution which became law in 1868 and granted citizenship to formerly enslaved people: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States.” The amendment also guaranteed protection: “nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”<sup>34</sup>



Figure 3-4. Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution  
Source: Library of Congress

The 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in February of 1870 and had two parts (Figure 3-4). The first gave African American men the right to vote: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The second part gave Congress the power to "enforce this article by appropriate legislation."<sup>35</sup>

Prior to passage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, Kentucky newspapers published articles and editorials considering what it would mean to the state. One article, calling the amendment "a delusion of some sort," predicted "when the Fifteenth Amendment becomes a sealed book there will be an end to the legal artifices in behalf of the civil and political status of the negro. He has been made a free man, a citizen and a voter." But, the piece cautioned, "To take another step in advance is impossible in law. The very next step beyond is an invasion of human nature."<sup>36</sup>

Shortly after passage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the first recorded action of the KKK in Franklin County was preventing Black men from voting. "Out of forty-five colored voters in the Baldknob precinct all of them were driven away except Abe Dodson. He was the only negro voter in that section of the country for more than a quarter of a century."<sup>37</sup> (No explanation as to why Dodson was allowed to vote was given.)

The ability of Blacks to vote was the target of violence in other Kentucky communities as well. In September of 1870, a report came from Lancaster of a group of men "supposed to be Ku Klux" who took a man from his home "whether to hang him or not is not certainly known." The article states that the "Republican committee...had just closed a meeting...and some of them started in pursuit..." The article concludes by attributing the entire incident to voting: "It is supposed by some of our citizens that the Ku Klux had nothing to do with the affair, and that the whole thing was an electioneering trick to get all the negro votes."<sup>38</sup>

Questions about suffrage and political engagement for African American men began soon after the Civil War ended. On January 7, 1867, the Kentucky General Assembly, controlled by Democrats, rejected the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment by a vote of 62-26 and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 by a vote of 24-7.<sup>39</sup> The action was an early step toward Kentucky's transition into a Southern-Confederate sympathizing state. Legislators said they objected to the amendment because it was passed by Congress without representation from Southern states. (Kentucky ratified the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments in 1976.) In February of 1867, the Kentucky Senate, meeting in Frankfort, made their objections clear, passing a resolution declaring the people of the state were "unalterably opposed to negro suffrage."<sup>40</sup> Also during the legislative session, the General Assembly passed a resolution in support of President Andrew Johnson, lauding his "opposition to the revolutionary schemes of the radical majority in Congress...by his rejection of more than despotic powers tendered him by passage of the Civil Rights bill, Freedman's Bureau bill, and similar measures...."<sup>41</sup>

Kentucky's newspapers quickly filled with articles and editorials about the proposed amendments and other federal laws which would enable the citizenship rights of Blacks. A Louisville newspaper printed a letter from John W. Foley, editor of the *Philadelphia Press* which asked: "How long, in the face of such influences (laws) can Kentucky, Delaware and Maryland resist the truth? Is it possible that the American Congress can find authority in the Constitution to guarantee suffrage and all its resulting blessings to the negroes of the seceded sections and yet be incapable of bestowing the same advantages upon the negroes in the three Commonwealths that were only kept out of treason by Union residents white and black?" The newspaper's editor responded: "We can assure Mr. Foley that he will not live long enough to know how long Kentucky can resist what he calls the trust, which is the new name for negro suffrage. She (Kentucky) at least is a sovereign state of the Union, and the process which makes her anything else will shatter this government to fragments, and leave it wrecked and lost."<sup>42</sup>

After the war ended, Kentucky's Republican party leaders struggled with the issue of suffrage. Initially opposed to voting rights, the party recognized the need for the votes of Black men when the 1867 state elections were an overwhelming victory for Democrats. Change came slowly, however, and at the 1868 Republican state convention in Frankfort, Black delegates were refused seats.<sup>43</sup>

By 1868, Black male leadership was emerging in the cause of Black male suffrage with meetings and rallies held across the state. The emergence of Black male leadership brought with it a new array of questions and considerations which would become priorities in the years to come: How would Black leaders respond to accusations that they wanted social equality with whites? What about Black men who wanted to run for elected office? To which white political leaders and parties would they pledge support and allegiance? How would they respond to terrorism and intimidation by whites opposed to their progress? What other rights – including testifying in court and securing an education – would they advocate for?

H.H. Trumbo, a Black grocer in Frankfort, told the local newspaper: "The case (for civil rights) seems dark, but we are aware that the darkest hour is just before day."<sup>44</sup>

Anticipating passage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment (which occurred in February of 1870), a group of African American men met in Frankfort in January of 1870 and resolved that when they got the right to vote they would use it "judiciously and with becoming dignity" and pledged support to the Republican party. The group then called for a Colored Men's State Convention to meet in Frankfort on February 23, 1870. (The first convention had been held in Lexington in 1866.) With attendance from the majority of Kentucky's counties, delegates agreed to form a Negro Republican party which would ally with white Republicans.<sup>45</sup>

Among the speakers at the convention was Rev. T.F. Boaz of Frankfort. Boaz and another speaker assured listeners that they were not interested in social equality with white people, a position that would become problematic in future years. An Indiana newspaper report on the convention began: "We presume the colored people know what they want – at least, they know what to expect from the Fifteenth Amendment. If the statements of their public speakers can be relied on, they do not expect nor desire social equality. At the colored convention held last month in Frankfort, Kentucky, several very able speeches were made by colored men, who declared very emphatically what their race desired and expected." The report continued "Rev. T. F. Boaz, of Frankfort, made an eloquent speech, in the course of which he referred to the social equality question. He said he did not endorse it. He only wanted *civil equality* (italics included)." The report concluded "This secured, they will be content."<sup>46</sup>

Delegates also took the opportunity to lambast the state's Democratic party for "their refusal to admit colored testimony in the courts, in depriving them of any part of their school fund, in imposing an additional poll tax of two dollars on each colored male, in discriminating against them in the Homestead law, in refusing to protect their life, liberty and property, and in stirring up the enemy against them...."<sup>47</sup>

The convention was also the scene of an attack on one of the attendees. The *Frankfort Commonwealth* reported: "On Wednesday evening last, while the colored convention was in session, a Negro named George Mukes was stabbed by Robert L. Henderson, a white citizen of this city." The article explains that Henderson had been drinking and stabbed the first Black man who exited the meeting hall. Although the article condescendingly refers to Mukes as an "industrious, inoffensive boy," Mukes was at least 30 years old in 1870. Once enslaved in Anderson County, Mukes had self-emancipated and enlisted in the U.S. Colored Calvary in 1864, serving until 1866.<sup>48</sup> (Mukes is buried in Green Hill Cemetery, and his name is listed in the Colored Soldiers Monument.)

In May of 1870, the Republican State Central Committee, claiming full credit for passage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, appointed a group of African American men to travel the state to explain the rights granted by the amendment. Speakers included Henry Marrs, a teacher at a Frankfort school for Black students.<sup>49</sup>

As Black men in Frankfort sought to invoke their Constitutional rights by voting in August of 1871, violence broke out and two white men were killed, allegedly by two Black men. African American Henry Washington (1840-1871) was arrested, charged with inciting a riot and taken to jail. That evening, a mob of more than 250 men seized Washington and another Black man being held for an accused rape and lynched them. Newspapers reported the lynching in graphic detail, noting that the state militia “by a preconcerted plan went off duty,” and soon “an ominous crowd of masked men” agreed that “one party should take possession of the courthouse to prevent the ringing of the bell, and the other party to proceed to the front and rear of the jail.” After lynching the first man, “Henry Washington was the next victim: with the rope around his neck, he was marched alongside a tree, where one of the leaders threw the rope to an overhanging limb; then came the awful ceremonies of the regularly organized bands that prowl the state committing deeds of violence. After keeping the poor negro in a state of suspense for a few moments a voice was heard to say ‘May the Lord have mercy on your soul...’ At the closing of the last sentence Henry Washington was jerked from his feet into the air, where he remained suspended until his last breath had passed away....”<sup>50</sup>

Accounts of Henry Washington’s lynching appeared in newspapers across the country, most often identifying him as “rioter Henry Washington.” As with most reports of lynchings during this era, the article did not provide any evidence that he had started or engaged in a riot. They also did not present any information about who Henry Washington really was – a formerly enslaved man and a veteran of the Civil War. Washington had been enslaved by Adam Calderwood Keenon (1799-1883) and worked on his farm. Washington self-emancipated and served as an infantryman in the 28<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry and fought at the Battle of the Crater and at Petersburg, Virginia against Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s troops. Following the war, the unit moved to Texas to protect the border during French intervention with Mexico. Washington mustered out on November 8, 1865 at Corpus Christi, Texas. Records show he owed the U.S. government \$3.75 for clothing, \$6 for arms and equipment and \$30 for a bounty to be paid to his enslaver.<sup>51</sup> Unlike white soldiers, Black soldiers were required to pay for their uniforms. Records do not indicate a requirement to pay for arms and equipment, so this charge is unclear.<sup>52</sup> After leaving military service, Washington returned to Frankfort where he worked as a barber and lived at a boarding house with three other single Black men who worked as shoemakers.<sup>53</sup>

In another account about the lynchings, Frankfort was lambasted for the city’s violence. In an article headlined “The Mob Rule and Reign of Blood at Frankfort,” the writer declared: “The mob spirit is in the ascendancy at Frankfort, and the civil power degraded and helpless. The reports being telegraphed from Frankfort of threatened violence on the part of the negroes are unfounded. The only violence at all likely is the violence of the mob against the negroes as a class, provided by incendiary appeals and threats, by violent articles in the newspapers and upon the knowledge that the civil authorities are helpless. What a history of blood for the capital of Kentucky and the government of the Democratic party! Law and order defied, and the spirit of the mob in the ascendant.”<sup>54</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan continued its reign of terror in Franklin County, unchecked by local or state law enforcement. Among the recorded incidents, the KKK searched a house for “a negro named Freeman Garrett, but failing to find him, they shot two other negroes” who were living there. The report also notes the KKK “visited Mr. John R. Gay’s place and whipped some of his servants.”<sup>55</sup>

In January 1871, the Ku Klux Klan attacked a train transporting an African American U.S. mail carrier near Frankfort. The mail clerk, a federal employee, was severely beaten and left for dead. When the local sheriff refused to investigate the attack, the U.S. Post Office suspended mail service through Frankfort.<sup>56</sup>

protect us, and that will enable us to exercise the rights of citizens. We see that the Senator from this State denies there being organized bands of desperadoes in the State; for information, we lay before you a number of violent acts, occurred during his administration. Although he, Stevenson, says half a dozen instances of violence did occur, these are not more than one-half the acts that have occurred. The democratic party has here a political organization composed only of democrats; not a single republican can join them. Where many of these acts have been committed, it has been proven that they were the men, done with arms from the State arsenal. We pray you will take some steps to remedy these evils.

Done by a committee of grievances appointed at a meeting of all the colored citizens of Frankfort and vicinity.

HENRY MARRS,  
*Teacher Colored School,*  
HENRY LYNN,  
*Livery Stable Keeper,*  
H. H. TRUMBO, *Grocer,*  
SAMUEL DEMSEY,  
B. SMITH,  
B. J. CRAMPTON, *Barber,*  
*Committee.*

Figure 3-5. Memorial of the Citizens of Frankfort, Ky.  
Source: Public Domain

Failing to receive any support from the Kentucky General Assembly, in April of 1871 a delegation of African American men petitioned the Senate and House of Representatives of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Congress for federal protection. Committee members listed on the petition were Henry Marrs, Teacher Colored School; Henry Lynn, Livery Stable Keeper; H.H. Trumbo, Grocer; Samuel Demsey, B. Smith, and B.J. Crampton, Barber. Titled "Memorial of a Committee Appointed at a Meeting of Colored Citizens of Frankfort, Ky., and Vicinity, Praying the enactment of laws for the protection of life," the petition described conditions in Kentucky: "organized bands of desperate and lawless men....have by force, terror and violence, subverted all civil society among colored people" and "the Ku Klux Klan riding nightly over the country...spreading terror wherever they go by robbing, whipping, ravishing, and killing our people without provocation." The petition further noted that Black people were not allowed to testify in state courts and had been driven from the polls and refused the right to vote: "many have been slaughtered while attempting to vote." The petition included a list of 116 "acts of violence" that had occurred between 1867 and 1870 throughout the state. The request was blunt: "We appeal to you as law abiding citizens to enact some laws that will protect us, and that will enable us to exercise the rights of citizens" (Figure 3-5).<sup>57</sup>

The timing of the address from the Frankfort delegation to the 42<sup>nd</sup> Congress coincided with a request from President Ulysses S. Grant to Congress for additional power to combat these forms of domestic terrorism. Congress took action, passing the Enforcement Act in May of 1871, the third in a series of laws to combat the Ku Klux Klan, and forming a joint committee to investigate terrorism in Southern states. The act gave the president the authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus (to imprison without a trial) and to use the federal military to enforce constitutional rights.<sup>58</sup> Congress had already passed two Enforcement Acts. The first, passed in May of 1870, prohibited groups from gathering or "to go in disguise" with the purpose of violating citizens' constitutional rights. The second, passed in February of 1871, placed administration of national elections under federal control and empowered federal judges and marshals to oversee local elections.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 3-6. Frankfort Military Barracks  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

The federal government took an additional step in Frankfort. A notice in the *Frankfort Commonwealth* on November 10, 1871 read: "A.G. Brawner (Alexander Brawner) is now engaged in erecting three brick barracks on the Coleman Spring lot which will be leased to the U.S. for the use of Federal troops for two years." The military complex consisted of two rows of three barracks separated by a central parade ground. Several of the one-story buildings featured raised basements for service spaces such as kitchens, cellars, commissary storerooms and mess halls. The complex also featured a guardhouse, bakery and hospital (Figure 3-6).<sup>60</sup> Soldiers arrived in April of 1871 and lived in tents until the barracks were completed in December at the Frankfort Military Post (NRHP, 1975, 2008) along Shelby Street in South Frankfort. Troops, including the 4<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry and 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, remained until 1876 to protect African American citizens in Frankfort.<sup>61</sup>

In 1873, the Kentucky General Assembly finally passed legislation directed at the Ku Klux Klan. The act prohibited circulation of "any threatening notice or letter" and forbade two or more people from appearing "armed or disguised" or gathering for the "purpose of intimidating, alarming, or disturbing any person or persons." The governor was authorized to offer a reward of up to \$500 to apprehend offenders, and to fine any "sheriff or peace officers" who refused to "discharge any of the duties imposed on him by this act."<sup>62</sup>

In the next few years, despite the federal and state government's actions, the Ku Klux Klan continued to operate in Kentucky and would experience resurgences throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Klan became most active in the state's bluegrass region, including Frankfort, Lexington and Louisville. In 1874, the *New York Times* reported on Kentucky's violence against Blacks: "From no State in the South today come such frequent and continuous reports of brutal murders and whipping by the Ku Klux and other secret organizations."<sup>63</sup>

Efforts continued through the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to prevent Black men from voting. In an 1897 article headlined “Fatal Riot in Frankfort,” the *New York Times* reported on violence related to a “colonization scheme.” The report began: “One of the bloodiest election riots which ever took place in Kentucky was witnessed on the streets of this quiet little capital town between 12 and 2 o’clock this morning.” Noting that four people were killed and two were wounded, the article reported the “Democrats had undertaken to colonize some twenty-five or thirty negroes” and “some friends attempted to thwart their scheme.”<sup>64</sup> The writer chose the word “colonize” when, in reality, the intention was to kidnap the group of Black men and take them away from Frankfort to prevent them from voting. A history of the county written in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century filled in the details “The Republicans, white and colored....all of them well armed, started out to release the negroes who had been collected at the barn....The Republicans undertook to stop the wagon (carrying the men) and the shooting commenced.”<sup>65</sup>

### ***The Portals of Knowledge Shall Be Opened***

“I rejoice in that the prospect is so bright for the coming of that day when in every county, township, and village of this beautiful and rich Commonwealth the portals of knowledge shall be opened,” declared Professor J. M. Maxwell, Vice President of the newly formed Colored Teachers’ State Educational Association, to the State Colored Educational Convention in Frankfort in 1877.<sup>66</sup>

These optimistic words came in the midst of a concerted struggle to provide high-quality, well-funded schools for African Americans in Frankfort and throughout Kentucky. Some accounts indicate there had been efforts to establish schools for Black children in Frankfort as early as 1820, and in 1859, William Gibson Sr. (1829-1906), an African American educator from Louisville, opened a grammar school in Frankfort which closed when the Civil War began.<sup>67</sup>

Prior to the Civil War, emancipation organizations often stressed the importance of educating enslaved persons to prepare them for freedom. In 1836, when former Senator John Brown and a committee of men prepared a document asking the Presbyterian Church to support emancipation, they emphasized education in the title: *An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky Proposing a Plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of Their Slaves*. The authors asserted that one of the evils of the institution of slavery is “It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance” and “The acquisition of knowledge requires the facilities of books, teachers, and time...If slaves are educated, it must involve some outlay on the part of the master. And what reliance for such a sacrifice can be placed on the generosity and virtue of one who looks on them as his property....?” The address concludes with a set of recommendations for emancipation including “We recommend that our slaves be instructed in the common elementary branches of education.”<sup>68</sup>

No records have been found to indicate if the recipients of the address implemented the recommendations (with the exception of John Brown who did arrange for the emancipation of those he enslaved), but work to establish schools for African Americans in Frankfort appears to have begun in earnest following the Civil War.

In the 1866 session, the Kentucky General Assembly passed a law providing for taxes derived from a five-cent levy on the property of Blacks and mulattoes to be divided equally to care for Black paupers and for the education of Black students. Funds collected in the first year totaled slightly over \$5,600.<sup>69</sup>

After one year, the law was repealed and replaced with legislation titled “An Act for the Benefit of Negroes and Mulattoes of the Commonwealth.” The act provided for collection of taxes from African American and mulatto men with an additional tax of two dollars for every man over the age of 18 to “be applied exclusively to the support of negro and mulatto paupers and the education of negro and mulatto children in the county in which it was collected.” The law revised the distribution of funds, placing education first and the remaining funds to assist paupers.<sup>70</sup>



The law was changed again the following year, placing funds first for paupers, including funds already collected under the 1867 act. In Franklin County there was almost no money left for schools. In 1870, the Kentucky General Assembly repealed all of the acts and made no provisions for schools for African Americans. The state did not take action on schools for African Americans again until 1874.<sup>71</sup>

Schools in Frankfort were not established through funds collected in any of the state's legislation but were part of a statewide project of the Freedmen's Bureau (U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) which resulted in more than 200 schools for African Americans in Kentucky between 1866 and 1870.<sup>72</sup>

The Freedmen's Bureau was created by Congress in 1865, over the objections of President Andrew Johnson, to aid newly freed Blacks and operated a number of programs between 1866 and 1872 including the establishment of schools. Because Kentucky had not seceded, the act creating the Freedmen's Bureau did not technically apply to the state. When Major General Clinton B. Fisk, (1828-1980), head of the Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee, learned that the Kentucky General Assembly had failed to approve the 13th Amendment to the Constitution or to eliminate the state's slave code, he recommended that a Kentucky Freedmen's Bureau be organized as part of the Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau. Fisk's report to the federal bureau office called Kentuckians "the meanest, un-subjugated, and unreconstructed rascally rebellious revolutionists." Securing approval, the bureau was established with Reverend Thomas K. Noble appointed as chaplain and chief superintendent charged with educating 37,000 children and nearly 250,000 adults across the state who were formerly enslaved.<sup>73</sup>

In 1867, Freedmen schools were authorized for Frankfort, Louisville, Covington, and Paducah. A 25 x 40-foot school building was constructed in Frankfort on Mero Street in Craw, and by 1868, there was a Freedmen's School sponsored by the Episcopal Church and a second school underwritten by the Freedmen's Bureau. Although there were acts of terror in other parts of the state, including school burnings and harassment of teachers, there do not appear to have been any incidents in Frankfort.<sup>74</sup>

A Kentucky State Superintendent's Report in 1869 listed the two schools in Frankfort. The schools each had two African American teachers, listed as G. Ford, E. Miles, Henry Marrs and Mattie Anderson. Enrollment totaled 112 males and 95 females with 32 students over the age of 16. The report gave an indication of the school's curriculum by listing the number of students engaged in learning the alphabet, spelling, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic and needlework. The report included an entry for the number "free before the War" – the answer for Frankfort's schools was 14.<sup>75</sup>

Although the Freedmen's Bureau existed until 1872, Kentucky's regional offices closed sooner. The bureau's education division closed in 1870, leaving Frankfort and other communities with the responsibility of operating schools for African Americans.

In 1871, former Freedmen's school teacher Mattie Anderson opened the Frankfort Female High School with her own money. Located at 209 West Clinton Street in Craw, the school's purpose was to train teachers.<sup>76</sup> In an 1893 publication by African American physician, writer and activist Monroe Alphas Majors (1864-1960), *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities*, a brief entry about Anderson read: "Miss Mattie E. Anderson, principal, female seminary, Frankfort, Ky., ranks very high as a teacher and disciplinarian. Mrs. Sarah G. Jones of Cincinnati says of her: 'Miss Anderson has labored faithfully for years in Kentucky and has assisted much in elevating the educational interests of our people in the locality where she resides. Such influence as she exerts cannot, however, be confined to a narrow limit, but asserts itself positively in every direction for good.'"<sup>77</sup>

With the demise of Freedmen's Bureau funding and the repeal of state laws to provide funds for schools, African American leaders began to organize and advocate for support for education. The first Kentucky State Colored Educational Convention was held in Louisville in 1869.<sup>78</sup> Another convention was held in 1875 in Fayette County. The meetings focused on planning for the future of education for African Americans and to develop strategies to secure funding from the Kentucky General Assembly.<sup>79</sup>

At the Colored Men's State Convention, held in Frankfort in February of 1870, attendees created a Committee on Education "to wait on the Legislature and petition for measures to promote the education of the colored race. They were received by (House of Representatives) Speaker (John T.) Bunch who expressed a desire to cooperate in their wishes and suggested that the committee be continued for consultation in the future, which was done by the Convention."<sup>80</sup>

Funding for schools for African Americans became a political battle between the state's Republican and Democratic parties by 1870. In May of that year, with Democrats in control of Kentucky's government, the Republican party issued a reprimand at its convention in Frankfort: "We arraign the so-called Democratic party of Kentucky because it has failed of the high and solemn duty of a government in not making adequate provision for the education of all children in the state." The Republican State Central Committee then requested "such action as will set aside a proportionate share of the educational fund for the purpose of properly schooling the colored children." An editorial response scoffed at the Republican party's actions: "And say if it can bear any other construction than that the radicals will admit the negroes to the school fund of the state in the event they come into power?"<sup>81</sup>

Not until 1874 did the Kentucky General Assembly act, passing legislation creating a uniform system of common schools for African Americans. The impetus for this development was the offer of \$60,000 from the federal government to support the effort. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Howard A.M. Henderson (1836-1912), a former Confederate general who opposed "mixing" whites with "ignorant" Africans, nonetheless took the bait.<sup>82</sup> As a result, the Kentucky General Assembly passed an act requiring "Negroes (to) finance their own schools by taxing them and using all their taxes for support of their schools." Although regulations for setting up the school system mirrored schools for white children, funding was much less for schools for Black children. Data from 1874-1882 shows the funds available for the state's school system ranged from 30 cents to 58 cents per Black child while the amount available per white child ranged from \$1.25 to \$1.90. During these years, school attendance by Black children across the state increased from 37,414 in 1872 to 74,432 in 1882. By the end of the first year, 452 districts in 93 counties reported schools. By 1882, 844 districts in 110 counties reported schools.<sup>83</sup>

With the establishment of schools for African American children throughout the state, the need for trained and certified Black teachers increased. Berea College graduated many Black teachers, but not enough to meet the demand. To address the issue as well as the need for school funding, the State Colored Educational Convention met in the Franklin County Courthouse in Frankfort in August of 1877. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Henderson addressed the convention, stating the purpose of organizing under Common School laws an educational association "whose aim should be to secure an improvement of the teachers by union of effort, and also to ascertain the real wants of the colored race, and to respectfully lay before the Legislature of Kentucky the necessities and desires of the colored citizens."<sup>84</sup> Convention attendees agreed to form the Colored Teachers State Association, making Kentucky the first state in the South to form a Black teachers association.<sup>85</sup>

Of the 41 members of the new association, 14 were from Frankfort including teachers, trustees and honorary members: T.G. Thompson, C.V. Farris, Mattie Anderson, Sarah Smith, Katy Thomas, Lizzie Hocker, G. Hollins, G.H. Steamer, Rev. R. Martin, Rev. James Parris, and Peter Smith. Elected

as officers were J.H. (John) Jackson, principal of a school in Lexington, president; J.M. Maxwell of Louisville, vice president; C.C. Vaughn of Russellville, secretary; and Peter Smith of Frankfort, treasurer.<sup>86</sup>

Addressing convention attendees, J.M. Maxwell cited the success of convincing white citizens in Louisville to fund schools for Black children: "It seems to be an opinion of some of our people that, as the property of the county school districts is owned chiefly by the white citizens, they will not consent to be taxed for the purpose of providing funds for the liberal education of colored children. Such is certainly not true of the city of Louisville, and I believe that there are good men – warm-hearted, philanthropic men – in every school district in the state, who need only to be convinced that the colored people of these districts will rightly appreciate and fully improve the opportunities of an education, in order to secure their consent that such opportunity shall be afforded. There are those in Louisville who once bitterly opposed the appropriation for the colored schools of that city, but who, having witnessed the progress the children have made, are now numbered among our warmest friends; and so it will be wherever the experiment is tried."<sup>87</sup>

Despite the optimism expressed at the convention – and encouragement from Howard Henderson – the State Superintendent of Public Instruction's report on the "rules and regulations of the State Board of Education" issued from his Frankfort office in 1877 described the intention of common schools to ensure "every white child residing in the district, between the ages of six and twenty years, has had the privilege of attending..." further declaring "The schools are for *white* children. (italics included in original) No child having negro blood is entitled to benefit of the school described in this section."<sup>88</sup>

In the coming years, with continued advocacy from the Colored Teachers State Association, there would be improvement in the school system. In 1882, Joseph Desha Pickett (1822-1900), a Confederate veteran who had been appointed State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1879, posted a newspaper notice explaining actions of the State Board of Education regarding the Kentucky General Assembly's legislation: "An act in relation to the common schools of this Commonwealth, providing for the levy of an additional tax, and a submission of the same to the people." Pickett explained the significant results: the state per capita would remain at \$1.30; the length of school terms, course of study and payment of teachers in Black schools would be the same as white schools; textbooks would be the same with the addition of the Webster's Primary Dictionary; qualifications would be the same for Black and white teachers. Pickett summarized the intent of the act to equalize education "except that, they shall be forever kept and maintained separately."<sup>89</sup> It would be more than 70 years before the U.S. Supreme Court would overturn that decree.

In 1884, Clinton Street High School opened at 168-170 East Clinton Street in Frankfort as a school for African American students. William H. Mayo (1862-1931) was appointed as principal (Figure 3-7). Mayo had graduated first in his class in Cincinnati, Ohio, but at 19 years old he did not have any experience as an educator. Mayo continued his education, completing his master's degree, and became a leader in the improvement of education for African Americans in Kentucky. It is not clear where classes were held until the new building was constructed in 1884, although a newspaper account from June of 1884 states that closing exercises for the school year were held at First Colored Baptist Church. In July of 1884, the Frankfort *Roundabout* reported: "Mr. Mike Buckley has been awarded the contract for erecting the Colored Public School building." In November, the *Yeoman* announced: "The new public school building for colored children, which has been in the course of construction during the summer, having been completed, was occupied yesterday for the first time." The school thrived under Mayo's guidance, and by 1900 there were 11 faculty members providing kindergarten through high school education for approximately 500 children annually.<sup>90</sup> In 1907 the State Board of Education built an addition to the school to provide rooms for classes in cooking, sewing and housekeeping.<sup>91</sup> The school operated until 1928 when it was replaced by a new high school.



Figure 3-7. Clinton Street High School, Principal William H. Mayo and Teachers, Class of 1909  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1883, the Colored Teachers State Educational Association met again in Frankfort at St. John's AME Church. Clinton Street High School Principal Mayo gave a welcome address, informing attendees: "The citizens of Frankfort, I assure you, fully appreciate your visit to the city." Mayo continued "Now, if this plant, which germinated in this city several years ago, hath sent forth buds which are now blooming in royal magnificence and fragranc y in this great garden of educational progress, it remains to be shown by the active, intelligent, and earnest zeal that may be manifested by members of this convention."<sup>92</sup>

J.M. Maxwell next presented a summary of the group's accomplishments. Following the first annual meeting in 1878, a "committee visited Frankfort...and was given a hearing in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction by the Committee on Education. The memorial asked that the per capita tax for colored children be made the same as that of white children, and that the school age be the same. These two unjust differences have now been remedied. We further asked that a normal school be established for the training of teachers in the science and art of teaching....No definite action was taken by the Legislature upon the subject of normal schools (as of 1883), but the question is still being agitated through the public press and in educational conventions, and I believe that something will be accomplished in this direction by the Legislature at its next session. And here in Frankfort, the seat of government, we are glad to recognize the friendly feeling which is manifested toward our association."<sup>93</sup>

Advocacy for a state-funded school to educate African American teachers continued to come from other groups including a Convention of Colored Citizens of Kentucky in 1885, held in Lexington, with William H. Mayo as chairman. Among the many issues discussed was the need for a normal school. One speaker noted there were no state-funded schools in Kentucky to educate African American teachers, and they were not allowed to attend existing institutions. The speaker's presentation built the case for establishing a school, including a chart listing 15 normal schools for African Americans in southern states that were supported by state appropriations.<sup>94</sup>

J.M. Maxwell's prediction in 1882 came true – although not until 1886 did the Kentucky General Assembly pass legislation – with a vote of 53 yeas and 28 nays – to establish the State Normal School for Colored Persons (now Kentucky State University). The act was signed by Governor James Proctor Knott (1830-1911) and included \$7,000 for capital expenditures and \$3,000 for expenses including salaries.<sup>95</sup>

The legislative act fell far short of the funds required to open a school. To address the shortage, the act also required the state “to receive from different parts of the state proposals for donations of grounds and buildings, or funds for the procuring of grounds and erection of buildings for said Normal School.....” The school would be located “at such place as shall obligate itself for the largest donation, provided that such place shall possess reasonable facilities for the success of said school.” The Board of Trustees issued a call for donations, requiring “Any proposal to donate grounds and buildings must state accurately the number of acres, or feet, and the exact location and value.”<sup>96</sup>



Figure 3-8. Recitation Hall, State Normal College for Colored Persons, 1898  
Source: Public Domain

William Mayo chaired a committee of African American citizens who petitioned the Frankfort City Council to donate land for a school.<sup>97</sup> The City of Frankfort stepped forward with a donation of \$1,500 and a 10-acre tract of land, which became known as Normal Hill, on the north side of East Main Street for the new campus. The first building constructed was Recitation Hall, later renamed Jackson Hall, (NR, 1971) in honor of the university's first president, John H. Jackson (Figures 3-8, 3-9). On October 11, 1887, 55 students arrived for the first classes with three teachers. By 1890 the school had become a federal land grant college and expanded its curriculum to including agriculture, mechanics and home economics.<sup>98</sup> Jackson reported that all female students were “required to be trained in household work, to receive practical training in

sewing, dressmaking, crocheting...thus fitting them for domestic duties and responsibilities and rendering them much more useful as teachers, skilled laborers, sisters, wives and mothers.”<sup>99</sup>

In September of 1891, the *Frankfort Roundabout* reported that President Jackson “addressed a large audience at the courthouse...upon the subject ‘Our Educational Progress’ although the article did not indicate if the audience included both Black and white attendees. Jackson’s speech was an intricate blend of praise for the accomplishments of African Americans, criticism for the state’s meager financial support, and – what would become more prevalent in speeches from African Americans in the coming years – separation of the race into superior and inferior Blacks.

Jackson first reported on national progress: “Including contributions from Northern friends and appropriations by Southern taxation, it has been estimated that since the close of the war more than \$50,000,000 have been spent for colored education, and that, in all the southern states, the per capita for the white and colored child is now practically equal.” Emphasizing the ability of African Americans to learn, Jackson stated “In twenty-five years, the negro has shown the world that he is capable of the very highest mental development.” The report continued, quoting Jackson: “In the future...the negro must prove that he is just as capable of true moral and industrial development as he has shown in mental growth.” Jackson then addressed the situation in Kentucky “and ventured the opinion that if one-half of the vast sum which had found its way into some of the other states had been expended in Kentucky more progress could have been made, but as it was the colored people of the state had received their greatest aid from the people of Kentucky themselves and had so improved their opportunities that a greater percent of colored people in Kentucky could read and write than those of any other ex-slave state.” He reported that in Kentucky there were “1,200 colored teachers, 1,000 school buildings, 42,526 pupils in attendances, and with an illiteracy reduced to 65 percent, and a per capita of \$2.25.”<sup>100</sup>

Jackson then drew a critical distinction between the “Kentucky negro” and “his brother in black.” Jackson declared Kentucky Blacks were “much superior,” to those of “rice and cotton plantation fame in physical development, intellectual capacity, industrial superiority, moral worth and aesthetic taste.”<sup>101</sup>

The article concluded “His wife was with him to assist in his work, and she appeared to be naturally intelligent with an air of refinement.”<sup>102</sup> Ida May Joyce Jackson (1863-1927) was an instructor at the school and had married Jackson in 1889.<sup>103</sup>



Figure 3-9. John H. Jackson  
Source: Public Domain

### ***Jim Crow Arrives***

As African Americans in Frankfort and throughout the state worked to build a new society after the Civil War - establishing new institutions, combatting violence and witnessing white Kentuckians' embrace of Lost Cause mythology – white men who controlled Kentucky's legal and political systems moved to enact laws which would guarantee the complete segregation of Black and white citizens, effectively creating two societies.

Passage of segregation laws occurred in the former Confederate states – Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia – as well as Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia. These states enacted laws addressing every aspect of life including marriage, housing, public accommodations, retail businesses, restaurants, entertainment venues, prisons, cemeteries, schools, health care, voting, recreation, and transportation. The number of laws varied by state, from as few as 11 in West Virginia to the highest number – 33 – in Louisiana. States enacted additional laws that were unique – in Oklahoma, Black and white musical bands could not march together; in Atlanta a Black barber could not cut the hair of a white child under the age of 14.<sup>104</sup>

Collectively these laws were known as Jim Crow, and many were enforced until the 1960s. The name originated from a performance by Thomas Dartmouth Rice (1808-1860), a white man, in the 1830s. Painted in blackface and wearing shabby clothing, Rice performed “Jump, Jim Crow,” a song and dance he claimed was inspired by an enslaved person. As the performance became popular, the term Jim Crow began to be used as a derogatory name for African Americans.<sup>105</sup>

The Kentucky General Assembly would pass dozens of laws between 1866 and 1960 that are categorized as Jim Crow laws, although some initially prohibited segregation before being reversed in later legislative sessions. The majority are statutes; two laws addressing separate schools for white and Black children were included in the state's Constitution. Laws passed between 1866 and 1900 included:

- **Miscegenation** – The 1866 law prohibited whites from marrying a “Negro or any descendant or any Negro to the third generation inclusive.” Laws in 1893 and 1894 repeated this prohibition.
- **Education** – In 1866, the law gave districts the right to establish separate schools for white and Black children. The law was reversed in 1868, then re-established in 1873 with the provision “No colored school shall be located within one mile of a white school, except in cities and towns, where it may not be within six hundred feet.” An 1891 law made it unlawful for Black and white children to attend the same schools. In 1898, the state Constitution added the provision that the Kentucky General Assembly was directed to establish free public schools for white and Black children.
- **Public Accommodations and Transportation** – An 1869 law prohibited excluding passengers from railroads, streetcars, steamboats, coaches, and other vehicles “based on race.” In 1890, the law allowed railroad companies to provide “equal but separate accommodations for white and colored passengers.” An addition to the law in 1892 required railroads to provide separate coaches for white and Black passengers and to post signs stating the race for each car. In 1894, the law was extended to require depots to provide separate waiting rooms and mandated that “No person shall occupy the wrong room.”<sup>106</sup>

During these years, laws concerning education were met by African American leaders with a focus on establishing schools for Black children rather than desegregating existing whites-only schools. Passage of what was known as the Separate Coach Law – similar to laws already passed in other southern states starting in Florida in 1887 - drew a very different reaction – outrage. Strong opposition to the law generated active resistance and political activity by African American

women and men who invoked their patriotism during the Civil War and their rights as American citizens. Frankfort's leaders – both African American and white – would play a central, although unsuccessful, role in combatting the law.

In February of 1892, as the Kentucky General Assembly considered the legislation, the *Frankfort Roundabout* published a brief editorial favoring the law and insisting that African Americans wanted the law – although no evidence was provided to support the declaration. The newspaper wrote: “We are satisfied that the large majority of the colored people of the state would prefer to have such a law on the statute books. The better class of the colored people of this state (and all other states for that matter) do not wish to be thrown in contact with white people in any social relations.” The editorial asserted: “If the law is passed they will be as well provided for as the white people, and it would be but a short while before they would like it better....The Legislature should pass the law and let it go into effect at the earliest practical moment.”<sup>107</sup>

The editorial received a lengthy response by Dr. Edward Ellsworth (E.E.) Underwood who wrote: “It (the editorial) is full of illogical conclusions and does a rank injustice to the colored people of the state. It is a narrow, biased, one-sided, unfair statement...and clearly shows that beneath it all there is lurking strong feelings of race prejudice.” Underwood described the extent of the opposition: “The petitions which are pouring in daily to the members of the Legislature, from their constituents from all over this great Commonwealth, protesting against any such injustice, show very clearly that not a few, but the many, colored people are deeply interested in this matter and are sternly opposed to any class legislation.” Underwood's editorial also included an assurance that was issued often during these years that social equality was not the goal: “Colored men, opposing the proposed law, are not asking for social equality but for equal rights.” Underwood reminded readers of the patriotism of Blacks “When the stars and stripes have been fired upon they have defended them with valor,” adding “They have borne the wrongs of slavery....They now ask to be treated with justice....Let not the lawmakers of our beloved Commonwealth be guilty of inflicting a law so desperately impolite and so glaringly inhumane.”<sup>108</sup>

After learning about the legislation in the fall of 1891, a group of Frankfort residents met at First Baptist Church to discuss the situation. The Anti-Separate Coach Law committee was formed with Chapman C. Monroe, one of the first professors at the Kentucky State Normal School, as chair and Dr. E.E. Underwood as secretary. Also on the committee were Kentucky State Normal School President John H. Jackson, Rev. William A. Credit, James M. Turner, Rev. Eugene Evans, William H. Mayo, Edward Lane, and Rev. Fletcher (first name not given).<sup>109</sup>

In December, Monroe led a group from the committee to meet with Governor John Young Brown (1835-1904) in Frankfort to present resolutions by the “better class of colored citizens of Kentucky.” The group emphasized the progress made by African Americans since the end of the Civil War, and Monroe informed the governor that not only was the law not needed, it would “tend to check this rapid advancement and force the better class of colored Kentuckians to seek homes in a more congenial clime, where their civil rights were guaranteed, and their manhood respected.” Surprisingly, the group then suggested that if segregation were necessary, it should be done by class and not by race.<sup>110</sup>

Governor Brown's response began with a patronizing statement congratulating “Kentucky upon having such a class of intelligent, upright colored citizens.” Deflecting responsibility, the governor informed the group that the proposed legislation was a matter for the Kentucky General Assembly but assured the group he would not recommend its adoption in his annual message.<sup>111</sup>

In January of 1892, the proposed legislation was introduced and moved to the Joint Railroad Committee of the Senate and House of the Kentucky General Assembly. Addressing the committee, Kentucky Normal School President Jackson continued the theme of class over race distinctions. Jackson argued to the committee “Some Blacks were “low and depraved and unfit



to associate with the decent," but others were "ambitious and enterprising... loved their country, respected themselves and wanted to be near the better class of whites because of the refining and civilizing teaching such association imparted."<sup>112</sup>

Other speakers addressing the committee emphasized their patriotism, arguing that if African Americans could be "trusted with the keeping of homes of the gallant Kentuckians who rode away in war in 1861," they could be trusted to ride in the same train cars with white people. Another approach was reminding the committee of Kentucky's neutrality during the Civil War and asking "Why not remain neutral now? Why disturb and place a blight upon the increasing prosperity and advancing intelligence of the blacks?"<sup>113</sup>

Although opposition to the law was led by African American men, Professor Monroe invited five women to address the legislative committee. Lizzie E. Green of Frankfort was one of the speakers. In her remarks, Green asked the committee to recognize the women's "honesty in purpose" as an "excuse for our boldness in daring" to speak to the legislators "in direct opposition to our natural timidity." Green remarks focused on home and hearth, emphasizing the women's work to educate their children and to raise them as law-abiding citizens. Arguing: "We cannot acquire in a few years the culture and refinement that centuries of training in seminaries, colleges and intelligent home circles have given to other nations." Green's political acumen was evident as she praised the elected officials of "this grand old Commonwealth" who had "granted to us equal educational facilities and compensations and has given to us a State Normal School for the training of her colored teachers...." Focusing on defeat of the bill, Green asked the committee "as representatives of the sovereignty of this grand old state, are on the eve of discussing a bill that abridges the freedom of its citizens, we pray that you will, with your usual magnanimity and chivalric deportment, consider what the effect will be on the colored element." Green also embraced the approach of class instead of race "It (the law) makes no discrimination as to the condition of men, but classes all together according to color. Man can improve his condition. He can become refined and intelligent or remain ignorant, but he cannot change the color of his skin which is the indelible gift of the Allwise Creator. Why not legislate a measure that would make conditions and not color the basis?"<sup>114</sup>

Despite the arguments, pleadings and petitions from the African American committee and some opposition from members of the Kentucky General Assembly, the Separate Coach Law passed by a vote of 59 to 25 on May 20, 1892. Four days later, reversing his earlier support for African American opposition, Governor Brown signed the legislation into law.<sup>115</sup>

A newspaper article tried to put a positive spin on the law: "The passage of the separate coach bill inaugurates a system that has been successfully operated in a number of southern states....It should not be regarded as derogatory to the colored people, as it is not intended to set them apart anymore than it sets whites apart, but simply provides each race to take care of its own ruffians when they go on board of railroad trains. The railroad companies should now be urged to hasten as fast as possible their preparations to afford colored people the same accommodations they give whites, for that is one of the conditions insisted upon by advocates of the bill."<sup>116</sup>

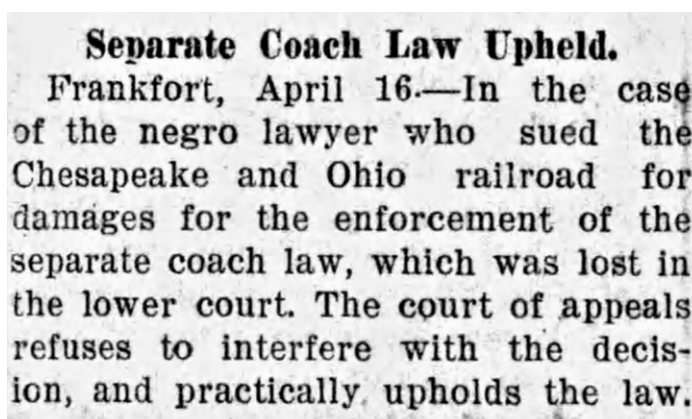


Figure 3-10. "Separate Coach Law Upheld"  
Source: *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Ky.,  
April 19, 1907

African Americans would continue to oppose the law and seek its overturn. In 1893, a Chicago newspaper reported on a campaign to overthrow the law: "The negroes have established a headquarters in this city (Frankfort) to fight the law." Edward Lane said the Anti-Separate Coach Committee was raising funds to test the law in the courts, noting: "We have had councils with some of the leading legal talent in the state and outside, and everything thus far has indicated to us that we have a good case. We have raised several thousand dollars, and there is more to come."<sup>117</sup>

Lawsuits would continue through the courts for many years (Figure 3-10). In 1898, the Court of Appeals, meeting in Frankfort, held that the separate coach law was constitutional.<sup>118</sup>

By the time the case made its way to the Kentucky Court of Appeals in 1898, the U.S. Supreme Court had already made "separate but equal" the law of the land. In 1896, the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* came before the court (Figure 3-11). The court's ruling upheld a Louisiana state law that allowed for "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races." Writing for the majority, Justice Henry Brown (1836-1913) disputed the belief that separation "stamps the colored race with inferiority," and placed the blame for this belief on the "colored race (which) chooses to put that construction on it." The ruling concluded: "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane." The ruling did not address the reality that accommodations may have been separate but were rarely equal in furnishings or comfort.<sup>119</sup>

The lone voice of descent came from Justice John Marshall Harlan (1833-1911) of Frankfort, Kentucky. Harlan grew up in Frankfort, practiced law and was elected Franklin County Judge in 1858. After serving in the Union Army in the Civil War, Harlan was elected Attorney General of Kentucky in 1863. In 1877, Harlan was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893) where he served for 34 years. A former enslaver, Harlan was originally an opponent of the constitutional amendments which abolished slavery, gave voting rights to Black men and guaranteed citizenship. By the 1870s Harlan began to change his views, dissenting when the Supreme Court ruled the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to be unconstitutional. This dissent, along with others including *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, earned Harlan the moniker "The Great Dissenter."<sup>120</sup> Harlan lived at 400 Madison Street next to the Old State Capitol.

Harlan's dissent in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* said in part: "I am of the opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberties of citizens, white and black, in that state, and hostile to both the spirit and the letter of the

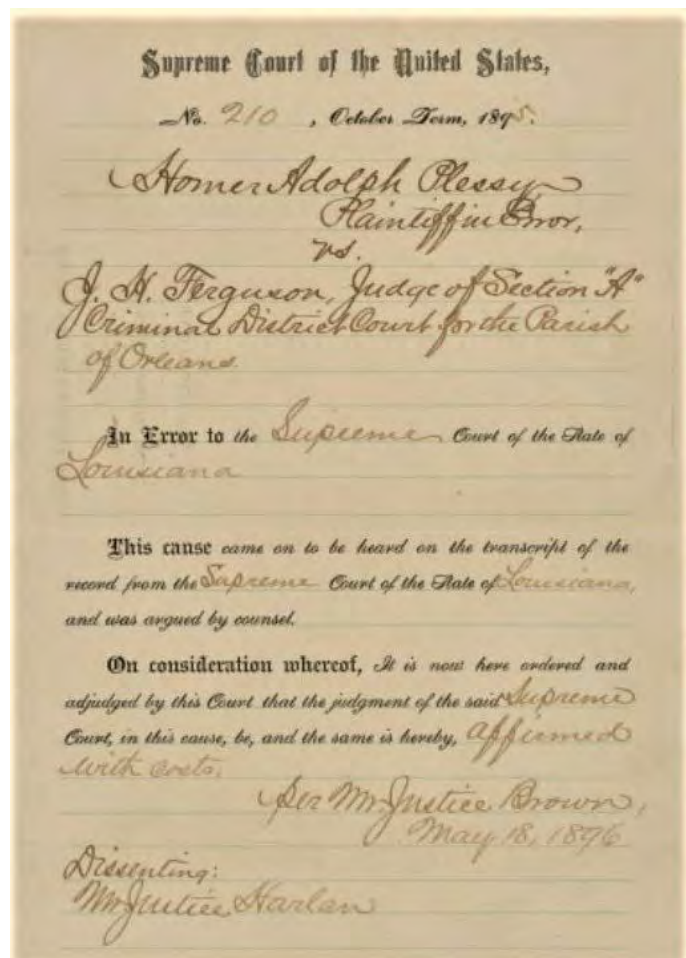


Figure 3-11. *Plessy vs. Ferguson*  
Source: Public Domain

Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several states of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the states, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights common to all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community, called the people of the United States, for whom and by whom, through representatives, our government is administered. Such a system is inconsistent with the guarantee given by the Constitution to each state of a republican form of government, and may be stricken down by congressional action, or by the courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.”<sup>121</sup>

The Separate Coach Law would become an issue in Kentucky’s gubernatorial race in 1899. In August, the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, meeting in Paris, issued a declaration that it would oppose candidates who supported the law. A resolution adopted unanimously stated: “Whereas, said the State of Kentucky has been disgraced by the infamous separate coach law; and Whereas said law has been declared constitutional by the highest court of the state; therefore be it resolved...We recommend that every messenger of this body use his influence to secure a representative to the Legislature from his county who will use his influence to repeal the same; that a committee be appointed to confer with the various nominees for state offices and that we instruct our people to vote for such as will pledge themselves to be the most favorable to the interests of our people.” Among the committee members appointed was Rev. Robert Mitchell of Frankfort’s First Baptist Church.<sup>122</sup>

Although Black leaders had mostly supported Republicans since the end of the Civil War, Republican candidate and state Attorney General William S. Taylor’s (1853-1928) refusal to call for the law’s repeal resulted in a shift to Democrat William Goebel (1856-1900), though he had abstained from voting on the separate coach legislation while in the Senate of the Kentucky General Assembly. Goebel maintained a murky position on the law, at one point stating that he favored the law but wanted amendments that required equal accommodations. He was quickly chastised by newspaper articles pointing out the law already had that requirement.<sup>123</sup> When Taylor finally voiced support for repeal of the law, Black leaders shifted again to the Republican candidate.<sup>124</sup> (Following a contentious election, Goebel was declared the winner. He was shot on his way to the inauguration and was sworn in on his deathbed.)

### ***Facing a New Century***

In 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), a founder of the NAACP, editor of *The Crises*, and leading scholar, wrote “The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”<sup>125</sup> As the new century dawned, Jim Crow laws were in full effect in Kentucky and would remain on the books until mid-century as African American women and men continued to fight for their rights as citizens.

## Endnotes

- 1 "Memorial of committee appointed at a meeting of colored citizens of Frankfort, Kentucky, and vicinity, praying enactment of laws for better protection of life," U.S. Congressional Serial Set (1871): 1-4
- 2 *News-Democrat*, Paducah, Kentucky, September 28, 1913
- 3 *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003: 3, 10, 143; Winona L. Burton Fletcher, Sheila Mason, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter Douglas A. Boyd; Pollack, David, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Peter E. Killoran; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," Kentucky Archaeology Survey Education Series 10. Lexington: Kentucky Heritage Council and University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, 2009: 24; U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Federal Population, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, 1870.
- 4 *The History of Franklin County, Kentucky*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Franklin, Kentucky: Roberts Printing Co., 1912.: 184; "Personals," *Frankfort Roundabout*, March 26, 1887; U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Federal Population, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, 1870; "Research Data for African American Resources," Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022; Ancestry.com. *U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.
- 5 "Second Street, South Frankfort: Chapter First, May 1899," Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 11, No. 33, September 1913, Sanborn Map Company. "Frankfort, Franklin County, Kentucky" New York City, New York: June 1886, November 1890.
- 6 U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Federal Population, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, 1900; Ancestry.com. *U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012; Frankfort, Kentucky, City Directory, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1917, digitized at Ancestry.com. *U.S., City Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.
- 7 "Negroes to Start a Paper," *The Owensboro Messenger*, Owensboro, Kentucky, September 30, 1898
- 8 "Frankfort Faces," <https://frankfortfaces.com/The-Faces/Underwood/underwood.html>, accessed April 4, 2022
- 9 "Research Data for African American Resources," Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022
- 10 *The Colored Baptists of Kentucky: 1865-1943*, Frank M. Masters, 1953
- 11 "Kate Rogers to First Colored Baptist Church Trustees," Deed, May 19, 1898
- 12 "Wins Out," *Frankfort Roundabout*, December 26, 1903
- 13 "After Many Years," *Frankfort Roundabout*, July 20, 1907
- 14 "Among the Colored Citizens," *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 8, 1890
- 15 "Among the Colored Citizens," *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 9, 1891
- 16 "Change of Name," *Frankfort Roundabout*, January 14, 1893
- 17 "Court Day," *Frankfort Roundabout*, September 9, 1893
- 18 "Research Data for African American Resources," Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022
- 19 Ibid
- 20 "Improvements," *Frankfort Roundabout*, September 24, 1892
- 21 "Church Dedication," *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 19, 1892
- 22 "Greenhill Church," Marty Perry, Draft National Register of Historic Places Nomination, n.d. Copy on file at the Kentucky Heritage Council at Frankfort
- 23 "Chronicles of the Old Neighborhood: Franklin County-East End," Perry, n.d., Hatter, 2021, Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, Vol. 6, No. 18, September 1908; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, August 6, 1921, June 14, 1921; U.S. Census, 1880-1930
- 24 "A Strange Conclusion to a Triumphant War: Memory Identity and the Creation of a Confederate Kentucky," Anne Elizabeth Marshall, Dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Georgia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree: Doctor of Philosophy, Athens, Georgia, 2004

25 "Negroes Enlisted in Kentucky," *Louisville Daily Journal*, April 30, 1865

26 Ibid

27 *A Corner in Celebrities*, Alice Elizabeth Trabue, Filson Club, The Cardinal Lithographing Co., 1922, Louisville, Kentucky, Third Edition 1958

28 "Kentucky's United States Colored Troops," Kentucky National Guard, John Trowbridge, February 23, 2022

29 "Honorable and Upright Colored Man Passes Away," *Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, June 3, 1906

30 "Hometown Hero Levi Berry," [http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/10/hometown-hero-levi-berry-co-i-107th-usci\\_5.html](http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/10/hometown-hero-levi-berry-co-i-107th-usci_5.html), accessed March 28, 2022

31 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912

32 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912 and *The History of Good Shepherd School*, Greg Meyer, editor, 2005

33 "The Civil Rights Bill of 1866," <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-Civil-Rights-Bill-of-1866/>, accessed March 28, 2022

34 "14<sup>th</sup> Amendment," <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/14th-amendment>, accessed March 28, 2022

35 "On This Day the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment is Ratified," <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-the-15th-amendment-is-ratified>, accessed March 28, 2022

36 "The Fifteenth Amendment," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, February 2, 1870

37 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912

38 "Garrard County News," *Kentucky Advocate* Danville, Kentucky, September 30, 1870

39 "History Engine," <https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/1421>, accessed March 28, 2022

40 "Negro Politics and the Suffrage Question in Kentucky, 1866-1872," Victor B. Howard, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 72, no. 2, 1974), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23378302>, accessed March 28, 2022

41 *Journal of the House of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1866-1867*

42 "A New Argument," *Louisville Daily Courier*, February 8, 1867

43 "Negro Politics and the Suffrage Question in Kentucky, 1866-1872," Victor B. Howard, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 72, no. 2, 1974, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23378302>, accessed March 28, 2022

44 Ibid

45 Ibid

46 "Social Equality," *The Evansville Daily Journal*, Evansville, Indiana, March 4, 1870

47 "Colored Convention," *The Evansville Daily Journal*, Evansville, Indiana, February 28, 1870

48 "The Malicious Stabbing of George Mukes," <http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/03/>, accessed April 1, 2022

49 "Negro Politics and the Suffrage Question in Kentucky, 1866-1872," Victor B. Howard, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 72, no. 2, 1974, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23378302>, accessed March 29, 2022

50 "The Ceremony of Assassination," *Chicago Tribune*, Chicago, Illinois, August 12, 1871

51 "Lest We Forget," <http://lestweforget.hamptonu.edu/page.cfm?uuid=9FEC3269-053B-031B-62012CC699FF9302>, accessed April 6, 2022

52 <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/civil-war-and-reconstruction-1861-1877/african-american-soldiers-during-the-civil-war/#:~:text=African%2DAmerican%20soldiers%20were%20paid,than%20did%20their%20white%20counterparts>, accessed April 6, 2022

53 U.S. Census, 1870

54 "The Mob Rule and Reign of Blood at Frankfort," *Chicago Tribune*, August 12, 1871

55 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912

56 "Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage," Charles H. Bogart. *Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society*, Vol. 2, March 2010: 3

57 Memorial of committee appointed at a meeting of colored citizens of Frankfort, Kentucky, and vicinity, praying enactment of laws for better protection of life," U.S. Congressional Serial Set (1871): 1-4

58 "Congressional Overview," [https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/42nd/#:~:text=The%2042nd%20Congress%20\(1871%E2%80%931873,investigate%20conditions%20in%20Southern%20states](https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/42nd/#:~:text=The%2042nd%20Congress%20(1871%E2%80%931873,investigate%20conditions%20in%20Southern%20states), accessed March 29, 2022

59 "Enforcement Acts," <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm>, accessed March 29, 2022

60 "Frankfort Barracks District," Louise Combs. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places  
Nomination, 1975: Section 8: 1-2

61 "Frankfort Barracks," Tim Talbott, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/277>, accessed March 30,  
2022

62 "Moments in Kentucky Legislative History," Kentucky Historical Society

63 "A Strange Conclusion to a Triumphant War: Memory Identity and the Creation of a Confederate  
Kentucky," Anne Elizabeth Marshall, Dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Georgia in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree: Doctor of Philosophy, Athens, Georgia, 2004

64 "Fatal Riot in Frankfort," *The New York Times*, November 1897

65 *The History of Franklin County, Ky.*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, Roberts Printing, 1912

66 "Proceedings of the State Colored Educational Convention Held at Frankfort, Kentucky," Printed at the  
*Kentucky Yeoman* Office, S.I.M. Major, Public Printer, August 22, 1877

67 *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, John A. Hardin,  
editors, University Press of Kentucky, 2015

68 *An address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky: proposing a plan for the instruction and emancipation of  
their slaves*, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Synod of Kentucky., Clarke J. Young, 1836, Newburyport, Kentucky

69 "Financing Schools for Negro Children from State School Funds in Kentucky." *The Journal of Negro  
Education* 8, no. 4, R. B. Atwood, 1939, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2292906>, accessed April 2, 2022

70 *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Volume 1*, 1867

71 "Financing Schools for Negro Children from State School Funds in Kentucky," R.B. Atwood, *The Journal of  
Negro Education* 8, no. 4, 1939, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2292906>, accessed April 2, 2022

72 <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2699>, accessed April 2, 2022

73 "The Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky," Diane Perrine Coon, Kentucky Humanities Council, 2008, [http://  
www.historybyperrine.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/The-Freedmens-Bureau-ppt.pdf](http://www.historybyperrine.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/The-Freedmens-Bureau-ppt.pdf), accessed April 1, 2022

74 Ibid

75 [https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-L3TM-1?i=10&wc=3139-6TL%3A1556061802  
%2C1556171231%3Fcc%3D2427894&cc=2427894](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-L3TM-1?i=10&wc=3139-6TL%3A1556061802%2C1556171231%3Fcc%3D2427894&cc=2427894), accessed April 2, 2022

76 *African American Schools in Frankfort*, Notable Kentucky African Americans Database, University of  
Kentucky Libraries

77 *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities*, Monroe Alphus Majors, Donohue & Henneberry,  
1893

78 Kentucky State Colored Educational Convention, Daniel Murray Collection, and Joseph Meredith Toner  
Collection. *Kentucky State Colored Educational Convention, held at Benson's Theater, Louisville, Kentucky*, 1869,  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/72219224/>, accessed April 2, 2022

79 <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/1601>, accessed April 2, 2022

80 "Colored Convention," *The Evansville Daily Journal*, Evansville, Indiana, February 28, 1870

81 *Kentucky Advocate*, Danville, Kentucky, August 4, 1871

82 *A New History of Kentucky*, Lowell Hayes Harrison, University Press of Kentucky, 1997

83 "Financing Schools for Negro Children from State School Funds in Kentucky," R.B. Atwood, *The Journal of  
Negro Education* 8, no. 4, 1939, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2292906>, accessed April 2, 2022

84 "Proceedings of the State Colored Educational Convention Held at Frankfort, Kentucky," Printed at the  
*Kentucky Yeoman* Office, S.I.M. Major, Public Printer, August 22, 1877

85 "The Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky," Diane Perrine Coon, Kentucky Humanities Council, 2008, [http://  
www.historybyperrine.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/The-Freedmens-Bureau-ppt.pdf](http://www.historybyperrine.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/The-Freedmens-Bureau-ppt.pdf), accessed April 1, 2022

86 Ibid.

87 *Proceedings of the State Colored Educational Convention Held at Frankfort, Kentucky*, Printed at the  
*Kentucky Yeoman* Office, S.I.M. Major, Public Printer, August 22, 1877

88 *The Kentucky School-Lawyer: Or a Commentary on the Kentucky School Laws and the Rules and  
Regulations of the State Board of Education*," Howard A.M. Henderson, Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office,  
Frankfort 1876

89 "The Colored Schools, State Board of Education, Frankfort, Ky.," *The Owensboro Messenger*, October 17,  
1882

90 "Research Data for African American Resources," Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal

Communication, 2022

- 91 *African American Schools in Frankfort*, Notable Kentucky African Americans Database, University of Kentucky Libraries
- 92 "The Colored Teachers: Their State Educational Association Annual Convention at Frankfort," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, July 12, 1883
- 93 Ibid
- 94 "Proceedings of the Colored State Convention assembled in St. Paul's A. M. E. Church, Lexington, Ky., November 26.," *Colored Conventions Project Digital Records*, <https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/1100>, accessed April 3, 2022 and *The Story of a Rising Race: The Negro in Revelation, In History and in Citizenship, What the Race Has Done and Is Doing*, James J. Pipkin and John H. Gordon. 1902; Legacy Reprint Series by Kessinger's Legacy Reprints
- 95 "The Legislature," *Kentucky Advocate*, Danville, May 14, 1886
- 96 "Miscellaneous: State Normal School for Colored People," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, August 18, 1886
- 97 *The Story of a Rising Race: The Negro in Revelation, In History and in Citizenship, What the Race Has Done and Is Doing*, James J. Pipkin and John H. Gordon. 1902; Legacy Reprint Series by Kessinger's Legacy Reprints
- 98 "Kentucky State University," *The State Journal, Franklin County Bicentennial Extra*, May 4, 1995
- 99 *Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1913*, Kentucky State University Archives; Kentucky Department of Education. *Biennial Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*, Frankfort, 1893
- 100 "Our Educational Progress," *Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, September 12, 1891
- 101 Ibid
- 102 Ibid
- 103 Biography of Ida Joyce Jackson, 1863-1927, Noah Lopez, Alexandria, Virginia, 2020, [https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic\\_entity%7Cbibliographic\\_details%7C4744423/biographical-sketch-ida-joyce-jackson](https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C4744423/biographical-sketch-ida-joyce-jackson), accessed April 3, 2022
- 104 "Jim Crow Laws," <https://mchekc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/jim-crow-laws.pdf>, accessed April 11, 2022
- 105 "Jim Crow Educational Resource," [https://www.gcsu.edu/sites/files/page-assets/node-2213/attachments/jim\\_crow\\_educational\\_resource\\_.pdf](https://www.gcsu.edu/sites/files/page-assets/node-2213/attachments/jim_crow_educational_resource_.pdf), accessed April 11, 2022
- 106 "Jim Crow Laws," <https://mchekc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/jim-crow-laws.pdf>, accessed April 12, 2022
- 107 "Separate Coaches," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, February 27, 1892
- 108 Ibid
- 109 *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*, Rev. S.E. Smith, editor, National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Company, Evansville, Indiana (publication date not given)
- 110 *Kentucky's Separate Coach Law and the African American Response, 1892-1900*, The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, Summer 2000, Vol. 98, No. 3, Kentucky Historical Society
- 111 *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*, Rev. S.E. Smith, editor, National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Company, Evansville, Indiana (publication date not given)
- 112 *Kentucky's Separate Coach Law and the African American Response, 1892-1900*, The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, Summer 2000, Vol. 98, No. 3, Kentucky Historical Society
- 113 Ibid
- 114 *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*, Rev. S.E. Smith, editor, National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Company, Evansville, Indiana (publication date not given)
- 115 *Kentucky's Separate Coach Law and the African American Response, 1892-1900*, The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, Summer 2000, Vol. 98, No. 3, Kentucky Historical Society
- 116 "The Separate Coach Bill," *The Twice-A-Week Messenger*, Owensboro, Kentucky, May 26, 1892
- 117 "Railroads," [https://railroads.unl.edu/documents/view\\_document.php?id=rail.gen.0048](https://railroads.unl.edu/documents/view_document.php?id=rail.gen.0048), accessed April 11, 2022
- 118 "Separate Coach Law. The Court of Appeals Decides That It Is Constitutional," *The Evening Bulletin*, Maysville, Kentucky, October 8, 1898
- 119 "Plessy vs. Ferguson," <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson>, accessed April 11, 2022

- 120 "The Great Dissenter and His Half Brother," <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-great-dissenter-and-his-half-brother-10214325/>, accessed April 11, 2022
- 121 117 Ibid
- 122 "Baptists Adopt Some Significant Resolutions," *The Courier-Journal*, August 24, 1899, Louisville, Kentucky
- 123 "Goebel and the Separate Coach Law," *The Daily Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, September 11, 1899
- 124 *Kentucky's Separate Coach Law and the African American Response, 1892-1900*, The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, Summer 2000, Vol. 98, No. 3, Kentucky Historical Society
- 125 "W.E.B. DuBois and the Concepts of Race and Class," Dan S. Green, Earl Smith, *Phylon* (1960) 44, no. 4, 1983 <https://doi.org/10.2307/274576>, accessed April 11, 2022



# SECTION II. HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

## Chapter Four: A New Century – 1900-1954

The last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw tremendous transformation in Frankfort, the state of Kentucky, and the nation as African Americans organized and advocated for the rights of citizenship. New schools opened, Black men were allowed to vote (though not without sometimes violent resistance from white people), churches provided places for worship and planning for civil rights advocacy, streetcars and automobiles increased mobility, and middle-class neighborhoods began to form.

### ***Jim Crow's Unrelenting Reach***

Countering this progress in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the continued passage of Jim Crow laws by the Kentucky General Assembly, resulting in the emergence of strict segregation of public and private facilities and race and gender-based inequality in educational opportunities, justice in the courts, health care, social services and voting rights. Among the laws passed between 1900 and 1955 were:

- Education – Separate textbooks were required for white and Black schoolchildren; additional laws affirmed the segregation of schools.
- Public Accommodations – Blacks and whites could not consume alcohol on the same premises; circuses, shows and tent exhibitions were required to provide two ticket offices with individual ticket sellers and separate entrances; separate library facilities were authorized in certain cities.
- Housing – Black and white families were prohibited from living in the same dwelling place; it was unlawful to rent an apartment to a person not of the same race as other occupants in the building.
- Adoption – Interracial adoptions were prohibited.
- Health Care – Separate but equal accommodations were required in old-age homes and tuberculosis hospitals; a separate institute was established for education of deaf mutes.<sup>1</sup>

Education continued to be a special focus as the Kentucky General Assembly passed laws to ensure that schools were segregated. Although laws requiring segregated schools had been enacted in 1873 and 1891, in 1904, Kentucky Senator Carl Day from Breathitt County introduced another bill in the Kentucky General Assembly to prohibit white and Black students from attending the same school. Known as the Day Law, and aimed at Berea College, the only integrated school in the state, it was overwhelmingly passed (73 to five in the House and 28 to five in the Senate) and declared it unlawful: "To maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of the white and negro races are both received as pupils for instruction...; That any instructor who shall teach in any school, college, or institution, where members of said two races are received as pupils for instruction, shall be guilty of operating and maintaining same and fined as provided in the first section hereof..."<sup>2</sup>

Transportation was also the target of segregation laws. After the Separate Coach Law passed in 1892, the Kentucky General Assembly began passing Jim Crow laws in the new century with a 1902 statute requiring "separate but equal accommodations" in streetcars.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 4-1. Union Depot, 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In the new century, Frankfort was benefitting from multiple modes of travel including city trolleys, passenger trains and a new interurban service (Figure 4-1). Trolleys had operated in Frankfort since 1886, starting with a horsecar line that was electrified in 1894. The low cost of fares – restricted to five cents by the Capital Railway Company’s charter – and increased maintenance of streets and track lines put the company in bankruptcy by 1897. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the trolley lines were in the hands of large holding companies with mergers and purchases making the Kentucky Traction and Terminal Company the owner of Frankfort’s trolley lines by 1911.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1900 and 1910, interurban railcars were extended from Lexington to Frankfort, Paris, Georgetown, Nicholasville and Versailles. Lines to Frankfort were completed in 1905 by the Central Kentucky Traction Company. The interurban operated daily from 6:30 a.m. to 11:30 p.m.<sup>5</sup>

In 1909, the presence of the interurban in Frankfort and Jim Crow laws restricting where African Americans could sit brought about a perhaps unexpected result – a lawsuit filed against the Central Kentucky Traction Company by an African American woman who claimed her rights were violated and asking for \$2,000 in damages for being “injured and humiliated in her feelings.” Frankfort resident Carrie Elizabeth Ewing Conley (1881-1954) was a 27-year-old woman, married to Edward E. Conley (1875-1940) who held jobs such as a private home waiter, bank porter and janitor.

Conley’s petition claimed that on August 13 and again on August 14, 1908, the company allowed white passengers to occupy the streetcar compartment reserved for Black passengers and demanded that she move (Figure 4-2). In a trial, the jury sided with Conley and awarded her \$200. The Central Kentucky Traction Company appealed. In April of 1912, a news article headlined “Rode with Whites” reported that the circuit court had ruled in favor of the company.<sup>6</sup> Not giving up, in 1913 Conley took her case to the Kentucky Court of Appeals in Frankfort on the grounds



Figure 4-2. "Rode with Whites"  
 Source: *Paducah Sun Democrat*, April 9, 1912

terrorist group, known as the Night Riders, emerged. Originally formed by dark-fired tobacco farmers in western Kentucky and northern Tennessee to protest low tobacco prices set by the American Tobacco Company (ATC), the vigilante gangs burned tobacco barns and destroyed the crops of tobacco farmers who did not join the Planters' Protective Association (PPA). News reports from 1907 through 1909 told of Night Riders exploits – ruining tobacco plant beds by sewing grass seed, burning thousands of pounds of tobacco, stealing tobacco from barns, whippings, shooting into the farmers' homes at night, and murders.<sup>10</sup> The Night Riders dressed in Ku Klux Klan-style costumes and terrorized both white and Black noncompliant farmers in Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>11</sup>

In May of 1908, Carter C. Neale, a contractor who was overseeing repair and rebuilding of roads in nearby Woodford County "received an anonymous communication, post-marked Frankfort and signed 'Night Riders,' warning him to stop working colored men at his rock crushers or any other employment." Neale was threatened with an attack and "hell will be to pay" if he did not dismiss all Black workers within 10 days. Similar letters, all post-marked Frankfort, were sent to other employers who hired Black workers. Neale noted that he "paid no attention to the letter and expects to continue to employ his present force."<sup>12</sup>

that the second trial was unwarranted. Court records note the application of the Separate Coach Law: "Equal protection to white and colored persons...colored passengers are entitled to the same redress as white passengers for injuries growing out of its violation."<sup>7</sup>

Conley's case was presented in detail to the Court of Appeals. Conley and a friend, while traveling from Frankfort to Lexington and back, were told to either get off the interurban or move to make room for white riders who boarded at Versailles. They refused, but the conductor allowed white male passengers to sit in the Black section. Conley testified "He (the conductor) spoke as hateful as he could. He wasn't a bit pleasant – just like we were not people."<sup>8</sup>

Conley lost the case in the Court of Appeals when the judge ruled that the second trial did not discriminate against her rights, stating: "The same conclusion would have been reached had plaintiff been a white woman instead of a colored woman."<sup>9</sup>

### ***The Threat of Violence***

In addition to the multitude of new segregation laws, African Americans faced the continual threat of violence. In the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new

In October of 1908, Governor Augustus Willson (1846-1931) offered a \$500 reward for apprehending a gang of Night Riders “who attacked a negro named Walker in his home in Hickman County last week and slew him, his wife and two children.” The governor “made an appeal to the people of the state to ‘arise in their might’ and put down such lawlessness.”<sup>13</sup>

Governor Willson responded to the Night Riders’ violence by activating the Kentucky State Guard in Frankfort. Newspapers reported clashes throughout 1908. The governor reported in October that the state had spent more than \$104,000 in payments to soldiers for “putting down the night riders.” The Black Patch war eventually ended after the ATC relented and agreed to pay higher prices to the tobacco farmers beginning in November 1908.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Lifting as We Climb: African American Women’s Leadership in Frankfort***

Into this challenging atmosphere stepped African American women who were leaders in transforming society and setting the stage for the civil rights movement of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. As a Black middle class emerged, African American women became active in areas of society where they had not been before – in the fields of education, health care, church service and a new forum– club work.

In Frankfort, African American women began teaching soon after the Civil War, and one woman – Mattie E. Anderson – opened Frankfort Female High School on West Clinton Street in Craw with her own money in 1871. When the Clinton Street High School opened in 1884 on East Clinton Street with William H. Mayo as principal, all 11 teachers were women.<sup>15</sup>

With the opening of State Normal School for Colored Persons (Kentucky State University) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, African American women became both faculty members and students. Faculty members when the school opened included Mary E. Jackson, a former Maysville high school teacher, and Bettie M. Bailey who taught home economics.<sup>16</sup>

Ida Joyce Jackson (1863 – 1927), was an early example of the multiple roles that African American women embraced. Born in Ohio, she came to Kentucky after high school and worked as an assistant to Professor Mayo for several years before accepting a teaching position at the State Normal School for Colored Persons in 1888. She married President Jackson in 1889 and continued to teach until the Jacksons moved to Missouri in 1898. Jackson was also an early advocate for African American women to achieve through club work. While in Frankfort, Jackson is credited with forming the National Reading Circle in 1889, a charter club of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women, and serving as an officer of The Mutual Aid Club. In 1895, Jackson attended the Atlanta Congress of Women as a Kentucky representative where she successfully submitted a resolution to make the Congress permanent.<sup>17</sup>

Many women’s clubs had formed to address a variety of needs, and in 1895 they united to form the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs (NACWC). The association adopted as its motto “Lifting as We Climb.”<sup>18</sup> The Kentucky Association of Colored Women’s Clubs (KACWC) formed in 1903 (originally known as the State Federation of Women’s Clubs of Kentucky) with 13 clubs, including one in Frankfort. Tabitha Murphy Anderson (1873-1942) of Frankfort was one of the founders of the KACWC (Figure 4.3). She also chaired committees of the NACWC between 1914 and 1926 including Railway Conditions, Home Economics and the Rural Department.<sup>19</sup> In 1922, she was elected Vice President of KACWC.<sup>20</sup> Born in Missouri, Anderson came to Louisville to attend Simmons University and Hampton Institute. She became a teacher and was the first State Supervisor of Negro Schools in Kentucky. In 1897, she married Dr. Charles W. Anderson Sr., and in 1910 the couple moved to Frankfort where Dr. Anderson was one of three African American doctors working at the segregated Winnie A. Scott Hospital. The couple lived at 319 West Clinton Street in Craw, adjacent to the Old State Capitol.<sup>21</sup>

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there were at least 25 clubs in Frankfort affiliated with the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs (dates of formation are listed if known) (Figure 4-4). Club names indicate the variety of purposes and services of each organization:<sup>22</sup>

A.M.E. Church Aid Club  
 American War Mothers  
 Artistic Ten (1909)  
 Children's Union  
 Corinthian Baptist Church Aid Club (1909)  
 Corinthian Church True Link Circle  
 Domestic Economy Club (1919)  
 Earnest Workers' Club  
 Economic Club  
 First Aid Circle  
 First Baptist Church Club  
 Golden Link Circle  
 Ladies Industrial Club  
 Misses Scholarship Loan Club  
 Normal Reading Circle (1889)  
 North Side Canning Club  
 O.K. Glass Circle, Junior Club  
 Red Cross Auxiliary  
 Social Economic Club (1921)  
 Teachers Reading Circle  
 Winnie A. Scott Memorial Hospital Club  
 Women's Improvement Club (ca. 1902)  
 Woman's Progressive Club (1933)  
 Young Reapers' Club

Other clubs that were Frankfort-specific and included women and/or men included the Capital City Club, Jolly Eights, Grad Club, Jazz Moms, Pleasurettes, Ebonettes, Brickhouse, Brickettes, and New Direction.<sup>23</sup>

One of the most important outcomes of women's club activism in Frankfort was the establishment of a hospital for African Americans under the leadership of Winnie A. Scott (1864-1920). Born in Frankfort, Scott began her career as a teacher, first at schools in Bagdad and Lawrenceburg before returning to Frankfort to teach at Clinton Street High School, where she later became assistant principal. When the State Normal School for Colored Persons opened, Scott enrolled and was in the first graduating class of five students in 1890. Scott served on the board of the Women's Improvement Hospital Club which formed in 1910. With Scott's leadership, the club raised funds to purchase a two-story dwelling which was repurposed for the modern hospital. Located at 229 East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street across from Scott's home in South Frankfort, the hospital opened in 1915. After



Figure 4-3. Tabitha Murphy Anderson and John Anderson Jr.  
 Source: Ancestry.com



Figure 4-4. Lifting as We Climb  
 Source: Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture

Scott's death in 1920, the hospital was named in her memory. The Winnie A. Scott Memorial Hospital was the only hospital serving African Americans in Frankfort until 1959 when the previously whites-only hospital desegregated (Figure 4-5). The hospital was supported by Frankfort's Federation of Women's Clubs. <sup>24</sup> The continual need to raise funds is evidenced by a pledge card for donors to contribute to a fund for coal to heat the hospital in the winter (Figure 4-6). A 1923 news article reported that \$150 had been raised for the coal fund from donors including King's Daughters, city and county governments and individual donors.<sup>25</sup>



Figure 4-5. Hospital Staff at the Winnie A. Scott Hospital  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

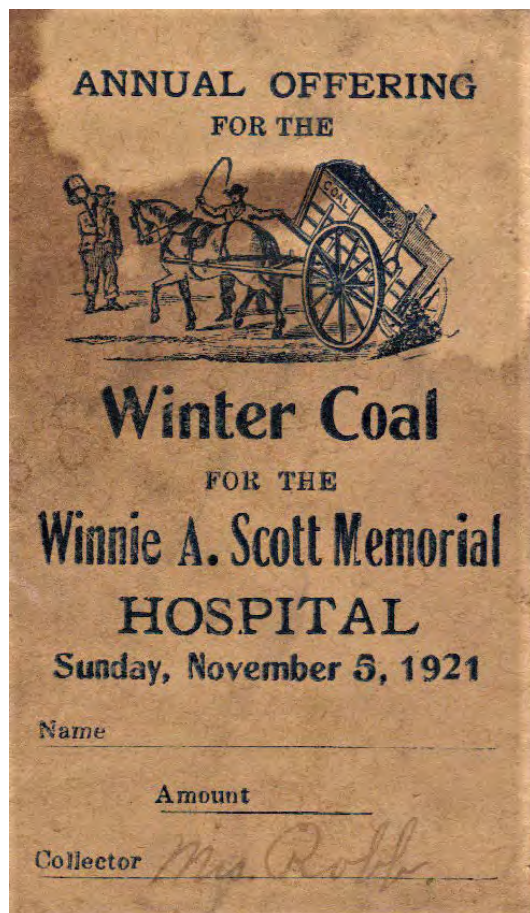


Figure 4-6. Annual Offering for the Winter Coal Collection Envelope  
Source: Gift of Rick Wilson, Capital City Museum. 2011.80

### ***Building a New Society***

In addition to the many women's clubs, the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would see African Americans in Frankfort create of number of new social and cultural venues designed for entertainment and education and to highlight the advances made since the end of the Civil War.

The idea of holding a fair, a lively event with programs and presentations showcasing African American accomplishments, caught on in Kentucky in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with fairs held in communities around the state. In 1906, the *Frankfort Roundabout* reported "The best and most enterprising of our colored population have formed an association for the purpose of giving an agricultural and horticultural fair....We hope that it will be so liberally patronized that is may be a success in every way, leading these good people to make the fair a permanent institution."<sup>26</sup> Following the event, the newspaper reported "It was very successful in every way. Large crowds attended each day....We hope that the finances will be found in such shape that the fair may be given each year hereafter."<sup>27</sup>

By 1908, the association had changed its name to the Franklin County Colored Agricultural and Industrial Association which announced that year's fair, promising "No pains will be spared by the management to make this the most up-to-date and magnificent of its kind ever before held in Kentucky. The association will have a big street parade...participated in by all of the lodges in Frankfort. It is expected that there will be a large attendance each day and crowds of colored people from all over Central Kentucky will come to Frankfort during the days of the big fair."<sup>28</sup> Records have not been found to indicate how many years the fair continued, but in 1915, Dr. E.E. Underwood was listed as president of the association, confirming the association's continued existence at least into the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Newspaper articles from 1906 to 1908 indicate the fairs were held at Glenwood Park and Fairgrounds located along Owenton Turnpike (now Holmes Street) near Thorn Hill about one mile northeast of Frankfort.<sup>29</sup>

A lodge that would become symbolic of the new society being built by Frankfort's African American population in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the impressively named Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (Figure 4-7). The cornerstone was laid in May of 1903, and Dr. E.E. Underwood delivered the keynote address. Before an audience that included city and county officials and Black and white citizens, Underwood observed the crowd was gathered to "lay the cornerstone of this building which shall be dedicated to the dissemination of the principles of friendship, love and truth and which shall stand as a pensive monument to the genius, the industry and the frugality of the Negro race....While this is truly an auspicious day in the history of Oddfellowship in Frankfort, it also marks an important step in the development of our little city to which we are devoted with much of that tender feeling with which the Jews revered Jerusalem, and to which we say, as (poet William) Cowper to England, 'With all thy faults, I love thee still.'" This building was destroyed by a fire in 1905.<sup>30</sup>



Figure 4-7. Grand Order of Odd Fellows Building  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1908, a new three-story, stone building was constructed to house the Odd Fellows lodge. Financed by African Americans at a cost of \$10,000, the building was located at the corner of Clinton and Washington Streets in the heart of the neighborhood of Craw. The building was constructed by Thomas L. Brooks (1862-1923), a Black contractor, and John Ecton (1838-1926), a Black stonemason. The Odd Fellows Building housed a restaurant and the People's Pharmacy

on the first floor, a banquet hall on the second floor and a Masonic lodge hall on the third floor. During World War I rooms were reserved for veterans to meet. The primary occupants reflected the growth of fraternal and secret organizations including the Capitol City Lodge No. 1597 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, Industrial Legion Lodge No. 3102, Knights of Pythias Young Men's Pride Lodge No. 12 and Mosaic Templars of America Trinity Chapter No. 3251.<sup>31</sup> (Over time, the building was also known as Capital City Lodge, Castle Hall, Odd Fellows Temple, Odd Fellows Hall and the American Legion building. It was demolished around 1967 as part of the city's urban renewal program.)

Some of the Odd Fellows organizations in Kentucky provided economic assistance or other aid to Black people, as was the case in Frankfort. Thomas Brooks, in addition to being the contractor to construct the building, was an officer of the Capital City Lodge for over two decades. In this capacity, Brooks submitted a plan to the lodge to offer insurance to African Americans, the first time this was considered by an African American grand lodge in Kentucky.<sup>32</sup>

Other civic and commercial buildings and amenities opened in Craw such as a skating rink and the Empress Theater. Located on Washington Street across from the Odd Fellows Hall, the theater was opened in 1914 by J.W. Rankin, a white man (it is not clear which Rankin is referred to in press announcements – one was secretary of the state's Board of Agriculture, Forestry, and Immigration and another was an insurance salesman.) Rankin hired African Americans to work in the theater. Press reports are unclear about the type of theater but it appears to have been a combination of movies and performances: "reels of fine exciting pictures and songs....(and) the chance to see our people display their talent." A review of the grand opening declared "This house gives a young Negro an opportunity of equal rights for the same money. He gets the same service."<sup>33</sup>

The early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought new employment opportunities for African Americans along with new challenges. One of the first challenges was to the distilling industry. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kentucky was well known for its bourbon production. A 1915 L&N Industrial Freight Shippers Directory listed eight distilleries in Franklin County.<sup>34</sup>

In 1919, the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution became law: "After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."<sup>35</sup> Recent research indicates that the production of bourbon involved the work of enslaved Black persons prior to the Civil War and continued to depend on Black labor into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, the onset of Prohibition undoubtedly cost many African American jobs. The George T. Stagg Distillery, now Buffalo Trace Distillery (NHL, 2013), was one of only a few in the United States to remain open after receiving approval to continue production for doctors to prescribe alcohol as medicine, but employment dropped from 500 in 1919 to 50 in 1924 (Figure 4-8).<sup>36</sup>



Figure 4-8. George Stagg Distillery  
Source: Buffalo Trace Distillery



In 1930, the Louisville *Sunday Herald Post* ran a feature article stating that Stagg was “the only distillery in the Bluegrass manufacturing whisky and the only one in the state making the old-fashioned small tub sour mash whisky.” Following repeal of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1933, the distillery once again began to prosper, transitioning to production of industrial alcohol during World War II and back to bourbon production after the war.<sup>37</sup>

In an oral history interview, Jimmy Johnson Jr. (1917-2011), recalled that his father, Jimmy Johnson Sr., worked at the distillery for 52 years, starting in 1912 and becoming the first African American warehouse foreman in Kentucky. Jimmy Johnson Jr. joined his father at the distillery in 1936, working his way to becoming the first African American warehouse supervisor in the state. Johnson Jr. recalled there were a number of African Americans working at the distillery during his years of employment and that management would not tolerate racism, even dismissing employees who refused to work with or take orders from African Americans.<sup>38</sup>

Another non-traditional source of employment for African American men was working in the thoroughbred horse industry. By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Central Kentucky was becoming known for breeding, raising and racing horses, and the first Kentucky Derby was held at Churchill Downs in 1875. At the turn-of-century, as states throughout the country began to outlaw bookmaking on horseracing, wealthy horse breeders migrated to Kentucky and the Bluegrass region of the state became horse country.<sup>39</sup>

In Frankfort, Eli Jordan (1823-1908) was a trainer and supervisor at Fleetwood Farm, located two miles southwest of town on the north side of the Louisville Turnpike (US 60). Jordan was born into slavery and worked as a hostler in Lexington. Jordan’s skill was evident when horses he trained began winning races. In 1878, Jordan moved to Frankfort to work at Fleetwood Farm owned by John Wesley (J.W.) Hunt Reynolds (1846-1880). When Reynolds died suddenly in 1880, Jordan assisted his widow, Meta Reynolds (1845-1910), to manage the stable, supervising employees including three stable hands, a trainer and five jockeys. Over the next 25 years, Jordan oversaw the training of many winning thoroughbred racehorses. One horse, Falsetto, gained fame as the winner of four races, placing second in the Kentucky Derby, and was named Horse of the Year in 1879. Jordan also trained young jockeys, including Isaac Murphy (1861-1896) and Shelby Barnes (1871-1908). Murphy won three Kentucky Derby races, four American Derby winners and five Latonia Derby winners, and Barnes won hundreds of races in his brief career.<sup>40</sup>

Jordan was credited for his skill in newspaper descriptions such as: “Out at Garfield Park race track, there is an old colored man named Eli Jordan. He is the trainer of the Fleetwood stables.... He is known to every owner and jockey of prominence in America....”<sup>41</sup> Another article stated “Col. J.W. Hunt Reynolds’ stable, composed of the following string of racers, left this city (Frankfort) Monday afternoon under the charge of Eli Jordan, Col. Reynolds’ splendid trainer....”<sup>42</sup> Jordan’s death in 1908 also made headlines: “Eli Jordan, Who Trained Aristides, Winner of First Kentucky Derby, and Other Kings of the Turf, Dies at Churchill Downs.”<sup>43</sup>

The challenges of establishing cultural and educational resources was continual for African Americans. Frankfort’s first public library for white citizens opened in 1908 under the leadership of Lilian Lindsey and was managed by the Frankfort Women’s Club until 1965, moving to several locations over the years.<sup>44</sup> Although the library was promoted as a community project, including asking residents to donate books, during the era of Jim Crow segregation the library was not open to African Americans.<sup>45</sup> Not until the late 1930s did African Americans have a library. Known as Colored Branch Library, the library was opened with funds from the Works Progress Administration (WPA), one of many programs to assist communities during the Great Depression. In 1943, this financial support ended, and the library closed. In 1944, Florence Fort (1887-1957), a member of the board for the Frankfort Library, asked for help in reopening the library for African Americans. Records show that J.M. Perkins purchased a three-room house at

306 Mero Street in Craw and leased it to the library committee without charge. The house was remodeled, and a librarian was hired. The library remained in operation until 1962.<sup>46</sup>

Another challenge was caused by the Great Flood of 1937. On January 21 after weeks of heavy rain and snow, the Kentucky River crested at 47-feet above flood level, the highest on record at the time. Floodwaters submerged more than half of Frankfort, including the entire downtown business district and riverside neighborhoods. Floodwaters inundated the Black neighborhood at South Frankfort and Craw in North Frankfort, where homes were washed off their foundations, carried several blocks away and overturned. Mayo-Underwood School, which had opened only a few years previously, suffered \$8,000 in damage.<sup>47</sup> Newspapers reported “an aged negro woman died of heart failure as she was rescued from her submerged home.”<sup>48</sup> Although undoubtedly one of the worst floods in Frankfort’s history, it was not the first. In 1883 rain, “like never seen in this city before,” caused a flood that on “Sunday morning...came up at a rate of six or eight inches and hour, and the water gradually crept up into North Wilkinson, Clinton, Mero and Blanton streets until by noon the whole of Craw was under water, and the inhabitants were moving out rapidly.”<sup>49</sup> Twenty-five years later “the rise of 1883” was declared to “ever be known here as the worst that ever came to this region.”<sup>50</sup>

### ***Freedom in My Bones***

The veterans who served in the U.S. Colored Troops in the Civil War and their families remembered the freedom brought by the war well into the new century. Many shared the sentiments of Sergeant Elijah Marrs: “I can stand this said I... this is better than slavery, though I do march in line at the tap of a drum. I felt freedom in my bones.”<sup>51</sup> Although records vary, an estimated 25,000 African Americans from Kentucky served in the military, the second highest of any state after Louisiana. In 1882, the Kentucky Division of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) aided veterans in Frankfort to form Camp #44, a post named for Colonel George W. Monroe (1835-1869), a white officer.

For decades after the war there were gatherings, ceremonies and marches to honor those who helped win the war. These events often led to Green Hill Cemetery where many soldiers were buried. An event known as Decoration Day focused on decorating the graves of Union soldiers in Frankfort Cemetery and Green Hill Cemetery. In 1887, the African American Monroe Post joined with the white veterans in the Albert G. Bacon Post in ceremonies at Frankfort Cemetery. The camaraderie ended there as reported in the *Frankfort Roundabout* “the George W. Monroe Post then marched to the Colored Cemetery (Green Hill) and the rest of the procession returned to the city.”<sup>52</sup>

In 1895, veterans from the Monroe Post gathered in Louisville, site of the Grand National Encampment of the G.A.R. which drew more than 30,000 Union veterans. The newspaper reported the Kentucky Division was “well represented and especially the colored comrades.”<sup>53</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the remaining veterans continued to observe Decoration Day. In 1905, the *Frankfort Roundabout* reported that the (white) A.G. Bacon Post, G.A.R., had its “regular ceremonies” but the “Geo. W. Monroe Post, G.A.R. (colored), had a more elaborate time. The members of that Post, together with the Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows and the United Brothers of Friendship, the orators of the day and a large number of vehicles proceeded to Green Hill Cemetery, where addresses were delivered by Prof. W.H. Mayo, Rev. J.M. Hill, L.D. Smith, Rev. C.C. Wakefield, and Rev. E.R. Lewis. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was interspersed between the addresses. At the conclusion, the graves of the colored soldiers were handsomely decorated with flowers.”<sup>54</sup>

The high point of honoring Kentucky’s U.S. Colored Troops came on July 4, 1924, when a monument was unveiled in Green Hill Cemetery. Funds for the 10-foot-tall stone monument were raised by the Women’s Relief Corps No. 8, an auxiliary of the Monroe Post (Figure 4-9). One side of the monument is engraved “In Memory of the Colored Soldiers Franklin County, Kentucky



Figure 4-9. Colored Soldiers Monument  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

Who Fought in the Civil War 1861-1865.” The other three sides of the monument list 142 African American soldiers’ names. The *Frankfort State Journal* announced: “Colored Soldiers Monument to be Unveiled,” stating: “The monument, which has been erected to the memory of the Colored Soldiers of the Civil War from Frankfort and Franklin County, will be unveiled at Green Hill Cemetery tomorrow afternoon at four o’clock. Short and appropriate exercises are to be held. This monument has been erected at the cost of several hundred dollars under the direction of the Colored Women’s Relief Corps, and each soldier’s name has been cut on the stone. Contributions are being made to the fund by patriotic and public-spirited citizens of both races.”<sup>55</sup> The Colored Soldiers Monument (NRHP, 1997) at Green Hill Cemetery is one of five monuments dedicated to African American troops in the United States. The other three are located in Decatur, Illinois; Lexington, Maryland; Boston, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C.

#### **More Wars, More Service**

As America entered World War I (WWI) in 1917, commemorations of Civil War Union soldiers continued. On May 31, 1917, the *Frankfort State Journal* reported on a parade march to Green Hill Cemetery under the headline “Colored People Give Patriotic Celebration.”<sup>56</sup>

Military records show that 12,584 African American men from Kentucky served in WWI.<sup>57</sup>

Hundreds of these men would serve in the 369<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry, the famed Harlem Hellfighters. The regiment was mostly New Yorkers from Harlem who were among the first Black troops in the state’s National Guard. The Harlem Hellfighters became the most celebrated African American regiment in WWI. After white American troops refused to fight with them, the regiment was assigned to fight with the French, who welcomed them.<sup>58</sup>

An account of their service records: “Belittled by their American comrades and commanders, the men of the 369<sup>th</sup> were welcomed with open arms by the French army, which was in dire need of men. The 369<sup>th</sup> fought not just for the French and the allied cause, but also to prove themselves and by extension all African Americans to the white society that discriminated against them. On one tour the unit was in combat for more than six months - longer than any other unit in World War I. The Harlem Hellfighters never lost a man through capture, never lost a trench or a foot of ground to the enemy.”<sup>59</sup>

**Form 1 REGISTRATION CARD No. 33**

1 Name in full: James Cornelius Henry Age in yrs: 22

2 Home address: 218 Blanton Frankfort Ky.

3 Date of birth: Nov 10 1894

4 Are you (1) a natural born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? Natural born

5 Where were you born? Frankfort Ky. U.S.A.

6 If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject?

7 What is your present trade, occupation, or office? Delivery boy 29

8 By whom employed? City

9 Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? No.

10 Married or single (which)? Single Race (specify which)? African

11 What military service have you had? Rank None branch None

12 Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)? No.

I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.

James C. Henry  
(Signature of registrant)

---

**16-3-22 Franklin "A" REGISTRAR'S REPORT**

1 Tall, medium, or short (specify which)? Medium Slender, medium, or stout (which)? Medium

2 Color of eyes? Brown Color of hair? Black Build? Sl

3 Has person lost arm, leg, hand, foot, or both eyes, or is he otherwise disabled (specify)? No

I certify that my answers are true, that the person registered has read his own answers, that I have witnessed his signature, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows:

(Signature of registrar)

Precinct Frankfort

City or County Frankfort

State Ky. 6/5/17  
(Date of registration)

Figure 4-10. James Cornelius Henry Draft Card  
Source: U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards

Soldiers joining the Harlem Hellfighters 369th hailed from at least 64 counties in Kentucky. Only one soldier, James Cornelius Henry (1894-1931), came from Franklin County (Figure 4-10).<sup>60</sup>

Enlistment records identify “Henry, James C, Pvt, Co H, p8, contact Mrs. Annie Henry, Mother, resides 218 Blanton St, Frankfort, Franklin Co.” Henry served as a private in the 369<sup>th</sup> Infantry, Company H. Henry lived with his parents John T. Henry (1861-1922), a hostler, and Annie Mary Henry (1870-1955), a laundress, in Craw. Henry registered for the draft on June 15, 1917. His registration card shows that he was working as a delivery person for Thomas K. Robb, although the city directory also shows he was a hostler for Robb. On June 21, 1918, he was ordered to report to the Local Board for Military Duty at Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky. On February 19, 1919, he departed from New York to Brest, France on the ship *Regina De Italia*. Henry survived the war and returned to Frankfort. He continued to live at his parents’ home and held several jobs including working as a porter with the U.S. Post Office, as a chauffeur and as a barber. Henry never married and died of pneumonia on February 1, 1931, at 214 Blanton Street.<sup>61</sup>

Following WWI, the Odd Fellows/American Legion building was renamed in honor of two men who served in the war – Edward Thomas Hawkins (1897-1918) and William Marion Thomas “M.T.” Beckley, Jr. (1894-1918). Hawkins was the son of John Hawkins (1868-1935), a driver for the Hermitage Distillery, and Lee Anna Hawkins (1865-1929), a laundress. They lived at 228 Murray Street in South Frankfort one block from the distillery. By 1914, Edward Hawkins was working as a laborer and living at 115 Logan Street in South Frankfort. Hawkins died on March 11, 1918. Some accounts state that he was the first African American killed in WWI. Beckley lived at 306 Mero Street in Craw and worked as porter at the Capital Hotel Barber Shop. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War I as a mess attendant, first class, and died on July 25, 1918, by drowning after falling off the U.S.S. *Ozark* while it was anchored in the Panuco River near Tampica, Mexico. His body was not recovered.<sup>62</sup>

World War II (WWII) offered another opportunity for African American men to demonstrate their patriotism in the midst of discrimination and segregation. William Lawless Jones’ (1914-2000) military career would span three wars and break color barriers in the armed forces. Jones was born on the campus of Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons (KSU),

the son of history professor, academic dean and founder of the school's first football team, Paul William Lawrence Jones (1878-1953), and Ada C. Jones (1879-1964). After earning degrees from Fisk University in Nashville and the University of Michigan, in 1942 Jones was one of nine Black soldiers sent to the Armor Officer Candidate School in Fort Knox, Kentucky where he and the others were commissioned second lieutenants. Jones served in the Solomon Islands until the end of the war. He also served in the Korean War as a captain and the only Black intelligence officer in the 45<sup>th</sup> Division. Jones' military service continued until 1966 when he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel.<sup>63</sup>

Anna Mac Mitchel Clarke (1919-1944) also broke the color barrier while serving in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) in World War II (Figure 4-11). Born in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, Clarke attended Kentucky State College (KSU), graduating in 1941 with a degree in sociology and economics. The commencement speaker at her graduation was Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955), a pioneering leader in African American civil rights, women's rights and education, founder of the National Council of Negro Women and advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>64</sup> At the onset of the war, Bethune was named special assistant to the Secretary of War for the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and was instrumental in establishing the WAAC.

Perhaps inspired by the commencement address, in October of 1942, Clarke responded to Bethune's call for enlistments, joined and was sent to the WAAC training center in Des Moines, Iowa. She entered officer training school which was desegregated in November of 1942. In the graduating class, Clarke was the only Black officer. By February of 1943, Third Officer Clarke was assigned as platoon leader of the Fourth Company – the first Black WAAC assigned to command an all-white unit. After serving in several locations and a variety of roles, Clarke completed her service in 1944 at Douglas Army Air Field in Arizona where she broke one more color barrier. After learning that the base's theater was segregated, Clarke and several women officers went to the theater and refused to sit in the segregated section. Clarke took her case to the base's commanding officer, Colonel Harvey Dyer, who issued orders: "The colored officers are entitled to all the courtesies and privileges extended to white officers and the colored enlisted women are entitled to all of the courtesies and privileges extended to white enlisted men and women....It must be appreciated by all of us that these colored WACs are citizens of the United States....They deserve our greatest respect."<sup>65</sup>



Figure 4-11. Anna Mac Clarke  
Source: Kentucky Human Rights Commission

### ***Education and Work are the Levers to Uplift a People – W.E.B. Du Bois***

Despite the optimism expressed at the founding of the Colored Teachers State Educational Association in 1877 when Professor J.M. Maxwell envisioned “the portals of knowledge shall be opened,” African Americans in Frankfort and throughout the state continued to struggle with poorly funded segregated schools and the need for teachers in the new century.

The Kentucky General Assembly continued to pass laws emphasizing separation of Blacks and whites in schools, starting with the Day Law in 1904 (named for its sponsor) prohibiting colleges, schools and institutions from allowing Blacks and whites to attend together. Additional laws were passed in 1915, 1921, 1928 and 1934. These laws were repetitive in emphasizing segregation of schools.

Berea College, the only integrated school in Kentucky and target of the Day Law, appealed the ruling, reaching the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1908, the court ruled in an 8 to 1 decision against the college. Voting against the law was the Great Dissenter, Justice Marshall Harlan of Frankfort, Kentucky. As he had in the ruling for *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896, Harlan believed the law was unconstitutional.<sup>66</sup> In his dissent, Harlan wrote “Have we become so inoculated with the prejudice of race that an American government, professedly based on the principles of freedom, and charged with the protection of all citizens alike, can make distinctions between such citizens in the matter of their voluntary meeting for innocent purposes simply because of their respective races?”<sup>67</sup>

Presented by James H. Polsgrove (1870-1960), mayor of Frankfort, the city government’s 1913 compilation of ordinances and resolutions included an ordinance which reflected the impact of Kentucky’s laws: “Buildings, Teachers, and Employees – Separation of White and Colored Children....board of education shall provide and maintain, out of the funds levied or otherwise provided for the purpose, suitable buildings, teachers, and other employees, sufficient for the education of all children of the city between six and twenty years of age, and shall provide separate buildings and schools for the education of white and black pupils; and no white child shall be allowed to attend any colored school, nor any colored child will be allowed to attend any white school.”<sup>68</sup>

In 1913 the Colored Teachers State Educational Association’s name was changed to the Kentucky Negro Education Association, and the organization continued its fight to equalize teacher salaries and facilities for schools. (In 1954, the organization changed its name again to the Kentucky Teachers Association, and in 1957 KTA merged with the all-white Kentucky Educational Association.)<sup>69</sup>

Also in 1913, the Kentucky Board of Education created the office of State Agent of Negro Schools. However, Kentucky did not fund the office out of state revenues but with funding provided by John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Other philanthropic funds were contributed to enable the state to hire African American supervisors to work throughout the state. Despite the changes, discrimination continued as schools were poorly funded and facilities were inadequate. Prior to 1913, none of the several hundred schools for African Americans across the state were accredited by the Kentucky Board of Education. By 1915, Franklin County was one of 25 counties which maintained public schools for African Americans.<sup>70</sup>

The Rosenwald Fund’s entrance into Kentucky’s schools for African Americans would support an estimated 155 schools across the state. Julius Rosenwald (1862-1932) was the son of German Jewish immigrants and had become wealthy as president of Sears, Roebuck & Company. From an early age Rosenwald was committed to social justice and used his wealth for philanthropic purposes. His friendship with African American educator Dr. Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) created an interest in the plight of southern Blacks in seeking an education, leading to creation

of the Rosenwald Fund to support construction of schools. The fund would pay for one-third of the cost of building a school, with the local community raising funds and assuming responsibility for construction.<sup>71</sup>

Between 1917 and 1920, 33 schools were built in Kentucky. In Franklin County, Normal Hill School No. 1 was constructed with financial support from private donations from Julius Rosenwald, Tuskegee Institute and the General Education Board (started by John D. Rockefeller in New York) prior to the Rosenwald Fund's establishment. The school was designed for a four-teacher faculty. The \$6,000 construction cost was supported by donations from African Americans (\$900), white people (\$900), Rosenwald (\$1,200) and \$3,000 from the "public."<sup>72</sup> The school's location had originally housed a teacher training school which opened in 1908 for students of Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute (KSU) and provided an elementary school for Frankfort's African American children.<sup>73</sup>

Normal Hill School No. 1 was destroyed by fire in 1922. In 1923-1924, following creation of the Rosenwald Fund, Normal Hill School #2, a four-teacher facility, was built in Franklin County at a cost of \$6,000. Records note the fund's contribution of \$540 and \$5,460 from the "public."<sup>74</sup>

In funding year 1928-29, Frankfort School was built at a cost of \$96,000. The 16-teacher facility was built with donations from African Americans (\$10,000), the Rosenwald Fund (\$2,600), and the "public" (\$82,900). The school also included an elementary school library.<sup>75</sup>

Replacing Clinton Street School, Mayo-Underwood School opened in 1929 at the corner of Mero and Center Streets in Craw (Figure 4-12). The combined elementary and high school was named in honor of Professor William Mayo and Dr. E.E. Underwood (Figure 4-13).



Figure 4-12. Mayo-Underwood School, 1930  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 4-13. Dr. Edward Ellsworth Underwood at Kentucky State College, circa 1930s  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

*Community Memories*, a 2003 publication which documented Frankfort's African American history and gathered reminiscences from residents, described the Rosenwald Schools and Mayo-Underwood School: "Non-academic clubs and activities such as band, drama and homemakers were vital elements in school social life and provided an opportunity for young Blacks to undertake leadership roles among their peers. The schools encouraged broad extra-curricular activities for their students and were also the anchor for youth-based organizations, such as Helen Holmes's and Edna Patton's Girl Scout troops at Rosenwald, Edmonia Hughley's Girl Scout troop at Mayo-Underwood, and Pauline Manley's 4-H Clubs at both schools. Both Mayo-Underwood and Rosenwald were instrumental in many Black students' developing and cultivating an appreciation for the arts and humanities. Teachers and the PTA at Rosenwald promoted community involvement with the Louisville Symphony Orchestra's special concerts, to which children and teachers from all city schools were invited. Students passing through Alice Samuel's classes at Mayo-Underwood were encouraged to memorize poetry and taught the fine art of recitation. Both schools had elaborate all-school theatrical productions featuring music and dance presentations at

the end of the school year. These programs not only enriched cultural life, they provided an opportunity to showcase local talent."

At Mayo-Underwood School, the Tigers basketball team earned the title of Kentucky High School Athletic League state champion twice, in 1933 and 1941, and made it to the tournament 15 times between 1932 and 1957. Although the Tigers were KHSAL champs in 1933, they did not have uniforms. Jack Robb, an African American mortician at 312 West Clinton Street in Craw, led the effort among alumni to raise money for athletics and bought letter sweaters for athletes.<sup>76</sup>

In the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kentucky's school for higher education (now Kentucky State University) in Frankfort would experience continual transitions with seven changes in the school's presidency, two name changes, changes in programs and the construction of new buildings to accommodate increased enrollment.<sup>77</sup>

Between 1900 and 1912, James Shelton Hathaway (1862-1930), a teacher who had previously been president of the State Association of Colored Teachers,<sup>78</sup> held the office of president of the State Normal School for Colored Persons twice, from 1900-1907 and again from 1910 to 1912, with the first president at the school's founding in 1887, John H. Jackson, returning to hold the office from 1907-1910. Following their tenure, two more presidents served until 1929 when Rufus B. Atwood (1897-1983) was named to the office. Atwood would be the school's longest-serving president, remaining until 1962.<sup>79</sup>



By 1920 the campus was expanding with new buildings constructed near the school's first building, Recitation Hall (later named Jackson Hall, NRHP, 1983). With appropriations from the Kentucky General Assembly, a girl's dormitory, an administration building (later named E.E. Hume Hall) (NRHP, 1983), a trades school building (later named Hathaway Hall), Russell Memorial Hall and the president's residence were built.

The school also received federal funds to support tuition for WWI veterans. As the U.S. entered the war in 1917, the Veterans Bureau created a host of new programs for veterans including health care, disability compensation and vocational rehabilitation.<sup>80</sup> In 1920 and again in 1921, the now-named Kentucky Normal Industrial Institute received \$7,500 for veterans' tuition.<sup>81</sup> The funds would have been welcomed, as the school's annual budget in 1917 had only reached \$18,000 to support 15 teachers instructing more than 800 students.<sup>82</sup>

The arrival of Rufus B. Atwood in 1929 to the renamed Kentucky State College for Colored Persons would bring a stabilizing influence and growth. In 1931, the school was recognized as a Class A four-year college by the State Association of Colleges. In 1938, the name would change again to Kentucky State College for Negroes, and the school would be recognized as a Class A Black college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools' Committee on Approval of Negro Schools which had formed in 1930. (The name changed to Kentucky State College in 1952 and Kentucky State University in 1972.)<sup>83</sup>

Under Atwood's leadership, Kentucky State College entered the years of the Great Depression focused on paying off debts, maintaining enrollment, paying faculty and administrators and securing funds to construct much-needed buildings. An early success came in 1930 when the Kentucky General Assembly appropriated \$18,000 to pay off the school's debts. But to continue helping the school to prosper, Atwood had to navigate building relationships with often racist elected officials and with white leaders in Frankfort and throughout the state. An early instance occurred during the 1932 budget hearings with Governor Ruby Laffoon (1869-1941). Atwood arrived at the start of meetings but waited all week as other school presidents made their presentations. At the end of the day on Friday, Atwood was finally noticed and allowed to meet with the governor and his committee. Atwood's appeal did not result in increased funding, and he soon asked the school's board of trustees to reduce his salary by 22.5 percent, joining the faculty whose salaries had already been reduced.<sup>84</sup>

Perhaps sensing that support from the Kentucky's state government was limited, Atwood redirected his efforts to the federal government. Traveling to Washington D.C., Atwood met with Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes (1874-1952) to request funds through the Public Works Administration (PWA) to build a men's dormitory. Through complicated negotiations, Atwood secured approval from Ickes for a combination grant and loan, then returned to Kentucky to secure approval from the Kentucky General Assembly. With support from legislators who introduced bills to allow the University of Kentucky and teacher-training schools to borrow PWA funds, Atwood succeeded in securing the state's approval. Through the PWA program, the school received \$125,000 for the dormitory. Completed in 1936, the building was named in honor of Atwood. Rental charges to students enabled the school to repay the loan. Atwood continued his advocacy for funds, securing \$10,000 from the state in 1936 for building repairs and to purchase furnishings and textbooks.<sup>85</sup>

During these years Atwood expanded the school's programming, offering a degree in agriculture, establishing a Department of Health and Physical Education and constructing Bell gymnasium, expanding offerings in the music department to include piano, woodwind, brass and stringed instrument instruction, organizing a Department of Sociology and Economics, and connecting the Department of History and Government to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. With support from the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board, the library was expanded and by 1939 contained more than 12,000 books.<sup>86</sup>

During these years, the school experienced the first rumblings of what would evolve into the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. In 1935, the Frankfort Amusement Company, owner of the Capitol Theatre, asked the Grievance Board of the National Recovery Administration to close the theater on campus. The company argued that the campus theater was an unfair competitor because the school did not pay taxes. In response to the complaint, the school's leadership and students joined with the NAACP to plan a boycott of the Capitol Theatre. The school's administration took an additional step in informing the Grievance Board that the campus theater operated as a nonprofit, and the area of Capitol Theatre that was segregated for Black patrons was bug infested and filthy. The school's actions succeeded as the Frankfort Amusement Company withdrew its complaint.<sup>87</sup>

The following year President Atwood and Dean Rufus Clement (1900-1967) of the Louisville Municipal College convened a group of 50 African American educators and business leaders to organize the Negro State Coordinating Committee. Seeking equality of opportunity, the group stated its purpose "will be asking for participation in public works and administrative departments....such as common labor on roads, educational department, health, pension, militia and eleemosynary institutions (charitable organizations for the economically disadvantaged)... and the larger development of the two (African American) state colleges (Kentucky State College and West Kentucky State Industrial College)."<sup>88</sup>

Instead of more development for the two state colleges, in 1938 the Negro State Coordinating Committee was presented with a proposal from Governor Albert Chandler (1898-1991) to merge the two schools into one – the college at Frankfort. The governor promised to increase appropriations for the school and to enlarge the campus. Chandler told a representative from the committee "I would like to have one good Negro college, and I would like to have work on it begin during my administration."<sup>89</sup> Begun in 1909, in 1919 West Kentucky State Industrial College at Paducah had become a state-supported school offering four years of high school and two years of college for African American students. By 1938, the state had dismissed the founding president and discontinued the teacher training program.<sup>90</sup> Opposition from the Negro State Coordinating Committee to the idea of merging the schools was great, with a speaker for Kentucky State College's alumni association declaring the proposal "the most dangerous heresy toward my people in the past twenty years." Another speaker said: "Governor Chandler wants to abolish the state debt at the expense of the Negro race." Two hundred attendees at the committee's meeting agreed to a resolution opposing the proposal.<sup>91</sup> (The college in Paducah was closed that year and reopened as West Kentucky Vocational College for Negroes, later becoming part of West Kentucky Technical and Community College.)<sup>92</sup>

In 1946, Atwood had an opportunity to join other college presidents as part of the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges in presenting the need for support to President Harry S. Truman (1884-1972). Soon after becoming president upon the death of President Roosevelt, Truman began addressing injustices to African Americans including calling for a repeal of the poll tax and continuation of the WWII-era Fair Employment Practices Commission. In December of 1946, Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights whose report, *To Secure These Rights*, presented 35 recommendations to achieve constitutional equality for African Americans.<sup>93</sup>

In advance of the report's release, Atwood and other college presidents requested a meeting with President Truman. On October 22, 1946, President Truman's daily calendar noted a meeting from 12:00 to 12:15 p.m. with 30 college presidents and college representatives including Atwood.<sup>94</sup> A prepared statement presented by the group asked for assistance to Black land grant colleges in areas including activation of ROTC units, providing funds for school expansion and supporting adult education programs in agriculture and home economics. President Truman expressed support for the requests, and the group felt the national attention helped their cause.<sup>95</sup>

In 1948, a lawsuit was filed against the state by Lyman Johnson (1906-1997), a high school history teacher. Johnson wanted to enroll in the University of Kentucky's graduate program because Kentucky State College did not offer a comparable program of study. In an attempt to continue segregation at schools of higher education, the State Board of Education and the University of Kentucky developed a plan to offer graduate courses at Kentucky State College taught by professors from the University of Kentucky. Laboratory facilities would be available to Black students at scheduled times, requiring the students to travel from Frankfort to Lexington.<sup>96</sup>

John Hatch (b. 1928), who had been a student of Lyman Johnson when he was in high school, was the first student to attend classes which required seven professors to travel from Lexington to provide instruction to one student (Figure 4-14). Within a few weeks, the arrangement was changed, and four Frankfort attorneys were hired to teach classes that were moved from Kentucky State's campus to the State Capitol.<sup>97</sup>

Hatch's situation was described by a newspaper: "And there, in his library hideaway at the Capitol, Hatch reads his law books. He lives in a dormitory at KSC a mile away, and there he takes his meals.... there is no place at or around the Capitol where he can get lunch." Hatch said: "There's nobody to talk my language with. There's no moot court to attend. There's no chance to exchange views on the reading I do. There's no way to get a book I suddenly find I need for reference."<sup>98</sup>

In the spring of 1949, following a trial led by NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall (1908-1993), the court ruled in favor of Lyman Johnson and required the University of Kentucky to admit Black students.<sup>99</sup> Now in his third semester of law school, John Hatch transferred to UK. (In 1994, Hatch returned to Lexington for the school's annual Law Day luncheon. His former classmate Ned Breathitt (1924-2003), who had served as Kentucky governor from 1963 to 1967 and was now chairman of the University of Kentucky Board of Trustees, presented Hatch with a resolution from the board recognizing his courage in desegregating the university.)<sup>100</sup>

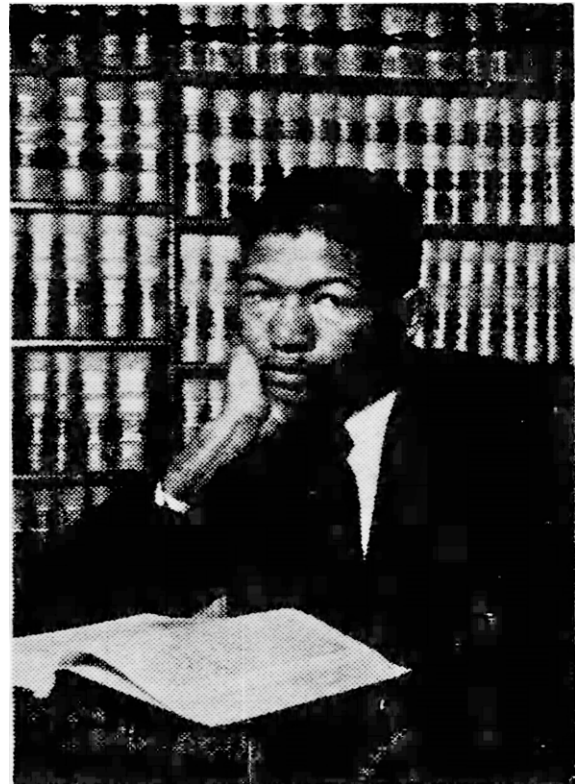


Figure 4-14. John Hatch  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*,  
November 28, 1948

### ***Entering the World of Politics***

On October 15, 1906, Dr. Booker T. Washington, characterized by the *Frankfort Roundabout* as the "Ablest and Most Useful Colored Man of this Age," arrived in Frankfort to take part in the dedication of a girls' dormitory as part of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations at the Colored State Normal School and to give an address to the "people of this city."<sup>101</sup>

Born into slavery, Washington would establish Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (Tuskegee University) in Alabama and would become a leading advocate for African Americans in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Washington presented his philosophy for the success of African Americans in an 1895 speech in Atlanta, dismissing the idea of desegregation and exhorting Blacks to focus on education, industrial education and "common labor." His philosophy was applauded in some quarters – especially among whites –

and denounced in others, particularly from the editor of the NAACP's journal *The Crises*, W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), who termed the approach "the Atlanta compromise."<sup>102</sup>

Washington's address to the city of Frankfort, held at the Opera House at 213 West Main Street and attended by "our most prominent citizens, both white and colored," and, as reported, "set forth, in clear and unmistakable language, the ideas that should prevail in dealing with the vexing problems that attach to what is called 'the negro question.'"<sup>103</sup>

Washington's speech made clear that it was up to African Americans to make their own way as allowed by white people. "His earnest exhortation to his own people to make themselves citizens as would command the respect of the (white) community, and his scathing denunciation of the idle, worthless and vicious class was superb. At the same time, he asked that the white people draw the line of distinction between the upright, industrious and self-respecting colored people and the unworthy and vicious and besought their assistance in elevating the worthy and eliminating the unworthy."<sup>104</sup>

The warm reception to Washington's speech by African American leaders who had invited him to Frankfort was in many ways contrasted by the activism of African Americans for more than half a century. Since the end of the Civil War, African Americans had advocated for their rights as citizens, asking the Kentucky General Assembly to fund schools, unsuccessfully campaigning against the Separate Coach Law, and organizing coalitions to vote for white candidates who would support the needs of African Americans. Loyalties to political parties shifted over time as African Americans moved from primarily supporting the Republican Party as the party of Abraham Lincoln to voting for Democrats who promised to address issues important to African Americans.

In Frankfort, Dr. E.E. Underwood became involved in the Republican Party and in 1898 formed the State League of Republican Clubs. Underwood was an outspoken supporter of Republican candidates. In 1900, he published a lengthy essay condemning the Democratic Party's support of Kentucky's Separate Coach Bill, noting that it was "recommended by a Democratic Railroad Commission, favored...by a Democratic press, passed by a Democratic Legislature and signed by a Democratic Governor."<sup>105</sup> Underwood also took his protests to the Kentucky General Assembly. In 1904 he joined a delegation "for the purpose of protesting to the General Assembly against the adoption of a bill of Mr. Heflin...submitting an amendment to the Constitution providing for an educational qualification for voters."<sup>106</sup>

In May of 1904, Underwood was one of the "Big Four" unanimously elected as Kentucky's delegates to the Republican National Convention. "The platform (was) adopted...on President (Theodore) Roosevelt, for whom the delegates were instructed to vote at the National Convention in Chicago."<sup>107</sup>

In 1936, advocacy became authority when the first African American took the oath of office to serve in the state's legislature. In 1935, Charles W. Anderson Jr. (1907-1960), the son of leaders in Frankfort's African American community, Dr. Charles Anderson Sr. and Tabitha Anderson, ran as a Republican for the Kentucky House of Representatives and won. Anderson was an attorney in Louisville and a graduate of Kentucky State College. Anderson was not only the first African American to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly, he was the first in the South since Reconstruction. Anderson quickly became known for sponsoring legislation to aid African Americans as he introduced bills to the Kentucky General Assembly addressing a multitude of issues. His first successful action was passing legislation to require the state to create a \$17,500 annual fund to assist African American youth to attend out-of-state colleges if they could not be accommodated at Kentucky State College. In 1937, Anderson sponsored a bill which provided \$100 per student for tuition or transportation for students in rural areas that did not have high

schools to attend a school in an adjacent county. Other bills introduced by Anderson included repealing Kentucky's public hanging law, prohibiting discrimination against Black men and women in public building projects, and the first bill in the United States to require minimum wages and hours for domestic servants. Anderson focused on transportation including defeating a bill that would have required Blacks to ride behind a glass partition on buses, successfully introducing legislation which brought the first air-conditioned coaches for Black passengers and prohibiting discrimination by taxi cab companies at bus and train stations.<sup>108</sup> Anderson served in the legislature until 1946 when he resigned to become the assistant commonwealth attorney for the 30<sup>th</sup> Judicial District.<sup>109</sup>

Shortly after Anderson's departure, three African American men – all from Louisville - were elected to the Kentucky General Assembly – Dennis Henderson (1896-1979), Jesse H. Lawrence (1901-1966), and Felix S. Anderson (1893-1983). (As of 2022, there have been 27 African Americans elected to the Kentucky General Assembly since 1900.)<sup>110</sup>

Each man continued to introduce bills to address injustices to African Americans. In 1948, Dennis Henderson introduced bills to allow Blacks to enroll at the University of Kentucky for graduate work and to direct the State Board of Education to develop a plan to expand Kentucky State College.<sup>111</sup> Another bill would "give Negroes the privilege of trying on hats, shoes, dresses and suits in all clothing and department stores."<sup>112</sup>

In 1950, Jesse Lawrence worked with the Kentucky Negro Education Association to amend the Day Law (requiring separate schools for Blacks and whites) to permit private colleges to admit Blacks to classes not available at Kentucky State College.<sup>113</sup> The Kentucky General Assembly's subsequent passage of the bill introduced by Lawrence in 1950 resulted in desegregation of Berea College, and, in the next few years, other colleges in the state.<sup>114</sup>

In March of 1954, Felix Anderson tried again to amend the Day Law, this time to permit private and church schools to admit Black and white students in all grades, courses or classes.<sup>115</sup> Anderson continued to fight for desegregation in 1958 with the introduction of three bills to end segregation in stores, theaters, hotels and restaurants.<sup>116</sup>

### ***Change is Coming***

"To get publicity is of the highest strategic importance to the Negro people," concluded Gunnar Myrdal (1898-1987) in his groundbreaking work, *An American Dilemma*, in 1944. Myrdal's work was the result of seven years of investigating the world of the American South where segregation and white supremacy ruled.

The idea – and funding – for the study came from the Carnegie Corporation, a philanthropic organization begun by industrialist Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) in New York in 1911. Myrdal, a Swedish scholar, educator and politician, was recruited for this massive undertaking and began his work in the fall of 1938 after hiring Ralph Bunche (1904-1971), an African American man with degrees from UCLA and Harvard, as his primary researcher.<sup>117</sup>

Over the next seven years, the team traveled throughout the South gathering information on all aspects of African American life including economics, employment, health, education, government policies, the justice system, Jim Crow segregation laws and other areas.<sup>118</sup> Following the team's first research trip into the South, Myrdal wrote to the Carnegie Corporation's president, Frederick Keppel (1875-1943), "I didn't realize what a terrible problem you have put me into. I mean we are horrified."<sup>119</sup>

Myrdal realized that a national awakening of the reality of life in the South could only come through protests and publicity. At the time, issues of segregation and injustice to African Americans were not reported by the white press. No major newspapers had bureaus in the

South, and the actions of the NAACP, the leading organization advocating for the rights of African Americans, never made front page news.<sup>120</sup>

That was going to change.

Myrdal's prescient observation would come true, starting with the NAACP's success in 1954 in the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education* which declared that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional. The ruling made Kentucky's Day Law illegal and set in motion more than a decade of desegregation of Kentucky's schools.

In 1964, protest and publicity would merge in Kentucky's capital as the eyes of the nation turned to the Freedom March on Frankfort led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Figure 4-15).

**FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1964.**

## **10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital**

**Dr. King and Jackie Robinson  
Address Rally in Drive for  
Equality Legislation**

By **JOHN HERBERS**  
Special to The New York Times

**FRANKFORT, Ky., March 5**  
—Ten thousand persons from throughout Kentucky marched on Frankfort today.

Despite a cold drizzle and blustery winds, they stood for three hours before the state Capitol and asked passage of a bill that would fully remove racial barriers in public accommodations.

The marchers came from all over—the coal mines of Appalachia and the plantations of western Kentucky. It was said to be the largest civil rights assemblage since the March on Washington last Aug. 28.

It was also an orderly demonstration, under substantial police protection. The marchers seemed moved by a sense of unity and purpose.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern integration leader, told them that Negroes must continue to press for equal rights at the risk of being called immoderate.

**Says 'Time Is Now'**



Associated Press Wirephoto

**Demonstrators chanting yesterday near the state Capitol**

Figure 4-15. Freedom March on Frankfort  
Source: *New York Times*, March 6, 1964

Endnotes

- 1 "Jim Crow Laws," <https://mchekc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/jim-crow-laws.pdf>, accessed April 12, 2022
- 2 "Legislative Moments," [https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/LegislativeMoments/moments04RS/36\\_web\\_leg\\_history.html#:~:text=Presented%20by%20the%20Kentucky%20Historical%20Society&text=It%20was%20completely%20overturned%20by,state%20or%20in%20the%20South](https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/LegislativeMoments/moments04RS/36_web_leg_history.html#:~:text=Presented%20by%20the%20Kentucky%20Historical%20Society&text=It%20was%20completely%20overturned%20by,state%20or%20in%20the%20South), accessed April 13, 2022; and "The Race to Educate: African American Resistance to Educational Segregation in Kentucky, 1865-1910," Tashia Levanga Bradley, Florida State University College of Education, 2010
- 3 Ibid
- 4 Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society, <http://www.kystreetcarhistoricalsociety.com/publications.html>, accessed April 12, 2022
- 5 Ibid
- 6 "Rode with Whites," *The Paducah Sun-Democrat*, Paducah, Kentucky, April 9, 1912
- 7 *Reports of Civil and Criminal Cases Decided by the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, Volume IV*, January 31, 1913-March 19, 1913, Robert G. Higdon, Reporter, The State Journal Company, Frankfort
- 8 Ibid
- 9 Ibid
- 10 "Governor Cox Offered Reward for Men Who Sowed Seed," *The Bee*, Earlington, Kentucky, April 14, 1910; "Five Thousand Pounds of Tobacco Burned," and "Pooled Crop Is Confiscated," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 15, 1910
- 11 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- 12 "Warned Not to Work Negroes on Roads," *Frankfort Weekly News and Roundabout*, Frankfort, May 23, 1908
- 13 "Reward for Night Riders," *The Winchester News*, Winchester, Kentucky, October 13, 1908
- 14 "Night Riders Cost," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, October 4, 1908
- 15 Notable Kentucky African Americans Database, University of Kentucky Libraries
- 16 "Kentucky State University, Franklin County Bicentennial Extra," *The State Journal*, May 4, 1995
- 17 "African American Reformers," <https://www.womenshistory.org/resources/general/african-american-reformers>, accessed April 4, 2022; "Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women In Kentucky Before The "Modern Civil Rights Movement." Karen Cotton McDaniel, 2013, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history\\_etds/22](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22), accessed April 4, 2022
- 18 "African American Reformers," <https://www.womenshistory.org/resources/general/african-american-reformers>, accessed April 4, 2022
- 19 "Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women In Kentucky Before The "Modern Civil Rights Movement," Karen Cotton McDaniel, 2013, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history\\_etds/22](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22), accessed April 4, 2022
- 20 "Colored Notes," *The Lexington Herald*, December 6, 1922
- 21 "Dr. Charles Anderson," <https://friendsofeasterncemetery.com/dr-charles-w-anderson-sr/>, accessed April 13, 2022
- 22 "Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women In Kentucky Before The "Modern Civil Rights Movement," Karen Cotton McDaniel, 2013, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history\\_etds/22](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22), accessed April 4, 2022
- 23 *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Fletcher, Sheila Mason Burton, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter, Douglas A. Boyd, 2003, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk\\_african\\_american\\_studies/25](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_african_american_studies/25), accessed April 13, 2022
- 24 "Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women In Kentucky Before The "Modern Civil Rights Movement," Karen Cotton McDaniel, 2013, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history\\_etds/22](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22), accessed April 4, 2022
- 25 "Coal Fund of Colored Hospital Receives \$150," *State Journal*, Frankfort, February 27, 1923.
- 26 "The Colored People's Fair," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, September 1, 1906
- 27 "Colored Fair," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, September 15, 1906
- 28 "Colored Fair Will Be a Big Success," *Frankfort Weekly News and Roundabout*, Frankfort, August 15,

- 1908
- 29 *Who's Who of the Colored Race, Volume 1*, Frank Lincoln Mather, 1915
- 30 "Colored Odd Fellows," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, May 17, 1903
- 31 Fletcher, 2003: 12, 31, 69; Hatter, 2021; *Frankfort Roundabout*, 1908
- 32 "Prominent Business Man," *Cleveland Gazette*, December 26, 1914
- 33 "Kentucky's Capital!," *Freeman*, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 6, 1914
- 34 Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society, <http://www.kystreetcarhistoricalsociety.com/publications.html>, accessed April 15, 2022
- 35 Constitution Center, <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendment/amendment-xviii>, accessed April 15, 2022
- 36 Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society, <http://www.kystreetcarhistoricalsociety.com/publications.html>, accessed April 15, 2022
- 37 George D. Stagg Distillery, Franklin County, Kentucky, National Register of Historic Places, 2001
- 38 Interview with Jimmy Johnson Jr. and Freddie Johnson, Bourbon Trail Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, Thomas Troland, interviewer, and <https://www.abvnetwork.com/whiskey-corner/2018/2/22/qneky013gwxvrsm6ykajt4zothvtf>, accessed April 15, 2022
- 39 "How Did Kentucky Become Horse Country?," <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2010/04/how-did-central-kentucky-become-horse-country.html#:~:text=Wealthy%20racing%20enthusiast%20R.A.%20Alexander,sired%20a%20number%20of%20champions>, accessed April 16, 2022
- 40 "Eli Jordan," Chronicle of African Americans in the Horse Industry. n.d. International Museum of the Horse. [https://africanamericanhorsestories.org/research/people/eli-jordan#footnote4\\_hd5lg96](https://africanamericanhorsestories.org/research/people/eli-jordan#footnote4_hd5lg96), accessed April 16, 2022
- 41 "Ike Murphy's Real Name," *The Kentucky Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, July 29, 1891
- 42 *The Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, May 15, 1880
- 43 "Eli Jordan Who Trained Aristides," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, September 25, 1908
- 44 <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=84432>, accessed April 16, 2022
- 45 "Give Heed to This Call," *Frankfort Weekly News and Roundabout*, Frankfort, April 4, 1908
- 46 *Library Service to African Americans in Kentucky from the Reconstruction Era to the 1960s*, Reinette F. Jones, McFarland and Company, Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina, 2002
- 47 "Damage Set at \$45,000," *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, February 3, 1937
- 48 "Resources Mobilized as State is Striken with Its Worst Catastrophe," *The Owensboro Messenger*, Owensboro, Kentucky, January 23, 1937
- 49 "The Flood, The Like Never See in this City Before," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, February 17, 1884
- 50 "Heavy Rains, Recall Flood of Twenty-five Years Ago." *The Frankfort Roundabout*, February 15, 1908
- 51 Civil War Discovery Trail, <http://www.campnelson.org/history/recruitment.htm>, accessed April 14, 2022
- 52 "Decoration Day," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, June 4, 1887
- 53 Correspondence, Russ Hatter to Vicki Birenberg, April 1, 2021
- 54 "Decoration Day," *The Frankfort Roundabout*, June 3, 1905
- 55 Explore Kentucky History, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/191?tour=9&index=28>, accessed April 14, 2022
- 56 Correspondence, Russ Hatter to Vicki Birenberg, April 1, 2021
- 57 *Military History of Kentucky*, The Military Department of Kentucky, G. Lee McClain, Adjutant General, Federal Writers Projects of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Kentucky, *The State Journal*, printer, Frankfort, 1939
- 58 "Harlem Hellfighters Bravely Led Us in WWI," <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/one-hundred-years-ago-harlem-hellfighters-bravely-led-us-wwi-180968977/>, accessed April 14, 2022
- 59 "Columbia Magazine," <http://www.columbiamagazine.com/index.php?sid=88497>, accessed April 14, 2022
- 60 "Some Kentucky Men Who Served in the 369<sup>th</sup> US Infantry, the 'Harlem Hellfighters,'" Michael J. Denis, Parksville, Kentucky, 2017
- 61 U.S. Census, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940. Kentucky Death Records, 1852-1965. City Directories, 1912, 1914, 1917, 1921, 1926, 1928
- 62 US WWI Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918; U.S. Navy Casualties Books, 1776-1941; city directories for



Louisville and Frankfort

- 63 "William Lawless Jones, 85, lieutenant colonel in Army," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 15, 2000
- 64 *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, June 11, 1941
- 65 "Lest We Forget," <http://lestweforget.hamptonu.edu/page.cfm?uid=9FEC43D2-DA46-A26B-071768C3514AF39B>, accessed April 14, 2022
- 66 Berea College and the Day Law, <https://www.berea.edu/news/berea-college-and-the-day-law/>, accessed April 18, 2022
- 67 "John Marshall Harlan," <https://library.cqpress.com/scc/document.php?id=bioenc-427-18167-979265&v=33b34079535700c3>, accessed April 18, 2022
- 68 *Charter Ordinances and Resolutions for the Government of the City of Frankfort, Kentucky*, July 1, 1913, Mayor James H. Polsgrove
- 69 *Rosenwald Schools in Kentucky, 1917-1932*, Alicestyne Turley-Adams, Prepared for the Kentucky Heritage Council, State Historic Preservation Office and the Kentucky African American Heritage Commission, 1997
- 70 Ibid
- 71 Ibid
- 72 Ibid
- 73 *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Fletcher, Sheila Mason Burton, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter, Douglas A. Boyd, 2003, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk\\_african\\_american\\_studies/25](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_african_american_studies/25), accessed April 18, 2022
- 74 Ibid
- 75 Ibid
- 76 "Legislative Moments," <https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/LegislativeMoments/Moments18RS/web/legislative%20moment%2024.pdf>, accessed April 17, 2022
- 77 "KSU Timeline," <https://www.kysu.edu/about-ksu/timeline-of-ksu-history.php>, accessed April 18, 2022
- 78 <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/392>, accessed April 18, 2022
- 79 "KSU Timeline," <https://www.kysu.edu/about-ksu/timeline-of-ksu-history.php>, accessed April 18, 2022
- 80 "History Overview," [https://www.va.gov/HISTORY/VA\\_History/Overview.asp](https://www.va.gov/HISTORY/VA_History/Overview.asp), accessed April 18, 2022
- 81 "Research Data for African American Resources," Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022
- 82 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- 83 Ibid
- 84 Ibid
- 85 Ibid
- 86 Ibid
- 87 Ibid
- 88 *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, December 20, 1936
- 89 "Negroes Oppose Merger of Two Kentucky Colleges," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, January 3, 1938
- 90 "Lost Colleges," <https://www.lostcolleges.com/330-west-kentucky-industrial-college>, accessed April 20, 2022
- 91 "Negroes Oppose Merger of Two Kentucky Colleges," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, January 3, 1938
- 92 "Lost Colleges," <https://www.lostcolleges.com/330-west-kentucky-industrial-college>, accessed April 20, 2022
- 93 Ibid
- 94 President Harry S. Truman – Calendar, [https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/calendar/search?body\\_value\\_op=word&comment\\_keywords=&page=50](https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/calendar/search?body_value_op=word&comment_keywords=&page=50), accessed April 18, 2022
- 95 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- 96 Ibid
- 97 lb

- 98 "The Negro and Higher Education in Kentucky," *The Courier-Journal*, November 28, 1948
- 99 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- 100 "The Happy Return of John Wesley Hatch," Paul Obserst, Professor of Law Emeritus, *Kentucky Lawyer*, University of Kentucky College of Law, 1994
- 101 "Dr. Booker T. Washington," *Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, October 20, 1908
- 102 "Booker T. Washington," <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/booker-t-washington>, accessed April 17, 2022
- 103 "Dr. Booker T. Washington," *Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, October 20, 1908
- 104 Ibid
- 105 "Underwood and Armistead," *The Daily Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, October 28, 1900
- 106 "Negroes Protest," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, January 21, 1904
- 107 "Republican State Convention," *The Bourbon News*, Paris, Kentucky, May 6, 1904
- 108 "Charles W. Anderson, Jr.," *The K.N.E.A. Journal, Official Organ of the Kentucky Negro Education Association*, Louisville, Kentucky, February-March 1944
- 109 Explore Kentucky History, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/297>, accessed April 17, 2022
- 110 Senate Resolution, Kentucky General Assembly, April 17, 2022
- 111 "UK Graduate Work Asked for Negroes," *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, February 6, 1948
- 112 "New Plan to Boost State Salary Limit Looms in Legislature," *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, February 13, 1948
- 113 "Legislator Praised," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, April 14, 1950
- 114 Explore Kentucky History, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/299>, accessed April 17, 2022
- 115 "The Legislature Chalks Up an Impressive Achievement Record," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 21, 1954
- 116 "Road Building Bill Squeaks By," *The Park City Daily News*, Bowling Green, Kentucky, February 21, 1958
- 117 *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2006
- 118 *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Democracy*, Gunnar Myrdal, Harper & Brothers, United States of America, 1944, <http://runeberg.org/adilemma/>, accessed April 21, 2022
- 119 *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2006
- 120 Ibid

# SECTION II. HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

## Chapter Five: Seeking and Demanding Civil Rights – 1954-1976

### ***Separate is Not Equal***

On Monday, May 17, 1954, newsroom wires across the country began moving the long-awaited U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. The court had combined cases from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware which used the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment's equal protection clause to challenge the court's separate-but-equal 1896 ruling in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*.

Chief Justice Earl Warren (1891-1974) had secured unanimous agreement from the justices, including Justice Stanley Forman Reed (1884-1980) from Kentucky. Although delaying the question of a timetable for desegregation, the decision was clear:<sup>1</sup>



Figure 5-1. "School Segregation Banned"  
Source: *The Topeka State Journal*, Topeka, Kansas, May 17, 1954

"We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does....To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way likely never to be undone....The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn" (Figure 5-1).<sup>2</sup>

While governors, senators and other elected officials from Southern states quickly decried the ruling and vowed to oppose it, Kentucky Governor Lawrence Wetherby (1908-1994) immediately said the state would comply, adding that he expected Kentucky to have "less trouble" than other

affected states.<sup>3</sup> Wetherby was also chairman of the Southern Governors Association and urged other governors to peacefully implement the ruling.<sup>4</sup>

The day after the ruling, Louisville's newspaper published an editorial supporting the court's ruling. Noting recent court rulings that moved the country toward greater equality, including striking down restrictive covenants on real estate contracts, white-only primary elections of Southern states and separation of races in all modes of transportation, the editorial described the decision as "marked by reason and restraint... (which) enunciated a doctrine of morality." The editorial recognized the changes that were already taking place including desegregation of the U.S. armed forces and admitting African Americans to graduate schools in Kentucky, hailing former Frankfort resident and Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan, the lone dissenter in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896: "It was the Harlan view that came to prevail, little by little, over the years."<sup>5</sup>

GENERAL LIBRARY  
OCT 14 1954  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

# Factual SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

VOL. I, NO. 1 NASHVILLE, TENN. SEPTEMBER 3, 1954

## Reporting Service To Tell School Story

LEGAL STATUS OF SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**By C. A. McKNIGHT**  
Executive Director

With this first issue of Southern School News, the Southern Education Reporting Service undertakes a major new journalistic assignment—to tell the story, factually and objectively, of what happens in education as a result of the Supreme Court's May 17 opinion that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional.

Much has been done—and in a short time—to organize the Reporting Service.

It was in April that several southern members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors got together at the annual Washington convention to talk over with representatives of the Fund for the Advancement of Education the need for such a reporting service.

It was on May 11 that a group of southern newspaper editors and editors met in Nashville and constituted themselves a board of directors for SERS, electing Virginia Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, as chairman and Thomas R. Waring, editor of the *Charlotte News & Courier*, as vice-chairman.

On June 6, the board held a second meeting in Nashville, elected C. A. McKnight, editor of *The Charlotte News*, as executive director, laid down broad project directives, and designated the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, to act as fiscal agent for the project.

On July 5, formal application for a grant of \$99,200 was made to the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

On July 15, the Nashville office of SERS was opened.

Since that date:

1. A central headquarters staff has been employed.
2. Top-flight newspapermen and women in the District of Columbia and 17 southern and border states have been appointed SERS correspondents. (Their names appear in the masthead on Page 4). On July 24-25, the correspondents attended a two-day seminar in Nashville at which the objectives of the Reporting Service were explained.
3. A mailing list of nearly 10,000 names has been built up. It includes governors and members of their executive staffs, chief state school officers, members of state boards of education, local school administrators, university presidents and heads of interested university departments, public libraries, all daily and weekly newspapers in the region with a circulation of 2,000 or more, leading newspapers and magazines in the non-South, radio and television stations, wire services, federal agencies, and hundreds of interested private citizens.
4. SERS has been incorporated under Tennessee law as a general welfare corporation.
5. This first issue has been prepared, printed and distributed.

The initial issue is not a prototype of future editions, insofar as format and content are concerned. At the outset, it seemed desirable—even essential—to go back to May 17, pick up the many loose ends of the public school story, and tie them together in a full and detailed documentary, which would be useful to school administrators, newspaper editors and others as background material for understanding subsequent developments in the several states.

Hence, the reports in this first issue

are somewhat long, somewhat weighty. And since SERS is not trying to compete with daily newspapers, but rather to supplement them, these initial reports lag behind the headlines in several cases.

But they are loaded with facts for the thoughtful reader and student. The story revealed by the facts in one of watchful waiting throughout most of the region, with the beginnings of desegregation this month in the states of Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, and the District of Columbia.

Future monthly issues will not only carry along the chronological story, state by state, but will look closely at key communities, give excerpts from significant public addresses, legislative proposals and court decisions, report editorial and other opinion from responsible sources, digest important books, magazine articles and other writing on the subject, and analyze statistical information compiled by state departments of education and other agencies.

This initial issue speaks for itself in answer to the two southern newspapers which have voiced the opinion that SERS was established to encourage integration, and to the southern Negro newspaper which expressed the fear that SERS was a scheme by "Dixiecrats" to thwart the Supreme Court and preserve segregation.

But it should be stated again—categorically as possible—that the Southern Education Reporting Service will not be an advocate for or against anything, but it will express no opinions of its own on what is good and bad or wise and unwise, and that it will adhere scrupulously to the accurate and objective reporting of facts as it finds them.

This fundamental policy of the Reporting Service has been emphatically endorsed by the members of the board of directors, whose personal convictions about segregation cover a wide range, by the newspapermen and women who accepted appointment as SERS correspondents, and by officials of the Fund for the Advancement of Education who approved the grant.

**SEERS NEWS BEAT**—The 17 states and the District of Columbia shown in black in the map above, where segregation in the public schools has been required by law, will be the principal news beat of the Southern Education Reporting Service. But facts will also be reported as they occur in other states where segregation has either been permitted by law, or where the law was silent on the subject. The map is from the book, "The Negro and the Schools," by Harry S. Ashmore, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Segregation required 17 states and District of Columbia  
 Segregation permitted in varying degrees 4 states

Figure 5-2. Southern School News  
Source: Southern School News, September 3, 1954

In anticipation of the Supreme Court ruling, a group of Southern newspaper editors and publishers, including Mark Ethridge (1896-1981), publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, formed the Southern Education Reporting Service, established an office in Nashville, Tennessee, and began publishing *Southern School News*, a monthly newspaper that tracked the progress of desegregation in the 17 affected states (5-2).<sup>6</sup>

Over the next decade, the newspaper reported on Southern states fighting desegregation in state legislatures and the courts and with riots and assaults on African Americans by white people. Tracking Kentucky's progress, the publication reported that reaction to the ruling has been "mild," and that coverage would focus primarily on Louisville, noting in its first issue that seven percent of the state's population of 3,144,000 in 1954 was African American and 38 percent of Black residents lived in Louisville.<sup>7</sup>

Kentucky also faced a gubernatorial election in 1955, as the governor's office was limited to one term. With Governor Wetherby's term coming to an end, the state adopted a go-slow policy to keep the issue out of the election.<sup>8</sup>

Statewide organizations also began to work on strategies for desegregation. In April of 1955, the interracial Kentucky Council on Human Relations filed papers of incorporation in Frankfort where it was headquartered, stating its objective "To assist private and public bodies in research and education for intelligent, planned and constructive integration of the schools in Kentucky... professional help will be provided upon request from the staff of 11 trained consultants, the executive director and other staff members."<sup>9</sup>

Also that month, the director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations addressed the state's segregated teacher organizations – the African American Kentucky Teachers Association and the white Kentucky Education Association – and called for a merger stating "How can we expect the schools to integrate successfully if the teachers' organizations aren't integrated?"<sup>10</sup> (The two organizations merged in 1956.)

In April of 1956, Albert Benjamin Chandler (1898-1991), returning to hold the office of governor that he had previously held in the 1930s, announced plans to desegregate school districts across the state.<sup>11</sup>

For the beginning of the 1956-57 school term, the city of Frankfort's school board announced: "Public schools will be open henceforward to all races in accordance with the rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States." The announcement muted the declaration by adding "Wherever any classroom shortage may appear, temporary preference will be given to the previous enrollees and procedures at the school and additional classroom space will be provided as fast as the location and extent of needs and the financial means can be developed." The announcement further added that the two high schools, one for Black students and one for white students, "will be continued for a while to test the use of both and give employment to teachers at both schools."<sup>12</sup>

Although Frankfort High School (NRHP, 1983, 2008) had already begun desegregation, elementary schools would take another seven years. In 1962 Frankfort had six elementary schools including the "all-Negro Mayo-Underwood School." In November of that year, the Frankfort Board of Education asked the U.S. District Court in Frankfort to accept a grade-a-year plan, following a lawsuit filed by the parents of African American children who were denied admission to grades two through eight at two elementary schools. Of the 24 students who attempted to enroll, only four were admitted to the first grade at Murray Street School. Helen Holmes (1902-1995), president of the Frankfort NAACP chapter, pointed out "It has been eight years since Frankfort High School was integrated and the school board has done nothing about the elementary schools." The school board defended its actions, citing multiple reasons including urban renewal underway in North

Frankfort and that “rapid change in the location of (Frankfort’s) school population would cause fears and apprehensions in the children and parents of both races.”<sup>13</sup>



Figure 5-3. “Frankfort Offers to Speed Integration”  
Source: *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Ky.,  
February 12, 1963

In February of 1963, after the court’s rejection of the first plan, the school board presented a second plan calling for complete desegregation of elementary schools by the fall of 1964. The plan included the option for all students to choose to attend the currently all-white Second Street School in South Frankfort or the all-Black Mayo-Underwood School in Craw and to alter the district boundaries to allow Black students to attend Murray Street School in South Frankfort. Rev. Edgar Mack (1930-1991), representing the parents of children who had been denied admission, called the plan a “sham and disgrace to our capital city. It is a feeble attempt to cloak and continue segregation now and forever.”<sup>14</sup>

assigning students to schools in the districts where they lived.<sup>15</sup> On July 3, 1963, U.S. District Court Judge H. Church Ford (1884-1969) approved the amended plan which was implemented that fall. The plan also called for reassigning teachers without regard to race or color (Figure 5-3).<sup>16</sup>

In June, the school board offered a third plan, this time calling for closing Mayo-Underwood School and

The provision of assigning teachers would be of great concern as schools continued to be desegregated. Kentucky State College President Rufus Atwood presented a proposal at the Kentucky Teachers Association conference and again at the convention of the Kentucky State Conference of the NAACP to address the problem. Atwood proposed creating a “state hiring pool of qualified teachers, with the state board of education required to refuse to issue emergency certificates to teachers lacking full qualifications as long as any qualified teachers – Negro or white – remain in the pool.”<sup>17</sup>

In a meeting of school superintendents in September of 1955, the group was informed that Kentucky currently had 20,868 teachers, and 1,386 of those were African American. Of the African American teachers, all but 12 were certified, while 2,372 white teachers held “emergency or sub-standard certification.” C.D. Redding, superintendent of Frankfort schools, raised the question “In any form of desegregation, a good many districts are going to have surplus teachers...which ones are you going to eliminate? Somebody, under any plan of desegregation, is going to lose a job.”<sup>18</sup>

In a 1956 issue, the *Journal of Negro Education* observed: “That the future of Negro teachers in the state is a crucial problem is a further indication that Kentucky is hardly a Utopia of non-segregation.” Praising the merger of the two statewide teacher associations and noting “the Kentucky Council on Human Relations...is concentrating the bulk of its efforts on the teacher problem,” the publication noted “the state Department of Education is making some cautious efforts...” The publication also pointed out “Kentucky Negro teachers have a higher average

educational attainment and more years of experience than the white teachers. State law gives a teacher tenure when employed by the same board for seven continuous years, and because of low turnover a high proportion of Negro teachers have tenure under this provision.”<sup>19</sup>

As desegregation continued, the Frankfort-based Kentucky Council on Human Relations took another step. In December of 1963, a letter from Council Chair Alicia McAlpin (1908-1983) was read to the State Board of Education requesting information about African American accomplishments to be included in textbooks and other public school class materials. The letter pointed out that instead of the current presentation of Blacks as inferior, “It would be a great contribution to the building of respect on the one hand and pride on the other for our children to learn in school that the first casualty of the Revolutionary War was Crispus Attucks, a Negro; that the first successful heart operation was performed by Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a Negro; that the first settler in what is now the great city of Chicago was Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a Negro....”<sup>20</sup>

After reading the letter, Superintendent of Public Instruction Wendell Butler (1912-2000) told the board “I think the time has come to give some history behind the Negro race, particularly in the textbooks.” A committee was appointed to study the question.<sup>21</sup>

In 1968, Kentucky became the first state to set a policy requiring the inclusion of African American history in public school curriculums. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported “An important move toward recognition and appreciation of Negro heritage and Negro contributions to American history was made when the (Kentucky) State Board of Education decreed on May 1, 1968, that Negro history must be included in public school curriculum at all levels.” The decision was not without controversy as critics charged that a bibliography developed by the National Education Association which was considered for use included books by “well known Communists or Communist propagandists.” The board then decided to use bibliographical guides which were used by other states and school districts.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 5-4. Frankfort High School Football Team, 1956  
Source: Frankfort High School *Capitolian* Yearbook, 1957

### ***Didn't See No Colors***

As Frankfort's schools were desegregated from 1956 to 1964, their associated athletic facilities and teams were also desegregated (Figure 5-4). In 1956, Kermit Ellison Williams (1941-2006), a sophomore and talented athlete who lived with his parents at 328 East 3rd Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort was one of several African Americans who enrolled at Frankfort High School. The school's football games were played on Sower Field at McChensey Stadium in the Bellepoint community. John Rodman Sower (1877-1937), a former city councilman and member of the city's board of education, had donated the athletic field to the city in 1923. Sower's will stipulated that no Blacks would play on the field, or the land would be reverted to his heirs. Coach Ollie C. Leathers (1922-1996) ignored the stipulation. In 1955, he had hired Alvin C. Hanley (1928-1987) as the assistant football coach. Hanley had been an All-American athlete at KSU and in 1951 was one of the first Black players drafted by the Los Angeles Rams. He had previously coached at Mayo-Underwood. In 1956, Williams and Hanley were the only two African Americans on the team.<sup>23</sup>

"Ollie Leathers didn't see no colors," said John Allen Sykes (1941-2019), one of the Black students who integrated Frankfort High School. "He saw players. And if you could play or you had a talent, he put you out there." When warned he was risking his job by integrating the football team, Coach Leathers said, "well, this is my team and I'm putting my team on the field," said Sykes. "So, he stuck his neck out."<sup>24</sup>

Before Kermit Williams' first football game, the KKK burned a cross on a hill near the football field. Williams scored the game's only touchdowns, giving the Frankfort High School Panthers the 13-0 victory. *Life Magazine* covered the game with an article titled "The Halting and Fitful Battle for Integration" and a photograph of Williams scoring his first touchdown with a burning cross in the background. Williams was elected the football team's captain his senior year. He was also the first African American player on the basketball and track teams. Later he played briefly at KSU.<sup>25</sup>

In 1964, Barry Coleman Moore (1946-2007) became the first white player to integrate the football team at KSU. Moore was a graduate of Frankfort High School where he was a standout player at three positions. At KSU, he played quarterback and halfback under Coach Ellis "Mel" Whedbee. The integrated Thorobreds team played its first game at Fisk University in Nashville. The story of Moore integrating the football team at KSU was published in *Jet Magazine* and *Sports Illustrated*. Moore was nervous until he intercepted a pass for a touchdown during the game with Winston-Salem. "When the crowd cheered, I really felt at home," he told a reporter. "I felt I had proven myself to them."<sup>26</sup>

### ***Kentucky State College: A Time of Transition***

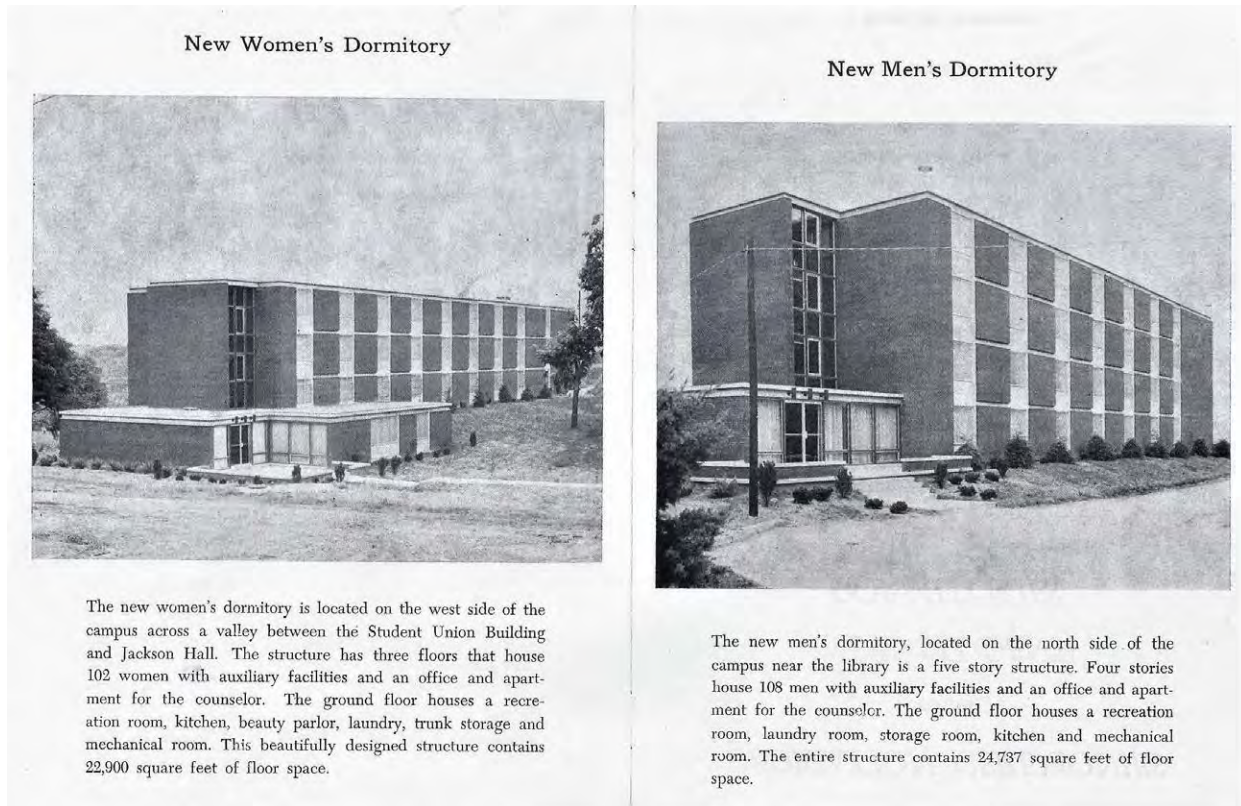
The changes underway as a result of *Brown vs. Board of Education* and Kentucky's earlier initial movement to desegregate institutions of higher education brought multiple opportunities and challenges for Kentucky State College.

Maintaining and increasing enrollment was of paramount importance. In the fall 1954 issue of *Kentucky Teachers Association Journal*, President Atwood wrote an article titled "Kentucky State College and Integration," arguing that the school should not be closed as a result of desegregation because it offered useful classes for Black and white students, especially training students to teach in public schools. In 1963, results of a study on the school's future were issued. The study recommended the school remain open and noted that plans now called for new buildings and a target enrollment of 2,600 within five years. Dr. Carl M. Hill (1907-1995), who became the school's president in 1962, commented "All doubts about the college's future have evaporated."<sup>27</sup>

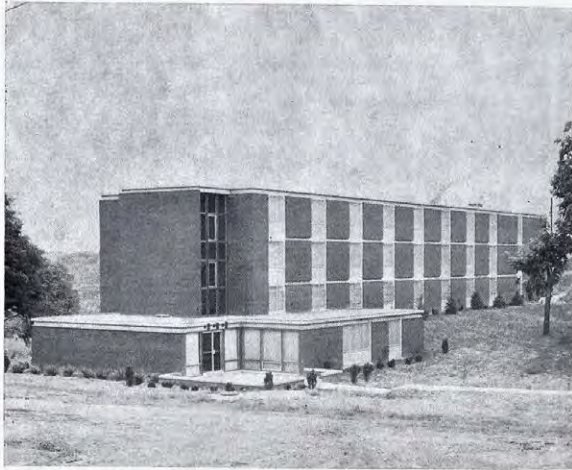
In 1954, five months after the Supreme Court's ruling, the first white student, Geraldine Cox Ogden, enrolled at Kentucky State College. In 1957, Kentucky State College and the University of Kentucky in Lexington announced they would offer extension courses in Frankfort. By 1959,



there were 69 white students enrolled in evening classes, and in 1963, the number had increased to 110. Enrollment in 1963 reached more than 900 students, and a report stated that biracial enrollment had increased at the six state and two municipal schools from the previous year.<sup>28</sup>

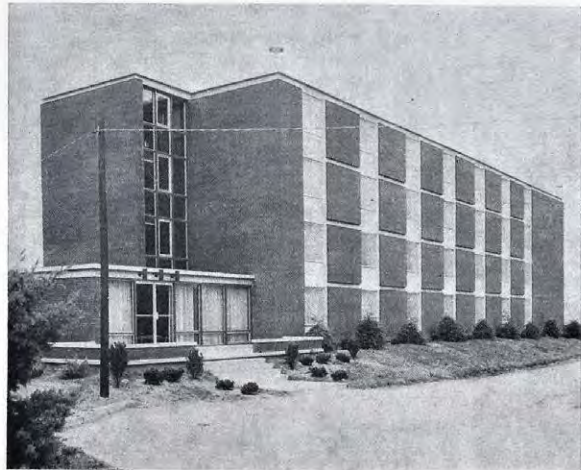


New Women's Dormitory



The new women's dormitory is located on the west side of the campus across a valley between the Student Union Building and Jackson Hall. The structure has three floors that house 102 women with auxiliary facilities and an office and apartment for the counselor. The ground floor houses a recreation room, kitchen, beauty parlor, laundry, trunk storage and mechanical room. This beautifully designed structure contains 22,900 square feet of floor space.

New Men's Dormitory



The new men's dormitory, located on the north side of the campus near the library is a five story structure. Four stories house 108 men with auxiliary facilities and an office and apartment for the counselor. The ground floor houses a recreation room, laundry room, storage room, kitchen and mechanical room. The entire structure contains 24,737 square feet of floor space.

Figure 5-5. Dedication Ceremonies for the New Student Dormitories  
Source: Kentucky State College, October 23, 1964

On campus, the focus continued to be on securing funds to operate the school and to construct much-needed buildings. In 1957, \$410,000 was appropriated to build a new library, an alumni guest house and a student union building.<sup>29</sup> Construction would continue over the coming decades including new dormitories, an athletic complex, a gymnasium, health center and other buildings (Figure 5-5).<sup>30</sup>

***Urban Renewal Brings Loss and New Neighborhoods***

In July of 1966, Corinthian Baptist Church submitted a relocation payment claim of \$3,888 to the Urban Renewal and Community Development Agency at 211 Wilkinson Street in Frankfort. The claim was itemized - \$3,360 for direct loss of property, \$360 to "rework church pews" and \$168 for "self move" from 324 Mero Street in Craw where the church had been located since 1868. The claim of \$3,360 was the value of the organ console pipes and chests. The agency approved only \$3,000 of this part of the claim.<sup>31</sup>

That same month a picture appeared in the newspaper of a groundbreaking ceremony at the corner of Murray and East Second Streets in South Frankfort (Figure 5-6). In the center of the picture, Rev. Charles N. King (1896-1975), pastor of the church since 1960, watches as Silas Kirby (1908-1990), chairman of the board of trustees, Mary Lee Hunter (1891-1980), chairman of the building committee, Clintee Ellis (1883-1972), board member, and Jennie Mae Buckner (1891-1988), building committee member, turn the first shovels of dirt where the new educational and community center would be built. Construction of the church would have to wait. The photo

# The State Journal



ONE OF KENTUCKY'S GREAT NEWSPAPERS

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY MONDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 25, 1966



**START OF NEW CHURCH BUILDING**—The Rev. Charles N. King, center, watches as four officials of the Corinthian Baptist Church break ground for a new educational building and community center at the corner of Murray and Second Sts. yesterday. The four are Silas Kirby, chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mrs. Mary Lee Hunter, chairman of the building committee, Miss Clintie Ellis, member of the

Staff Photo  
board, and Mrs. Jennie Mae Buckman, member of the building committee. Construction on the educational and community center part will start soon. Construction of the auditorium will start later. The church, forced to move from the Urban Renewal area, started a drive for funds last year. Rev. King said yesterday about \$75,000 is needed to complete the project.

Figure 5-6. "Start of a New Church Building"  
Source: *The State Journal*, Frankfort, Ky., July 25, 1966

caption notes: "The church, forced to move from the Urban Renewal area, started a drive for funds last year. Rev. King said about \$75,000 is needed to complete the project."<sup>32</sup>

Demolition of the church and rebuilding in another part of town was one of the massive changes in Frankfort's landscape in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. During these years, Frankfort's African American population would experience dramatic changes in housing as urban renewal decimated the

established neighborhood of Craw and as new, middle-class neighborhoods and public housing were developed.

The idea for urban renewal emerged after World War II as the federal government, states and cities across the country embraced plans to demolish entire sections of cities to make way for new developments. Urban renewal partnered local and state governments with the federal government, encompassing a complicated array of strategies to accomplish its aims including planning and capital grants, loans and mortgage insurance. Actions included eminent domain to allow the government to take property, including private homes and businesses, demolition to clear properties for new uses, and constructing new roads, public housing and recreational parks. Many urban renewal projects focused on clearing not only slums but historic neighborhoods and commercial districts for new, modern buildings.

Urban renewal planners justified demolition of entire neighborhoods without acknowledging that these areas were often home to African Americans who did not have the political clout to combat the plans. Explanations often read as this one from 1959 focused on urban renewal in Kentucky's cities: "The federal urban renewal program is a golden opportunity for the city with a slum or blight problem, and its lenient administration furthers the legislative objective of a decent home for every American....Such deterioration of the once fine areas in and near the central business district is becoming characteristic of our urban growth and is a major cause of the related problem of urban sprawl. Our cities are beginning to recognize that these blighted areas are an expensive luxury they can no longer afford. In addition to much written about and well-documented social consequences in the form of crime, disease and juvenile delinquency, blighted areas are expensive in terms of municipal finance."<sup>33</sup>

In Frankfort, the Frankfort Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Agency arrived in 1955 with its focus directed at the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project Area, a 50-acre area known as Craw. The city's largest African American neighborhood developed soon after the Civil War as it offered inexpensive land and access to work locations. Although predominantly African American, Craw was home to whites as well. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Craw had developed a reputation as a seedy part of town, offering brothels, saloons, pool halls and liquor stores. While this characterization may have been true, Craw was also home to numerous working-class families. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Craw was a thriving neighborhood with homes, churches, stores and Mayo-Underwood School for African Americans.<sup>34</sup>

The idea for urban renewal in Frankfort is thought to have originated with Farnham Dudgeon (1912-1985), a local businessman and president of the Frankfort-Franklin County Chamber of Commerce, who included it in the chamber's workplan for 1955. Soon after, the Frankfort City Council established the Frankfort Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Agency which began to develop a plan.<sup>35</sup>

Studies of the area to build the case for urban renewal included crime statistics and the condition of buildings. Studies noted the poor condition of homes which were mostly rentals – most had no indoor plumbing and were heated by coal or wood burning stoves. A survey found that 60 percent of the population was African American, and 70 percent of all families and individuals qualified for public housing.<sup>36</sup>

Initial estimates indicated that clearance and redevelopment would take five years at a cost of a little more than \$1.4 million. The agency's board of directors accepted the plans on June 26, 1957. Two public hearings took place in January and February 1958. The first public hearing drew over 200 people to the Franklin County Courthouse, where Helen F. Holmes, president of the local chapter of the NAACP and an English professor at KSU, questioned "why the federal government had been told Negroes here did not object to slum clearance." Maurice G. Scott, the agency's board chairman, stated that Black property owners would receive fair market value

for their properties, which would be sufficient to purchase or build replacement housing. Scott also reassured the public that new public housing would be constructed near Craw, and that displaced churches would be relocated to residential areas. James Richardson, pastor of St. John AME Church, encouraged city leaders to engage with residents, instead of handing them a plan that had already been “cooked up.” Frankfort Mayor John Gerard and former Mayor Robert C. Yount urged those in attendance to “put your faith in your elected officials.”<sup>37</sup>

At the second public hearing in February, agency officials shared a map showing every building within the 50-acre urban renewal area would be demolished. Residents once again expressed their wishes that public housing be constructed within the urban renewal area. Dr. Booker T. Holmes expressed concern over finding a place to relocate his physician’s office on Mero Street. The following month, over 250 residents signed a petition in opposition to the project, claiming the city lacked an adequate relocation plan for displaced residents and churches. The petitioners hired local attorneys to appear before the city commissioners and express their concerns.<sup>38</sup>



Figure 5-7. Business Demolished for Urban Renewal  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Despite protests from residents, city commissioners approved the urban renewal plan and signed agreements with the federal government in July of 1958 (Figures 5-7 and 5-8). Property acquisition and relocation activities were initiated in July of 1959. However, the city elected a new city manager, Paul Judd, in 1959. A businessman and former city councilman, Judd took office on January 4, 1960. Judd was concerned that the city did not properly address the concerns of Black residents. He demanded the agency’s board of directors resign so he could appoint replacements, but chairman Scott refused. The ensuing controversy between local, state, and federal officials brought the urban renewal project to a grinding halt.<sup>39</sup>



fracturing the once-cohesive community. Among the new locations where African Americans made their homes were Sutterlin Terrace and the neighborhood of South Frankfort, where Corinthian Baptist Church built a new house of worship. Many businesses and civic gathering places as well as the high school, including restaurants, markets, auto repair garages, saloons, the library and a barber shop closed, and the buildings were demolished.<sup>42</sup>

The first neighborhood for middle-class African Americans was Normal Heights. Originally a rural neighborhood, identified as a “Colored Settlement” on an 1882 map, the area became home to faculty and staff at Kentucky State when a real estate company developed a new subdivision on the east side of campus in 1911.

In 1958, faced with the growing need for places for the faculty to build or buy homes, 32.82 acres of Kentucky State College’s farm land were sold for \$16,410 to the newly formed College Park Development Corporation. Plans for the development were “aimed at providing new housing for Frankfort’s Negro population” although the school’s president stated: “All races will be welcome.” Twelve to 15 houses were planned to be built by the corporation for resale at \$10,000 to \$15,000. (The subdivision eventually had about 40 homes.)<sup>43</sup>

(See Chapter 6, *Built Environment*, for details on Frankfort’s African American neighborhoods.)

**“Doors Will Be Opening to You Now that Were Closed in the Past” – Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Kentucky State College Commencement Address, June 2, 1957**

The years following the Supreme Court’s 1954 school desegregation ruling were met with optimism that African Americans were moving toward equality and the total rights of citizenship. On June 2, 1957, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) gave the commencement address to the 69<sup>th</sup> graduating class of Kentucky State College (Figure 5-10). King had risen to prominence

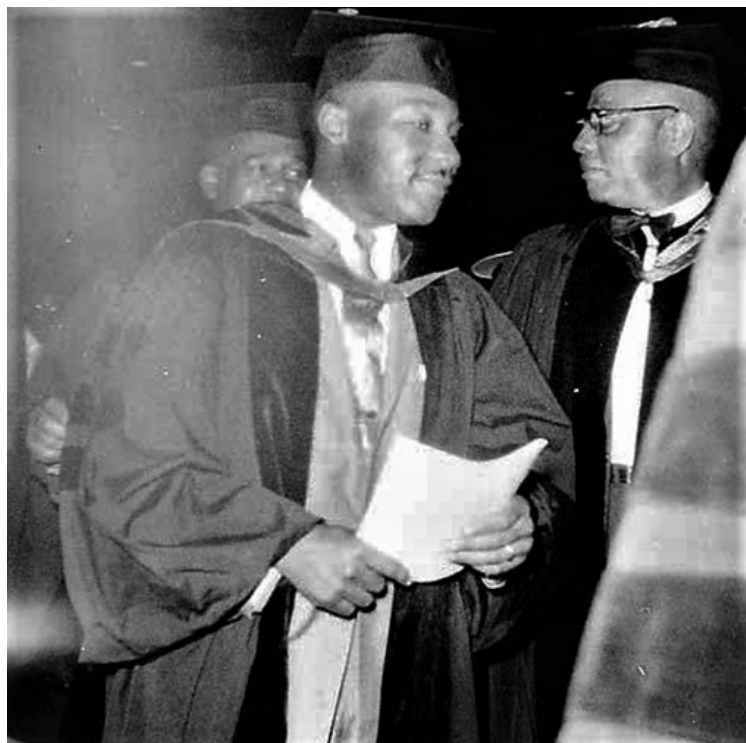


Figure 5-10. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium, 1957  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

leading a year-long boycott of the bus system in Montgomery, Alabama that led to the Supreme Court’s order to integrate the city’s buses. Knowing that King’s appearance would draw a large crowd, graduation ceremonies were moved from the school’s campus to Frankfort High School’s new 2,500-seat gymnasium on Ewing Street.<sup>44</sup>

Foreshadowing his 1963 address at the March on Washington when King dreamed of a day when his children would “not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character,” King told the graduating students, “This is no time to be a good Negro anything. You simply have to be a good teacher, not a good Negro teacher; a good preacher, not a good Negro preacher. Doors will be opening to you now that were closed in the past. You have got to resolve, therefore, to do your job so well it cannot be excelled....”<sup>45</sup>

Despite the optimism stemming from school desegregation, what African Americans knew – and would experience repeatedly in the next decade – was that the doors would not open without a strong and determined push. That push – the Civil Rights Movement – would soon begin in Frankfort, the state of Kentucky and the nation, transforming the country by the end of the 1960s.

As would be true in many cities, protests in Frankfort were started by young people who planned sit-ins and demonstrations to demand desegregation of businesses. In Frankfort, these young people were also students at Kentucky State College, triggering both support and consequences from the school's leadership.

The first phase of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement focused on sit-ins with the first one in Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1, 1960. By April, sit-ins had occurred in at least 54 cities in nine states.<sup>46</sup>

On April 2, 1960, the first sit-in by students from Kentucky State College and the University of Kentucky was held in Frankfort under the leadership of Arthur Edward Norman (1925-1991), assistant professor of psychology at Kentucky State College. (A native of Philadelphia, Norman had earned two degrees from Howard University and taught at Tuskegee and West Virginia State College.) A month earlier, a letter from Norman appeared in the *New York Times* addressing continued discrimination and the need for "Negro passive resistance protests against segregation in the United States. It seems incredible that in the year 1960 the Negro is forced by white segregationists to resort to demonstrations to obtain full citizenship rights....Something must be done to place our country's racial practices clearly and unequivocally on the side of justice and right. Continued inhuman treatment of racial minorities cannot be tolerated in the United States, indeed in the world."<sup>47</sup>

Norman and other activists next wrote a letter to the civil rights organization, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), asking for guidance to form a chapter in Frankfort. By the end of March 1960, the Frankfort-based CORE affiliate Students for Civil Rights was recognized by the national organization and initial meetings were held at St. John's AME Church. The group's first newsletter was distributed on the campus of Kentucky State College to recruit members.<sup>48</sup>

Kentucky State College President Rufus Atwood, who had served as chair of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations and chaired Frankfort's interracial Citizens Committee which worked toward desegregation in the city, initially voiced his support for CORE-affiliated Students for Civil Rights.<sup>49</sup>

Students for Civil Rights took action immediately with sit-ins on April 2. News reports of Frankfort's first sit-in informed readers that "About 50 Negroes invaded nearly 20 businesses in an attempt to get restaurant or lunch counter service." Three establishments did serve the students.<sup>50</sup> According to Helen F. Holmes, only one student was arrested – a young man who requested service at the Frankfort Drug Store. She immediately bailed him out. At Frisch's Drive In, the manager closed the restaurant rather than serve Black customers. The owner of Frankfort Drug Company removed the stools from the lunch counter and stopped serving food rather than serve Black customers.<sup>51</sup>

On April 6, the group sent a letter to Mayor Paul Judd (1905-1962) asking him to introduce "an ordinance making it unlawful to practice segregation in public businesses."<sup>52</sup> The group then met with the mayor and other city officials, ministers and school superintendents to present their plans. Signaling the challenges the group would face as it moved forward, Mayor Judd told reporters "We must solve it (desegregation) without demonstrations....If they insist on demonstrations, we will not continue negotiations." The mayor agreed that there was a need for a Council on Human Rights and promised to take "steps" toward its formation.<sup>53</sup>

Agreeing to Mayor Judd's requests to not hold demonstrations for three weeks, Students for Civil Rights held its first meeting attended by 400 students on campus. The group announced plans for a series of workshops to provide training in nonviolent resistance through sit-ins, stand-ins and picket lines. The workshops would be held at Kentucky State College, although President Atwood emphasized they were not sponsored by the school. Praising the group's plans, Atwood said "They have come up with a new type of approach to an old problem that many of us have been working on for years."<sup>54</sup>

Kentucky State College student George Mahin (1941-2019) described the workshops, which he said developed "spontaneously": "We are taught to take brutality. If we are subjected to spitting, shoving or shouting of 'N—,' we don't spit or shove or shout back."<sup>55</sup>

The students were filmed during a sit-in workshop for Chet Huntley's weekly *Huntley-Brinkley Report* with David Brinkley scheduled to be aired on NBC News.<sup>56</sup> According to Dr. Gertrude Ridgel (1922-2010), a professor of science at KSU, and Helen F. Holmes, both of whom participated in the sit-ins, the businesses where sit-ins occurred included:

- Frankfort Drug Company, 238 West Main Street (NRHP, 1979, 2009)
- Mucci's Restaurant, 241 West Main Street (NRHP, 1979, 2009)
- Horn Drug Company, 243 West Broadway (NRHP, 1979, 2009)
- Putt's Restaurant, 330 Ann Street (demolished)
- F.W. Woolworth's, 314 St. Clair Street (demolished)
- J.J. Newberry Company, 316 St. Clair Street (demolished)
- Frisch's Big Boy Drive In, 705 East Main Street near KSU (demolished)

At the same time the CORE chapter was planning demonstrations at Frankfort's businesses, Kentucky State College's student council began organizing students to demand improved conditions at the school. The council presented a list of 26 demands to President Atwood including better food in the cafeteria, permission for female students to go home on weekends and expanded hours of operation for the library and student recreation room. The students followed the demands with a boycott of the cafeteria and a protest demonstration at the library.<sup>57</sup>

Convening a meeting of the students, President Atwood announced he would close the college for the semester if demonstrations did not end immediately. Connecting the student council's actions to the CORE-affiliated Students for Civil Rights - over the protests of student council leaders who said there was no connection - Atwood announced the school was canceling KSC's recognition of CORE and barring it from campus because leaders "have acted contrary to the spirit of this recognition."<sup>58</sup> The school's executive council then expelled 12 students - 11 were CORE members -and fired Norman and another instructor.<sup>59</sup>

Around 1:00 a.m. on May 2, fire broke out and destroyed the school's gymnasium (the fire was later determined to be the result of arson). Media coverage immediately connected the fire to student protests with headlines such as "Kentucky State Gym Is Destroyed by Fire as Students Demonstrate" and quoting President Atwood's response to a question about a connection: "I don't know. It looks probably like there is."<sup>60</sup>

In the following weeks, an editorial in the *Lexington Leader* titled "'Peaceful' Methods of CORE Lead Inevitably to Violence" declared that Atwood had "acted wisely and properly." The editorial again linked the students' actions to the "incendiary destruction of the Kentucky State College



gymnasium....” concluding “In the brief space of a few weeks, CORE has set back the cause of Negro people by five years.”<sup>61</sup>

The editorial received several responses defending CORE which were published by the newspaper. One writer stated “To accuse those who are still associated with CORE of condoning the arson in Frankfort is completely irresponsible and unfair. To my knowledge, CORE has not been found guilty of arson and your accusation clearly implies that it has.” The writer took the opportunity to make an additional point to the newspaper: “You could follow the example set by progressive newspapers around the country and refuse to publish want ads specifying the color of a person.”<sup>62</sup> (Newspaper help wanted ads also indicated gender and age until the early 1970s.) Another writer chastised the newspaper’s editorial: “...you sounded as if CORE was responsible for the fire at Kentucky State. You then concluded that CORE’s methods are not peaceful because of the fire. It is quite fallacious to think that because CORE demonstrated and was barred from the campus, that CORE was responsible for the fire.”<sup>63</sup>

Upon being fired, Arthur Norman returned to his home in Philadelphia, where the *Philadelphia Inquirer* published an article headlined “Dixie College Fires Phila. Teacher.” In the article, Atwood “denied the dismissals and expulsions were due to the teachers’ and students’ CORE activities.”<sup>64</sup> The events of early 1960, followed by lawsuits against Atwood and the school, letters of praise and condemnation against the school executive council’s actions, hearings for the expelled students, and other actions brought an end to demonstrations in Frankfort for more than a year. In 1963, a jury in U.S. District Court found that Atwood and the Kentucky State College officials were not legally liable when they discharged the professors and students, who were represented by Harry S. McAlpin (1906-1985), a noted African American civil rights attorney at Louisville and former journalist.<sup>65</sup> He was married to Alicia McAlpin, chair of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. (In 1944, Harry McAlpin was the first Black journalist to cover the White House, attending press conferences held by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.)

In December of 1961, NAACP President Helen Holmes, stepped in to lead new demonstrations at “restaurants which have been holding out adamantly” from serving African Americans.<sup>66</sup> Holmes had come to Frankfort in 1943 and became head of the English department at Kentucky State College. Holmes became active in the community, including leading Girl Scout troops and serving in the Women’s Progressive Club and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. In 1948, Holmes became president of the Frankfort chapter of the NAACP, a position she held for 20 years.<sup>67</sup>

According to Dr. Gertrude Ridgel, local business owners asked Holmes: “Why in the world are you marching and sitting in these restaurants?” After they were desegregated, they asked her: “Why don’t you come to eat?” Holmes responded: “It wasn’t that I wanted to eat in your restaurant. Your restaurant was a public restaurant and I’m a member of the public and I had the right to sit in, a right to come in and eat in your restaurant if I wanted to. It just happens I didn’t want to.”<sup>68</sup>

In December of 1961, noting that there was no longer a CORE chapter in Frankfort, Holmes, under sponsorship of the NAACP, organized 150 African Americans who marched, with police clearing the way, through downtown singing “Freedom, Freedom” and carrying signs reading “Jim Crow is dead. Let’s bury him.”<sup>69</sup>

In addition to restaurants, the Frankfort NAACP worked to desegregate other public accommodations including:

- Union Railroad Depot, 119 West Broadway (NRHP, 1979, 2009)
- Greyhound Bus Station, 119 West Broadway at Union Railroad Depot (NRHP, 1979, 2009)
- YMCA, 104 Bridge Street (NRHP, 1979, 2009)

- Frankfort Yellow Cab, 135 West Main Street (demolished)
- Municipal Swimming Pool at Juniper Hill Park, Louisville Road (replaced)

At the time, Frankfort had two downtown movie theaters: the Capitol Theater at 209 West Main Street and the Grand Theater (NRHP, 1979, 2009) at 308 St. Clair Street. Black patrons at the Grand Theater used a separate entrance to access the segregated balcony. In 1960, Owen Carter, president of the student council at KSU, wrote about his experience watching movies at the Grand Theater. “Oh, how nauseated we feel when we go there to creep up a long dismal staircase into a decrepid [sic] grandstand crowded with so many other contented black sheep,” he editorialized in the CORE newsletter.

In February of 1962, Genevieve Hughes (1932-2012), a white field secretary from the NAACP national office and one of the participants in CORE’s Freedom Rides, came to Frankfort (Figure 5-11). Hughes noted in her field report that Frankfort had “a small Negro community which except for the college people is not very aggressive.” Hughes’s report also praised Holmes for her leadership, writing beside her name “forceful,” “capable,” and “very NAACP.”<sup>70</sup>

***Freedom March on Frankfort***

The early years of the 1960s were a whirlwind of moving, and sometimes dragging, the nation toward full citizenship and equal rights for African Americans. Events in Southern states included the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE’s challenge of segregated buses and terminals in interstate travel and conducting voter registration drives in Mississippi, Birmingham’s civil rights campaign, which drew national outrage as demonstrators were attacked with dogs and firehoses, and sending in National Guard troops to quell massive attacks by whites as James Meredith (b. 1933) enrolled at the University of Mississippi.<sup>71</sup> These events preceded the largest civil rights demonstration in the country’s history, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which drew 250,000 people on August 28, 1963, the setting for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s famed “I Have A Dream” speech.



Figure 5-11. Genevieve Hughes  
Source: New York CORE

After running on a platform which included civil rights and triggered by the refusal of Alabama Governor George Wallace (1919-1998) to allow to Black students to enter the University of Alabama, President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) gave his first televised address on civil rights on June 11, 1963. Kennedy called civil rights “a moral issue,” stating: “It is as old as scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public schools available, if he cannot vote for public officials who will represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?”<sup>72</sup>

Accompanying the remarks was the president's proposal of a new federal civil rights bill that addressed voting rights and school desegregation, called for a new fair employment practices commission and a permanent civil rights commission and gave the attorney general the power to begin federal lawsuits related to denial of civil rights.<sup>73</sup>

For the next few months, the Kennedy administration worked to build bipartisan support for the legislation in Congress. To begin his campaign for civil rights legislation, President Kennedy invited a group of attorneys to the White House including Kentucky's Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt (1905- 1996) and William Louis Wilson (1912-1993), an attorney in Owensboro and president of the Kentucky Bar Association. In his letter of invitation, President Kennedy thanked Wyatt for joining with other law officials in asking Governor Wallace to stop denying admission to two Black students to the University of Alabama.<sup>74</sup>

By the fall of 1963, the legislation had won support in the House and Senate but had not yet been voted upon. On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. Securing passage of the Civil Rights Act was now in the hands of President Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973).<sup>75</sup>

As these pivotal events unfolded, the focus of civil rights leaders in Kentucky turned to desegregation of public accommodations. In December of 1962, the annual report of the Kentucky Human Rights Commission reported that although over 400 motels, hotels, lunch counters, drugstores, and other public accommodations were providing equal service and recreational facilities in 55 cities were desegregated, "segregation is the rule and fair treatment (is) the exception."<sup>76</sup>

In November of 1963, a citizens committee was formed to address the issue. Kentuckians for Public Accommodations Legislation announced they would advocate for a state civil rights law in the 1964 Kentucky General Assembly. The group began its work by mailing a copy of draft legislation to more than 1,000 "interested leading citizens" across the state. The law would ensure equal access to, and service in, hotels, motels, restaurants, movie theaters and other public accommodations.<sup>77</sup>

Even before the Kentucky General Assembly opened its legislative session on January 7, 1964, and as rumors were circulated that there might be an "integration march" in support of the legislation, observers were predicting the bill would fail. "I cannot conceive of any situation where the legislators will pass an accommodations bill. They are not ready to go this far," said one observer. Governor Edward Breathitt (1924-2003) indicated his recommendations would have to wait until Congress and the courts acted.<sup>78</sup>

It may have been a surprise, therefore, when the governor included civil rights in his address to the Kentucky General Assembly when they convened on January 7 in Frankfort. Breathitt said he would submit state legislation 15 days before the session ended if Congress did not act, emphasizing "the right of all citizens to equal treatment in places of public accommodation, regardless of race or color."<sup>79</sup>

The governor did not have to wait, as a bill was introduced in the House and the Senate for which the governor voiced support. Civil rights groups, supporting an earlier bill drafted by the Kentucky Human Rights Commission, denounced the new bill as "nothing short of legalized Jim Crow." The Allied Organization for Civil Rights (AOCR) declared: "Point for point it is the weakest (public accommodations) bill of all those which have passed in 32 states." Kentuckians for Public Accommodations Legislation said the bill eliminated many types of businesses by not mentioning them, including bowling alleys, roller-skating rinks, golf courses, amusement parks, dance halls, boat docks and swimming pools. Other requirements from earlier legislation drafted by the Kentucky Human Rights Commission and omitted from the new bill included requiring placement at all establishments of notices that the place was desegregated.<sup>80</sup>

As the Kentucky General Assembly began its consideration of the legislation, civil rights leaders decided it was time to act. The Freedom March on Frankfort was announced with the date set for Thursday, March 5, 1964.

The idea for the march originated with the AOCR. Based in Louisville, AOCR built a coalition of 40 civil rights groups as well as labor, faith-based, community and student organizations to advocate for a state public accommodations law. In a report prepared after the event, organizer James H. (Jim) Williams (b.1942) described the purpose of the march: "We can see that marches and mass demonstrations have purposes other than direct appeals to authority. They serve a two-fold purpose: educating the public at large to the plight of the Negro, heightening the participants' conceptions of political action, and developing their political consciousness."<sup>81</sup>



Figure 5.12. Jackie Robinson and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.  
Source: Kentucky Human Rights Commission

Through AOCR leadership's contacts as well as contacts through Frankfort's NAACP chapter president Helen Holmes, participation in the march by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Jackie Robinson (1919-1972) was secured (Figure 5-12).<sup>82</sup> Robinson was the first African American to play in major league baseball when he was signed to the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 and had become an active advocate for civil rights. AOCR announced that invitations had been extended to the Kentucky General Assembly, Court of Appeals, Governor's Cabinet, and the Kentucky Human Rights Commission. The new organization then dispatched field organizers to recruit participation from across the state from "the coal fields to the western tip of the state."<sup>83</sup>

On February 25, Frankfort's Holmes and Jack Robb (1911-1977) joined with Louisville organizers AOCR chair Frank Stanley Jr. (1905-1974), editor and publisher of the *Louisville Defender*, Rev. Olof Anderson (1899-1987), a white Presbyterian minister, and Rev. W. J. Hodge (1920-2000), an African American minister, in a meeting with Governor Breathitt to discuss the march. Following the meeting, the governor announced he would meet in Frankfort on February 27 with 200 priests, rabbis and ministers to discuss civil rights legislation and on March 5 he would meet with civil rights leaders after the march.<sup>84</sup>

Because the march would be held in the state capital, much of the organizational and logistical work was undertaken by Frankfort's civil rights activists. Holmes later recalled the work of setting up for the march: "...Jack Robb and I...had set up places all around where people could assemble to get into the march...it poured down rain the day before so we couldn't actually connect the electrical lines, but everything was up – all you had to do was plug them."<sup>85</sup>

Holmes and Robb managed the podium set up, electrical support, loudspeakers on light poles along the route, and concession stands with boxed chicken sandwich lunches and refreshments. Parking for private cars and commercial buses was reserved in the African American neighborhood along Murray Street and East 2nd Street. Cars and buses were instructed to have a special mark of identification, such as sign, badge, or bumper sticker. Police officers directed traffic. Courtesy cars were provided for seniors who were unable to march. Holmes and Robb also recruited choirs and bands from local high schools and KSU to perform. Churches held services the morning of the march as part of the organizers' aim to "impart a factor of spirituality to the demonstration."<sup>86</sup>

Frankfort's organizers took an extra step to accommodate the marchers. A newspaper report described the accommodation: "It's a cold day. That placard you're carrying, reading 'Kentucky Needs A Public Accommodations Law,' begins to feel like lead instead of cardboard. What can you do? Well, you could get warm and relax in one of the 24 courtesy houses along the Frankfort parade route of the Thursday demonstration."<sup>87</sup>

As the day for the march grew close, organizers placed full-page advertisements in the Lexington and Louisville newspapers (Figure 5-13). Featuring pictures of Dr. King and the crowd at the Washington march, the ads proclaimed:

"You Missed this One! (the Washington march)  
But you should not fail to march on Frankfort.  
It is not too late to participate.  
Organize a Car Load, Bus Load or Join One!  
No American who Believes in Freedom Can Afford to Miss the March on Frankfort.

The advertisements included detailed logistical instructions for marchers including the arrival time and parking, assembly and concessions locations. Additionally, ads informed marchers "This march is to be entered into ONLY in a religious spirit of nonviolence. Arms or alcohol will NOT be tolerated. If you cannot attend in this frame of mind, you are NOT welcome."<sup>88</sup>

Hearing reports of potential Civil Rights opponents coming to the march, organizers increased security plans with state and Frankfort city police and did not announce the arrival time of Dr. King and his aides.<sup>89</sup>

Motorcades with cars and buses were organized at Louisville, Lexington, Danville, Paducah, Bowling Green, and other cities. Governor Breathitt allowed department heads and state employees to attend the march and rally. Students were allowed to miss classes to attend the march if they had written permission slips from their parents. Organizers also expected 100 reporters and photographers to cover the event for radio, television, and print news.<sup>90</sup>

# YOU MISSED this ONE!



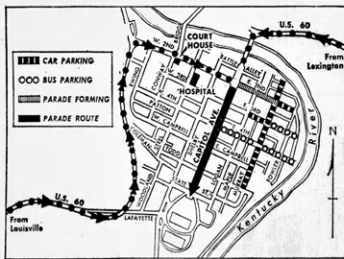
Washington, D.C.

But you should not fail to march on Frankfort  
It is not too late to participate

## Freedom March On Frankfort, Tomorrow, Thursday, March 5th.

Speakers: Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. • Jackie Robinson •  
Rev. Ralph Abernathy • Rev. Wyatt T. Walker • James Farmer  
• Rev. Allen J. Meier Covington Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church • Rabbi Herbert S. Walker, President Louisville Board of Education  
• Bishop C. Gresham Marmion, Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky • Peter, Paul and Mary  
• Mahlia Jackson

**Organize a Car Load, Bus Load or Join One! No American who Believes in Freedom Can Afford to Miss the March on Frankfort.**



Map by Ben Ramsey, Louisville Courier Journal.  
THIS MAP is a guide to Thursday's civil-rights march on Frankfort. Car and bus parking areas, the parade-formation area, and King's Daughters Hospital are shown. The parade will form at Second at Capitol and move up Capitol Avenue to the Capitol.

### Instructions for MARCH On FRANKFORT, March 5th.

1. Time of arrival for March: 10 a.m. March 5th.
2. Any police officer will give directions to assembly point. Every vehicle should have some mark of identification: bumper sticker, sign, badge, etc.
3. Every vehicle captain should be identified and have a list of the people in his vehicle.
4. Assembly point: 2nd Street and Capitol Ave.
5. Parking will be available on streets adjacent to, and which intersect 2nd Street. Police officers will be available to direct you.
6. Wear comfortable clothing and shoes.
7. Concession places will be stationed along the parade route for food and refreshments.
8. Hospital and emergency facilities are available one and one-half blocks from the parade route.
9. Song to be sung: "We Shall Overcome."
10. This March is to be entered into ONLY in a religious spirit of non-violence. Arms or alcohol will NOT be tolerated. If you cannot attend in this frame of mind, you are NOT welcome.
11. All individuals are to remain in their groups throughout the entire day.
12. The march will proceed up Capitol Avenue to the Capitol Building.
13. When the program is completed, the March will proceed back to the Assembly Point at 2nd and Capitol Avenue, at which time persons will systematically get back into their cars and buses and be routed back out of town.
14. REREAD NUMBER 10 ABOVE.

It will cost less than 50¢ to jump over to Frankfort in your car. • Box lunches will be available for everyone • The March is only 4½ blocks • There will be courtesy cars available to give rides to any senior citizen who cannot walk in the March.

This advertisement sponsored by friends of the

### ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN KENTUCKY

301 West Main Street, Suite 108

Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Telephone 585-4387

Figure 5-13. Freedom March on Frankfort Advertisement  
Source: *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Ky., March 4, 1964

Around 200 demonstrators from Louisville also arrived in Frankfort the night before and held a rally and placed a wreath on Abraham Lincoln's statue in capitol's rotunda.<sup>91</sup>

On March 5, 1964, John Herbers (1923-2017), a veteran civil rights reporter and former UPI bureau head in Jackson, Mississippi before joining the *New York Times*, reported: "Ten thousand persons from throughout Kentucky marched on Frankfort....Despite a cold drizzle and blustery winds, they stood for three hours before the state Capitol and asked passage of a bill that would fully remove racial barriers in public accommodations."<sup>92</sup>

Dr. King and Jackie Robinson arrived at the Louisville airport that morning and were driven to Frankfort by Georgia Davis Powers (1923-2016), a march organizer who would be the first African American and first woman elected to the Senate in the Kentucky General Assembly in 1967. In her memoirs, Powers recalled telling Stanley: "I'll call my brother Lawrence who works for Hathaway and Clark Funeral Home and get him to borrow a limousine." Powers recalled that Robinson arrived first and signed autographs until King arrived, and the group traveled to Frankfort with a police escort.<sup>93</sup>

Arriving in Frankfort, they were joined by the popular folk trio Peter, Paul and Mary who entertained the crowd, singing "Let My People Go." Also attending was Dr. Ralph Abernathy (1926-1990) who had collaborated with King to plan the Montgomery Bus Boycott along with other local leaders.<sup>94</sup>

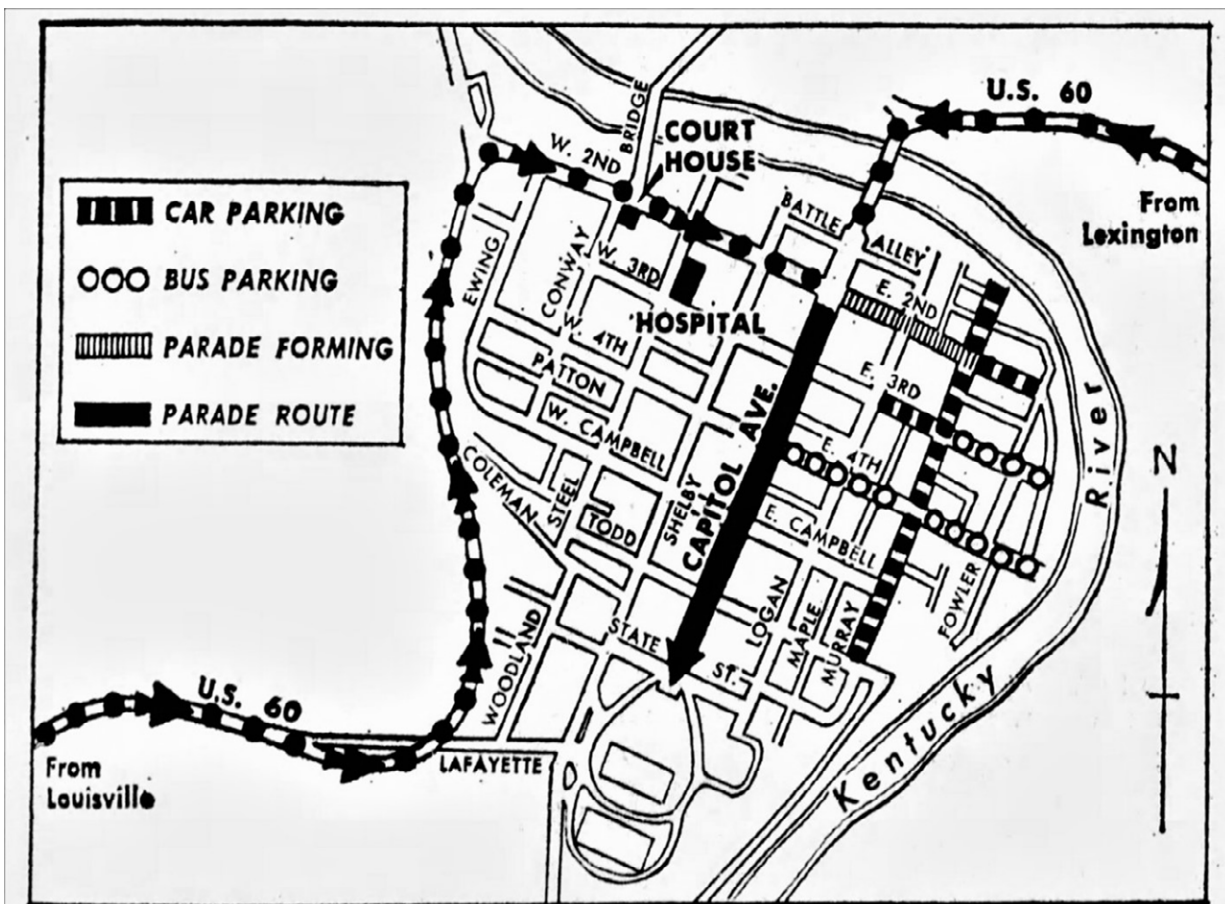
Noting "the marchers came from all over – the coal mines of Appalachia and the plantations of western Kentucky," the *New York Times* Herbers wrote, "It was said to be the largest civil rights assemblage since the March on Washington last Aug. 28."<sup>95</sup>

The primary mobilization point was the intersection of Murray Street and East 2nd Street (Figure 5-14). Participants then formed the march along two blocks west along East 2nd Street to the intersection with Capital Avenue, which served as the official starting point. Demonstrators, singing "We Shall Overcome," noted as "a favorite of integration demonstrators everywhere," moved through residential neighborhoods and the business district to the State Capitol. Although estimates varied, newspaper headlines reported there were 10,000 marchers with an estimated 10 to 15 percent white people.<sup>96</sup> Among the signs carried by marchers were those reading "We Will March Outside Until We March Inside with Dignity."<sup>97</sup>

Frank Stanley, Jr., chair of AOCR in Louisville, presided over the rally at the capitol's plaza, which included speakers representing CORE, NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Freedom songs and spirituals were performed by the Negro Frankfort Choral Group. The souvenir program listed the following order of events:

- "Star Spangled Banner" - Frankfort Choral Group, directed by Professor Carl H. Smith of KSU
- Invocation - Rev. Allen J. Meier of the Covington Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church
- Statement of Purpose - Rev. W.J. Hodge of Louisville's Fifth Street Baptist Church and president of the Kentucky chapter of the NAACP
- Addresses:
  - Jackie Robinson of Stamford, Connecticut
  - Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC in Atlanta

- James Farmer, executive secretary of CORE in New York City
- Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, executive secretary of the SCLC in Atlanta
- “Battle Hymn of the Republic” - Frankfort Choral Group
- Introduction of Dr. King - Dr. D.E. King of Louisville’s Zion Baptist Church
- Address - Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the SCLC in Atlanta
- Address - Bishop C. Gresham Marmion, Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky Episcopal Church at Louisville
- Benediction - Rabbi Herbert S. Walker of the Temple Adath Israel at Louisville



Map by Ben Ramsey, Louisville Courier Journal.

THIS MAP is a guide to Thursday’s civil-rights march on Frankfort. Car and bus parking areas, the parade-formation area, and King’s Daughters Hospital are shown. The parade will form at Second at Capitol and move up Capitol Avenue to the Capitol.

Figure 5-14. March Route Map  
 Source: Louisville Courier-Journal, March 4, 1964



In “spite of the rain it was beautiful” and “something to behold,” remembered Dr. Gertrude Ridgel. “It was just awesome.”<sup>98</sup>

Although Governor Breathitt remained in his office, one of the marchers was his daughter, 15-year-old Mary Fran Breathitt (1950-2008). “I’m marching because I feel the Negro should have full rights. The Negro is human,” she told a reporter.<sup>99</sup>

Addressing the demonstrators, King said: “If moderation means slowing up in our fight, then moderation is a tragic vice which members of our race must condemn. The time is now to make real the promises of democracy.”<sup>100</sup>

Following the march, Governor Breathitt met with Dr. King and other leaders in his office and issued a statement applauding the marchers’ dedication and enthusiasm. Despite voicing his support for the march, the governor remained committed to the weaker of the two bills under consideration by the Kentucky General Assembly.<sup>101</sup>

Members of the Kentucky General Assembly, which stayed in session during the march, were even more outspoken. Senate Majority Leader Casper Gardner (1915-2007) said: “I think it’s a very poor idea to try to use pressure of this nature...the reaction of the legislature will be negative. The demonstration wouldn’t impress me if they had 100,000 people out there.”<sup>102</sup>

In the coming days, both bills were held in the House Rules Committee. By March 14, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* declared the legislation dead. Slamming the governor and the Kentucky General Assembly, an editorial blasted: “Prejudice, complacency, political cowardice and political ineptness all contributed to the death of civil rights legislation in Frankfort. Those members of the House Rules Committee who refused even to let the measure come to a vote must bear most of the blame. They wrote a shameful chapter in the history of the legislature.” Addressing the governor’s actions, the editorial continued: “The Administration, however, did not cover itself with glory. Governor Breathitt came too late with too little. His prolonged indecision on the issue inevitably reduced the chances of passing any meaningful legislation.”<sup>103</sup>

AOCR leaders decided more action was needed – a hunger strike would be held in the State Capitol building’s House gallery. On March 23, 23 hunger strikers arrived; the number reached 32 in a few days. The strikers – 18 Black and 14 white - wore signs reading “Give Me Freedom or Death” and stated they would not leave until a civil rights bill was passed. The hunger strike generated attention as supporters came to sit with them, and telegrams arrived expressing support. Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper (1901-1991) spoke in support of the strikers on the Senate floor in the U.S. Capitol.<sup>104</sup>

As the hunger strike continued, the Louisville newspaper - while maintaining “There is no chance that the demonstration will bear fruit. Proposed civil rights legislation in the House is already dead beyond recall.” - supported the strikers as they sought to “dramatize the need for action against racial discrimination and to spotlight the depressing failure of this legislature to pass – indeed even to bring to a vote – a bill banning discrimination in businesses licensed to serve the public.” One hundred and four hours later, the hunger strike ended as Governor Breathitt promised to call a special session of the Kentucky General Assembly on civil rights.<sup>105</sup>

### ***State and Federal Civil Rights Legislation Enacted***

As civil rights legislation stalled in the Kentucky General Assembly, 1964 proved to be a watershed year for civil rights at the federal level, ushering in multiple new laws. In January of 1964, the 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution became law, outlawing poll taxes for voting in any primary or general election for president, vice president, senator or representative.<sup>106</sup>

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, first proposed by President Kennedy, was signed by President Johnson on July 2. The most comprehensive civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, the law mandated equality in access to public accommodations, provided desegregation of schools and other public facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal.<sup>107</sup> This was followed in 1965 with the Voting Rights Act which outlawed the discriminatory voting practices adopted in southern states after the Civil War, including literacy tests as a prerequisite to voting.<sup>108</sup> Kentucky's senators, John Sherman Cooper and Thurston Morton (1907-1982) voted for all three measures. In the House of Representatives, Carl D. Perkins (1912-1984) was the only member of Kentucky's seven congressmen to vote for the measures.<sup>109</sup>

Although Governor Breathitt's attempt to call a special session of the Kentucky General Assembly in 1964 did not succeed, passage of federal legislation paved the way for state legislation when the legislature met in 1966. Unlike its coverage in 1964, media reports were optimistic that a civil rights bill would pass. The bill was the first piece of legislation introduced after the governor's budget bill, and Governor Breathitt urged passage to "fill the gaps" in federal legislation. "A strong civil rights bill that appears to have an excellent chance for passage was introduced in the 1966 session of the Kentucky legislature," reported the Louisville newspaper, adding that the bill would "extend coverage far beyond that of the 1964 federal Civil Rights Act." Reflecting a lingering states-rights tone, the report also stated as a reason legislators were likely to pass the bill: "Failure to pass a state law will mean that the federal government will continue to be the major civil rights enforcer in Kentucky."<sup>110</sup>

The Kentucky General Assembly acted swiftly, introducing legislation on January 4 and enacting it on January 27. At the same time, the legislature repealed the 62-year-old school segregation Day Law and the 74-year-old Separate Coach Law. On July 1, 1966, the Kentucky Civil Rights Act became law. Among the provisions of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act were the prohibition of discriminatory advertising in connection with employment, public accommodations and real estate transactions, a requirement for businesses to post notices of compliance with the law, and procedures for initiating complaints. In 1968, the act was amended to prohibit housing discrimination. In 1972, the act was amended again to prohibit employment discrimination because of sex and age between 40 and 65. The amendments of 1972 removed provisions of the earlier act which exempted barber shops, beauty parlors, family-owned boarding houses and private clubs.<sup>111</sup>

Following passage of the act, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights distributed 14,000 posters to businesses across the state with instructions to display the posters in all places of public accommodation and service. The posters read:

#### WELCOME

The Kentucky Civil Rights Act of 1966 requires that every person receive full and equal service in business establishments – without discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin.

It is our policy to comply fully with that law.<sup>112</sup>

#### ***Continued Unrest***

After Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis on April 4, 1968, a wave of civil disturbance swept the country. Frankfort was no exception as riots occurred on and near the KSU campus. On April 7, students smashed window displays and damaged cars at two automobile showrooms on U.S. 60 near the campus. State troopers were called to the KSU campus and fired tear gas shells to disperse the students. On April 8, about 100 Black students staged a demonstration and blockaded the main entrance on U.S. 60, preventing white professors and students from entering the campus. Local police chief Dean Hunter stated that some students, including football players, "are trying to calm their hot-headed colleagues."<sup>113</sup>

A memorial service for Rev. King was cancelled, and more than 50 students were suspended. Five students were arrested on arson charges. KSU President Dr. Carl Hill observed that although the student unrest was “an emotional reaction to King’s assassination last Thursday in Memphis” that some dissension started earlier due to “student resentment at restrictions on campus and social activities.”<sup>114</sup>

At the end of the week, local journalist Sy Ramsey reported: “Calm descended today on the nearly deserted Kentucky State College campus.” Local white leaders acknowledged that they needed to improve community outreach to KSU. Mayor Frank Sower (1910-2012) suggested that the city’s 6,292-seat civic arena then under construction in the downtown urban renewal area would improve relations as it would host KSU events and basketball games. Mayor Sower also praised the appointment of KSU faculty members to city commissions. At that time, Dr. William Exum, KSU athletics director, was a member of Mayor’s Advisory and the City Planning commissions. Archie L. Surratt, assistant professor of biology, was also on the Mayor’s Advisory Commission. Helen F. Holmes, head of the English Department, was a member of the Minimum Standards Housing Board. After being elected in 1967, Mayor Sower “moved decisively in the field of race relations” by reactivating the city’s Humans Rights Commission and attempting to alleviate discrimination in housing.<sup>115</sup>

### ***One More Vote***

As Kentucky moved into the 1970s with new laws from the Kentucky General Assembly protecting the civil rights of African Americans, there was one more necessary vote. In 1976, Kentucky House Member Mae Street Kidd (1904-1999) sponsored a resolution to ratify the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Kidd had been elected in 1968 and was one of three African Americans, including Georgia Davis Powers and Charlotte McGill (1919-1988), at the time.<sup>116</sup>

In the midst of the legislature’s debates on school busing and a resolution to rescind Kentucky’s 1972 ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, Kidd filed a resolution to ratify what were collectively called the Reconstruction amendments to “erase the shadow” of Kentucky’s rejection of the amendments when they were added to the U.S. Constitution between 1865 and 1870. The amendments outlawed slavery, guaranteed equal protection to citizens, and guaranteed the right to vote regardless of “race, color or previous condition of servitude.”<sup>117</sup>

After passing the House of Representatives, the Senate also voted approval. After all three amendments were ratified, the legislature was reported as having “officially gone on record as being against slavery.”<sup>118</sup>

### **Conclusion**

On March 5, 2014, several thousand people marched to the State Capitol in Frankfort, re-enacting the Civil Rights March on Frankfort on its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Georgia Davis Powers spoke to the crowd about 50 years of progress, adding “our efforts are not complete. It is now time for the activists of yesteryear to pass the torch of equality.” Among the marchers was Frankfort resident Angela Rogers and her young daughter, Ainye, who came to celebrate how life had changed for African Americans in the past 50 years through the efforts of many civil rights leaders. Rogers explained: “It’s paved the way for 50 years of progress. This is where it all started.”

## Endnotes

- 1 *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2006
- 2 *Ibid*, and “Text Says Racial Segregation Deprives Minorities of Equal Educational Opportunities,” *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, May 18, 1954
- 3 “State to Adjust System to Comply with Ruling,” *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, May 17, 1954
- 4 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, John E. Kebler, editor, University Press of Kentucky, 1992
- 5 “Separate Schools Are Not Equal Schools,” *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, May 18, 1954
- 6 “Reporting Service to Tell School Story,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, September 3, 1954
- 7 “Kentucky,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, September 3, 1954
- 8 “Kentucky,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, November 4, 1954
- 9 “Kentucky,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, May 1955
- 10 *Ibid*
- 11 “11 More Kentucky Districts Announce Plans to Desegregate,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, April 1956
- 12 *Ibid*
- 13 “U.S. Court Is Asked to Accept Frankfort’s Integration Plan,” *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, November 7, 1962, and “Frankfort Integrates First Grade, But Turns Away 20 of 24 Children,” *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, September 6, 1962
- 14 “Frankfort Offers to Speed Integration; City’s Plan Rejected,” *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, February 12, 1963
- 15 “Total Integration Program Offered by Capitol School Board,” *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, June 25, 1963
- 16 “Frankfort Integration Plan Okayed,” *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, July 3, 1963
- 17 “Kentucky,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, August 1955
- 18 “What They Say,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, October 1955
- 19 “Desegregation of the Public Schools in Kentucky--The Second Year After the Supreme Court’s Decision.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, Lee A. Coleman, 1956, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2293434>, accessed April 23, 2022
- 20 “Negro Accomplishments Urged in Textbooks,” *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, December 1963
- 21 “Committee Will Study the Teaching of Negro History,” *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, December 19, 1963
- 22 “No Easy Course to Equality,” *Civil Rights Digest*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968
- 23 “Friday Night Lights in Kentucky: Forever Changed by a ‘Reluctant Hero’ Kermit E. Williams” William “Duke” Smithers, Blog, October 26, 2021, accessed May 7, 2022, <https://authorwilliamsmithers.com/friday-night-lights-in-kentucky-forever-changed-by-a-reluctant-hero-kermit-e-williams/>; *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Burton Fletcher, Sheila Mason, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter Douglas A. Boyd; Pollack, David, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Historical Society, 2003: 146; *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, John A. Hardin, editors. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015; *The 1951 Los Angeles Rams: Profiles of the NFL’s First West Coast Coach Champions*, George Bozeka, ed. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2022: 68-69; *U.S., School Yearbooks, 1900-1999* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010
- 24 “Oral History Interview with John Sykes,” Doug Boyd, Community Memories Oral Historic Project, Kentucky Historical Society, June 13, 2002, <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/840>
- 25 “Friday Night Lights in Kentucky: Forever Changed by a ‘Reluctant Hero’ Kermit E. Williams” William “Duke” Smithers, Blog, October 26, 2021, accessed May 7, 2022, <https://authorwilliamsmithers.com/friday-night-lights-in-kentucky-forever-changed-by-a-reluctant-hero-kermit-e-williams/>; *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Burton Fletcher, Sheila Mason, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter Douglas A. Boyd; Pollack, David, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Historical Society, 2003: 146; *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, John A. Hardin, editors. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015; *The 1951 Los Angeles Rams: Profiles of the NFL’s First West Coast Coach Champions*, George Bozeka, ed. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2022: 68-69; *U.S., School Yearbooks, 1900-1999* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010

26 "Barry Moore Only White Player at Kentucky State," Bill Neikirk, *Advocate-Messenger* [Danville, Kentucky], November 2, 1964: 10

27 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994 and "Biracial Enrollment Up in Eight State Colleges," *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, December 1963

28 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994; "Two Kentucky Colleges Join to Plan Extension Courses for Frankfort," July 1957, and "Biracial Enrollment Up in Eight State Colleges," *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, December, 1963

29 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994

30 "KSU Timeline," <https://www.kysu.edu/about-ksu/timeline-of-ksu-history.php>, accessed April 24, 2022

31 Claim for Relocation Payment, Urban Renewal and Development Agency, Frankfort, July 1966

32 "Start of New Church Building," *The State Journal*, Frankfort, July 25, 1966

33 "Urban Renewal--Essentials of the Federal Program," Robert E. Adams, *Kentucky Law Journal*: Vol. 48 : Issue 2 , Article 6, 1959, <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/kli/vol48/iss2/6>, accessed April 28, 2022

34 "This 'Sodom Land': Urban Renewal and Frankfort's Craw," James E. Wallace, Kentucky Historical Society, 1991

35 Ibid

36 Ibid

37 Ibid

38 "Oral History Interview with Helen F. Holmes," James D. Wallace, Frankfort's Craw Oral History Project, Kentucky Historical Society, July 25, 1991: 10-12.

39 "This 'Sodom Land'? : Urban Renewal and Frankfort's Craw," James D. Wallace, Unpublished Manuscript, University of Kentucky, April 23, 1991: 12-14. On file at Kentucky Historical Society

40 "New Capital Plaza for Frankfort," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, July 31, 1966

41 Ibid

42 This 'Sodom Land': Urban Renewal and Frankfort's Craw," James E. Wallace, Kentucky Historical Society, 1991 and "Frankfort Due New Subdivision," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, October 31, 1958

43 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994

44 "Biracial Enrollment Up in Eight State Colleges," *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, December, 1963

45 "I Have a Dream," <https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety>, accessed April 25, 2022, and "Two Kentucky Colleges Join to Plan Extension Courses for Frankfort," July, 1957, and "Biracial Enrollment Up in Eight State Colleges," *Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, December, 1963

46 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994

47 "Race Practices Protested: Withholding Negroes' Civil Rights Held Damaging to Our Prestige," Arthur Norman, *The New York Times*, March 18, 1960

48 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994

49 Ibid

50 "Negroes Hold Sitdowns at Frankfort," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, April 3, 1960

51 "Oral History Interview with Helen F. Holmes," James E. Wallace. Frankfort's Craw Oral History Project, Kentucky Historical Society, July 25, 1991

52 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994

53 "Sit-In Training Being Conducted at Negro School," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, April 8, 1960, and "Meeting ends threat of sitdowns; mayor plan conferences," newspaper source unknown

54 "Sit-In Training Being Conducted at Negro School," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, April 8, 1960

55 "Kentucky State Group Trains for Sit-Ins," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, April 8, 1960

56 "Direct-Action Protests in the Upper South: Kentucky Chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality," Gerald

- L. Smith. *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 109, No. 3/4, Exploring Kentucky's African American Past (Summer/Autumn 2011): 351-393; *Lexington Leader*, April 3, 1960: 10
- 57 *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- 58 "Kentucky State College Bars CORE on Campus," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, April 30, 1960
- 59 "Two Teachers, 12 Students Dismissed for Starting State College Trouble," *The Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky, May 2, 1960
- 60 "Ky. State Gym Is Destroyed by Fire as Students Demonstrate," *The Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky, May 2, 1960
- 61 "'Peaceful' Methods of Core Lead Inevitably To Violence," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, May 9, 1960
- 62 "Answers Editorial," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, May 13, 1960
- 63 "Illogical Editorial," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, May 24, 1960
- 64 "Dixie College Fires Phila. Teacher," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 2, 1960
- 65 "KSC Officials Exonerated in Suit Filed By Ousted Students, Faculty," *Lexington Herald*, September 11, 1963; "Harry Sylvester McAlpin," Notable Kentucky African American Database, 2018, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/300003744>
- 66 "Negroes Stage Frankfort March," *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, December 7, 1961
- 67 "Helen Holmes," *Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, John Hardin, editors, University of Kentucky Press, 2015
- 68 "Oral History Interview with Gertrude Ridgel," Betsy Brinson, Kentucky Historical Society, April 27, 1999, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/3198/>; "Direct-Action Protests in the Upper South: Kentucky Chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality," Gerald L. Smith, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 109, No. 3/4, Exploring Kentucky's African American Past (Summer/Autumn 2011): 378-379
- 69 "Negroes Stage Frankfort March," *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, December 7, 1961, and "150 Negroes March for Integration," *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky, December 8, 1961
- 70 "Direct-Action Protests in The Upper South: Kentucky Chapters Of The Congress Of Racial Equality," Gerald L. Smith, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 109, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23388025>, accessed April 26, 2022
- 71 "Civil Rights Era Timeline," <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/civil-rights-era-timeline.html>, accessed April 26, 2022
- 72 *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2006
- 73 "Kennedy's Civil Rights Message Proposes Sweeping Changes," *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, June 26, 1963
- 74 "Wyatt and Kennedy to Talk on Civil Rights," *The Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky, June 20, 1963
- 75 "JFK in History – Civil Rights Movement," <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/civil-rights-movement>, accessed April 27, 2022
- 76 "Direct-Action Protests in The Upper South: Kentucky Chapters Of The Congress Of Racial Equality," Gerald L. Smith, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 109, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23388025>, accessed April 27, 2022
- 77 "Citizens Committee Formed for Accommodations Laws," *Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, November 15, 1963
- 78 "State Legislators Not Expected to Pass Accommodations Bill," *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, December 22, 1963
- 79 "Governor Calls Schools, Rights Urgent Needs," *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, January 8, 1964
- 80 "Breathitt Bill On Rights Held 'Legalized Jim Crow,'" *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, February 29, 1964
- 81 "The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization," Jim Williams, director, Political Education Project, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, New York, 1965
- 82 *I Shared the Dream*, Georgia Davis Powers, New Horizon Press, 1995

83 "The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization," Jim Williams, director, Political Education Project, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, New York, 1965 and "Security Tightened for March," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 5, 1964

84 "Breathitt to Meet with Clergymen," *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Kentucky, February 26, 1964

85 Frankfort's Crow Oral History Project: Interview with Helen Homes, James Wallace, Kentucky Oral History Commission, Kentucky Historical Society, July 21, 1991

86 "Breathitt To Meet Marchers." *Courier-Journal*, February 26, 1964: 11; "Frankfort Freedom March." *Courier-Journal*, March 4, 1964: 21; "Breathitt To Meet With Clergymen." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], February 26, 1964: 13; "Oral History Interview with Helen F. Holmes," James E. Wallace, Frankfort's Crow Oral History Project, Kentucky Historical Society, July 25, 1991; "Oral History Interview with Gertrude Ridgel," Betsy Brinson, Kentucky Historical Society, April 27, 1999, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/3198/>; "Estimated 10,000 In Frankfort Rights March," Sy Ramsey, *Park City Daily News* [Bowling Green, Kentucky], March 5, 1964: 1

87 "24 Courtesy Houses Put Up Along Route of March," *The Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky, March 3, 1964

88 March on Frankfort advertisement, *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 4, 1964

89 "Security Tightened for March," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 5, 1964

90 "Breathitt To Meet Marchers." *Courier-Journal*, February 26, 1964: 11; "Security Tightened for March: 25,000 Expected at Capital." *Courier-Journal*, March 5, 1964: 11; "Estimated 10,000 In Frankfort Rights March," Sy Ramsey, *Park City Daily News* [Bowling Green, Kentucky], March 5, 1964: 1; *State Journal*, March 6, 1964

91 "Integrationists Plan Preview of Wednesday's Frankfort March," Sy Ramsey, *Paducah Sun*, March 4, 1964: 2

92 *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2006 and "10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1964

93 *I Shared the Dream*, Georgia Davis Powers, New Horizon Press, 1995

94 March on Frankfort advertisement, *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 4, 1964

95 "10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1964

96 "Estimated 10,000 in Frankfort Rights March," *The Park City Daily News*, Bowling Green, Kentucky, March 5, 1964

97 "10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1964

98 Breathitt To Meet With Clergymen." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], February 26, 1964: 13; "Oral History Interview with Gertrude Ridgel," Betsy Brinson, Kentucky Historical Society, April 27, 1999, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/3198/>; *State Journal*, March 6, 1964

99 "Daughter Joins March on Dad," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 6, 1964

100 "10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1964

101 "The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization," Jim Williams, director, Political Education Project, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, New York, 1965

102 "Lawmakers Little Affected by Civil Rights March," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 6, 1964

103 "Ineptness, Political Cowardice Bury Civil Rights in Frankfort," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 14, 1964

104 "The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization," Jim Williams, director, Political Education Project, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, New York, 1965

105 "Kentucky Rights Advocates End Capitol Hunger Strike," *The New York Times*, March 21, 1964

106 Constitution Center, <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendment/amendment-xxiv>, accessed April 27, 2022

107 Civil Rights Act, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/civil-rights-act>, accessed April 27, 2022

108 Voting Rights Act, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act>, accessed April 27, 2022

109 "Outlook for the Civil Rights Bill," *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1966

110 "Strong Civil Rights Bill Is Offered in Legislature," *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, January 6, 1966

- 111 "The Kentucky Civil Rights Act: Explanation, the Act, Regulations," Kentucky State Commission on Human Rights, Frankfort, March 20, 1974
- 112 "Welcome," *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, July 29, 1966
- 113 "100 KSC Negroes Bar Whites from Campus." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 8, 1968: 2; "After Student Demonstrations Early Recess Ordered at KSC," Sy Ramsey; *Park City Daily News* [Bowling Green, Kentucky], April 8, 1968: 1, 5; "Frankfort Calm as KSC Closes Early for Easter," Sy Ramsey, *Paducah Sun*, April 9, 1968: 10; "Who's to Blame for Disturbance at KSC?," Richard Wilson, *Courier-Journal*, April 28, 1968: 33
- 114 "After Student Demonstrations Early Recess Ordered at KSC," Sy Ramsey; *Park City Daily News* [Bowling Green, Kentucky], April 8, 1968: 1, 5; "Frankfort Calm as KSC Closes Early for Easter," Sy Ramsey, *Paducah Sun*, April 9, 1968: 10; "Who's to Blame for Disturbance at KSC?," Richard Wilson, *Courier-Journal*, April 28, 1968: 33, 44
- 115 "Who's to Blame for Disturbance at KSC?," Richard Wilson, *Courier-Journal*, April 28, 1968: 33, 44; "Frankfort Calm as KSC Closes Early for Easter," Sy Ramsey, *Paducah Sun*, April 9, 1968: 10
- 116 "Mae Street Kidd," <https://kcaah.org/women-in-history/mae-street-kidd/>, accessed April 27, 2022
- 117 "Kentucky Ratifies 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment on Slavery," *The Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky, March 19, 1976
- 118 Ibid



# SECTION III. HISTORIC RESOURCES

## Chapter Six: The Built Environment

The following is an overview of Frankfort and the African American neighborhoods documented as part of the reconnaissance survey of African American resources. This section focuses on the built environment and architectural resources associated with the historic context.

### ***Becoming Frankfort***

Humans have occupied the land that became Frankfort for over 12,000 years. American Indians who lived in this region included the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Shawnee, and Yuchi tribes. American Indians occupied stream valleys, coves and mountain ridges throughout the land that would become Kentucky. They also used the land for hunting and warring expeditions. Since the late 19th century, archaeologists have traced the cultural history of these peoples through excavation of scattered artifacts, burial sites, and other remains.<sup>1</sup>

The colony of Virginia claimed the lands that became Kentucky in 1609 when King James I signed a charter granting the lands to the Virginia Company of London, a commercial trading company. The English charter disregarded pre-existing claims to the land by American Indians whose ancestors had settled the area some 10,000 years earlier. In 1624, the Virginia Company disbanded, and the land became a royal colony of England. The first European explorers arrived in the late 17th century via the Ohio River from the northeast and later the Cumberland Gap, a natural passage in the rugged Appalachian Mountains from the southeast. French trappers and hunting parties arrived in the 1760s.<sup>2</sup>

In 1763, Richard Henderson (1733-1785), a prominent attorney in North Carolina, organized the Transylvania Company for acquiring American Indian land titles and creating an independent colony in parts of present-day Tennessee and Kentucky. Daniel Boone (1724-1820), an explorer from Pennsylvania, served as Henderson's Indian Agent for the Transylvania Company. In 1775, Boone completed the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals (NHL, 1964) in present-day Tennessee and negotiated the private purchase of lands from the Cherokee nation. He also led a team of men in blazing the 200-mile-long Wilderness Road, which facilitated migration through the Cumberland Gap into the region from Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. Although elected officials from North Carolina and Virginia refused to acknowledge creation of the Transylvania Colony and the land purchase, both governments provided its leaders with lands in present-day Kentucky and Tennessee. Soon colonizing European American settlers and enslaved Blacks arrived and new towns such as Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, Lexington, Louisville, and Nashville were established.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the new settlers, Virginia created Kentucky County on June 1, 1777, from lands in its western territory with Colonel Benjamin Logan (1743-1802) serving as its military captain. Within 15 years, Kentucky County was divided into nine new counties. Although the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) temporarily stalled settlement and statehood, on June 1, 1792, the Commonwealth of Kentucky separated from Virginia to become the 15th state admitted to the Union. The name "Kentucky" stemmed from American Indian words such as "kentake" and "Ken-tah-ten," although the exact origin is disputed. By 1800, some 200,000 settlers from eastern states had followed the Wilderness Road into Kentucky.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Early Settlement: 1786-1825***

Frankfort was founded in 1786 in a valley along a double curve of the Kentucky River about 60 miles upstream from its confluence with the Ohio River. The town was located at the river crossing of the Buffalo Trace, a primitive road created by herds of migrating buffalo. Located at

the confluence with Benson Creek, the name is derived from Frank's Ford, a ford in the river named after Stephen Frank, a settler who died in 1780 during a skirmish with American Indians.

In 1786, General James Wilkinson (1757-1825), a veteran of the American Revolutionary War from Maryland, purchased a 260-acre parcel on the north side of the river, which evolved into downtown Frankfort. Centrally located 50 miles east of Louisville and 26 miles northwest of Lexington, in June 1792, Frankfort was selected as the capital of Kentucky. Franklin County was carved from three Kentucky counties in December 1794 with Frankfort serving as the seat of municipal government. The county was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), one of the founding fathers of the U.S.<sup>5</sup>

In 1786, General Wilkinson laid out the town of Frankfort on 100 acres of his 260-acre parcel. The town was platted with a grid street plan featuring 25 blocks bound by north-south and east-west streets, ranging from 52 to 65-feet in width. Each block contained four acres with most divided by narrow, north-south service alleys (Figure 6-1). The east-west market street (now Broadway Street) was platted wide enough (85-feet) to incorporate a centrally located market house. A block near the center was reserved for use as a public square. The town trustees named the streets primarily for generals in the American Revolutionary War. The chief residential street was named Wilkinson for General Wilkinson; another street was named Ann for his wife Ann Wilkinson. Mero Street was named for Esteban Rodríguez Miró (1744-1795), the Spanish governor of Louisiana. Other street names included Washington, St. Clair, Madison, Lewis, Clinton, Montgomery (now Main), High, and Wapping, named after Wapping Street in London. By 1800, the town had a population of 628, second in the state to Lexington with 1,795.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 6-1. Plat Map of Frankfort, 1803  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

From 1796 to 1801, a handsome Federal-style mansion named Liberty Hall (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009) was constructed along Wilkinson Street for Senator John Brown (1757-1837), an attorney and statesman from Virginia who had introduced legislation in Philadelphia in 1792 that established Kentucky as a state. Following published pattern books probably provided by a builder in Philadelphia, Senator Brown hired local white contractors who used the labor of enslaved Black men such as Harry Mordecai and other enslaved Black skilled craftsmen to build the mansion (Figure 6-2). The riverside grounds of Liberty Hall featured brick outbuildings and dwellings for 13 enslaved African Americans, including Miles and Hannah Stepney and their eight children.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 6-2. Liberty Hall, 1930  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

From 1797 to 1798, the Kentucky state government funded construction of a Federal-style Governor's Mansion (NRHP, 1971, 1980, 2009) at the corner of High and Clinton streets. Other Federal-style dwellings were constructed in the southwest residential district such as the Vest-Lindsey House (NRHP, 1971, 2009) built around 1798 at 401 Wapping Street and the Crittenden-Watson House (NRHP, 1971, 2009) built around 1800 at the corner of Main and Washington streets. Most featured dwellings for enslaved persons along the service alleys. From 1798 to 1800, the Kentucky Penitentiary was built within a stone walled enclosure across the street from the Governor's Mansion.<sup>8</sup>

In 1807, the town featured about 90 dwellings, four inns, taverns, a market house, a county jail, a county courthouse, a state house, a state prison, and a U.S. post office. In 1805, the first municipal water works in Kentucky opened at Frankfort, and in 1808 the State Bank of Kentucky was chartered at Frankfort with \$1 million in capital stock. By 1810, the town had about 140 dwellings, three printing offices, a bookstore, a circulating library, a book bindery, several inns, and 18 stores. In 1810, around 89 residents enslaved 407 people, who primarily occupied urban houses located along service alleys. That year, John Brown enslaved nine people

at Liberty Hall. In 1816, steamboats on the Kentucky River arrived at Frankfort's wharf at the end of St. Clair Street (Figure 6-3). During this period, a community cemetery had been established at the base of Fort Hill near the Kentucky Penitentiary and intersection of Mero and Ann streets. The cemetery contained burials of white, Black, and mixed-race residents of Frankfort, although the majority were Black.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 6-3. Map of Frankfort, 1818  
Source: Munsell and Anderson, Library of Congress

### ***The Antebellum Era – Years of Growth: 1825-1860***

In the 1830s, the Kentucky General Assembly received federal infrastructure funds for roads, rivers, and railroad projects. Due to improved transportation facilities, Frankfort experienced considerable growth between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. The town was incorporated in 1835 and chartered in 1849, with its first mayor, Philip Swigert (1793-1871), elected that year. Privately operated turnpikes between seats of government opened the town to commercial trade in larger cities throughout the region. Toll gates were built every five miles. From 1836 to 1842, the Kentucky River was improved with five locks and dams, which boosted steamboat access to Frankfort. Shipping landings and wharves on the Kentucky River led to the Ohio River, the Ohio River to the Mississippi River, and the Mississippi River led to the world.<sup>10</sup>

It was the railroad, however, that had the most significant impact on Frankfort's antebellum growth. Railroads were much more reliable since overland roads and water transportation routes were reliant on good weather and constant maintenance. In 1834, the Lexington & Ohio (L&O) Railroad opened from Lexington to Frankfort, where a passenger and freight depot was built along Broadway Street. However, the rail line (NRHP, 2009) was difficult to navigate at Frankfort due to the steep topography. In 1848, the line was reorganized as the Lexington & Frankfort (Lex&F) Railroad and a 515-foot-long tunnel was dug underground beneath Main Street and the new State Arsenal. The tunnel provided significantly improved access to Frankfort. In 1852, the Louisville & Frankfort (Lou&F) Railroad reached Frankfort via a suspension bridge spanning the Kentucky River at the foot of Broadway Street. In 1855, the Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington (LF&L) Railroad opened. By 1860, railroads connected Frankfort with Cincinnati, Chicago, Nashville, and points beyond.<sup>11</sup>

During this period, local factories produced glass, boxes, hemp products, jeans cloth, cotton, wool, tobacco, flour, lumber, bricks, steamboats, wagons, stoves, and distilled whiskey. Townspeople established churches, schools, hotels, fraternal lodges, libraries, five newspapers, and commercial businesses such as drugstores, clothing stores, bookstores, jewelry stores, bakeries and grocery stores. The Frankfort Cemetery (NRHP, 1974) was established on a hill overlooking the east side of town in 1844 and included separate sections for Catholic and Black residents. In 1845, the Kentucky General Assembly reinterred the remains of Daniel Boone from Missouri to the cemetery and in 1860 erected the Daniel Boone Monument. In the 1840s, several burials were relocated from the original community cemetery, which was abandoned by the late 1850s, to the new Frankfort Cemetery. In 1848, the town's first gas lighting was introduced as well as a telegraph connecting to Louisville.<sup>12</sup>

Between 1800 and 1860, the white population of Frankfort grew by 85 percent, from 363 to 2,420. In the 1830s and 1840s, the town experienced an influx of European immigrants, primarily from Germany and Ireland, which helped increase the white population by over 50 percent. A prominent Irish immigrant was master builder John Haly (1827-1890) who lived in a two-story brick townhouse at 410-412 Ann Street (NRHP, 2009). Immigrants ran breweries and bakeries and built streets and railroads. Between 1800 and 1860, the town's Black population increased from 500 to 1,282, which made up between 35 and 45 percent of the overall population. During this period, the town's enslaved people worked as domestic servants, such as nannies, cooks, carriage drivers, gardeners and butlers. Enslaved people were also hired out as brick and stone masons, carpenters, plasterers and cargo workers on flatboats and steamships as well as to work on rural plantations that produced hemp, tobacco and corn, a major ingredient in whiskey production.<sup>13</sup>

Located at Broadway and St. Clair Street, the original 1792 Kentucky State House burned in 1813, and the 1816 replacement burned in 1824. From 1827 to 1830, an Ionic temple and rotunda state house was constructed of locally quarried limestone (Figure 6-4). Designed by Gideon Shryock (1802-1880), the state's first professional architect, the Greek Revival-style Kentucky State Capitol (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009) was constructed with the labor of enslaved men such as plasterer Harry Mordecai and convicts at the Kentucky Penitentiary. A native of Lexington, Shryock had studied under the noted Philadelphia architect William Strickland (1788-1854), who helped establish the popularity of Greek Revival architecture in the U.S. In 1835, Shryock designed a Greek Revival-style residence (NRHP, 1971, 2009) next to Liberty Hall for Orlando Brown (1801-1867). In 1849, Nathaniel Cook (1814-1868) of Ohio designed a Gothic Revival-style State Arsenal (NRHP, 1973) on the east side of town, and in 1852 architect Isaiah Rogers (1800-1869) of Boston designed the three-story Greek Revival-style Capitol Hotel built by John Haly at Main and Ann streets.<sup>14</sup>

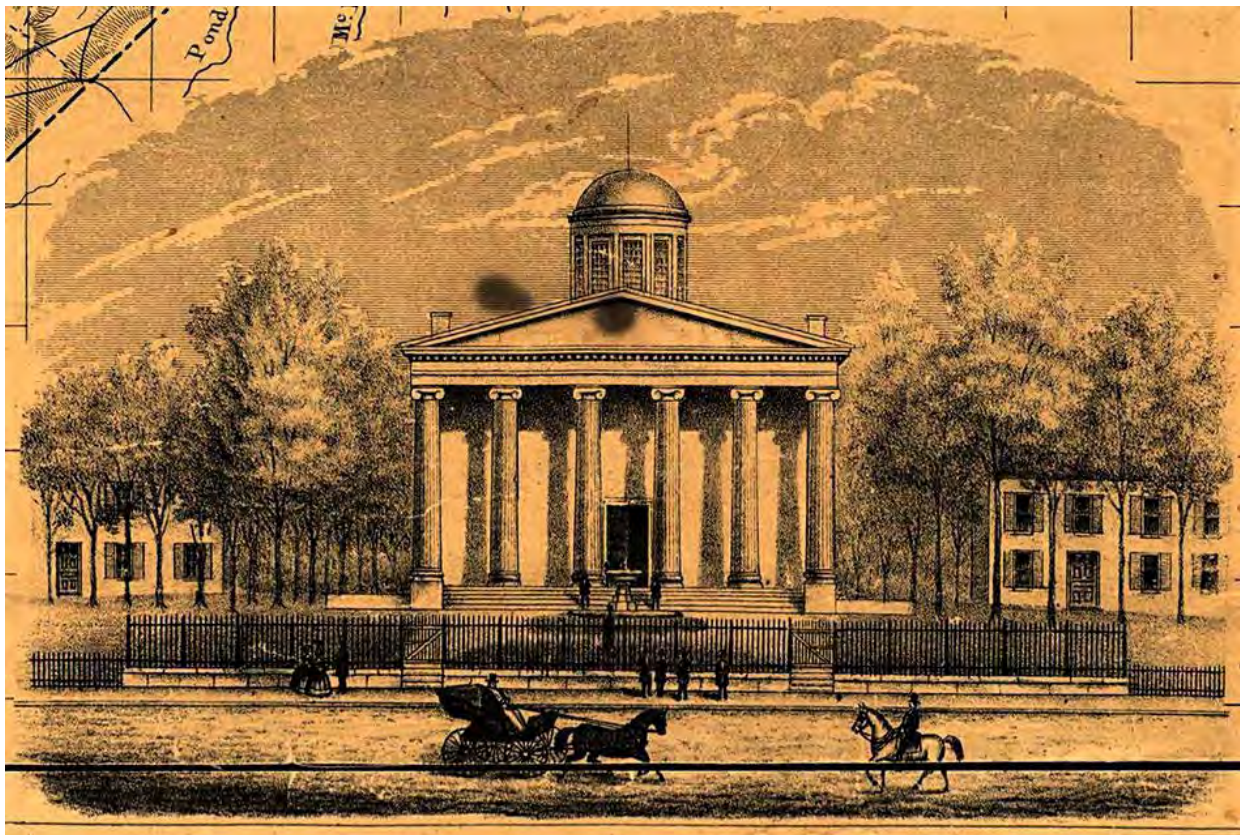


Figure 6-4. Kentucky State House, 1861  
Source: Library of Congress

In 1796, the Franklin County government built a jail, whipping post and public gallows near the intersection of Holmes and High streets. Prior to the completion of a Kentucky Penitentiary in 1800, the punishment for a felony, including “stealing a slave,” was death by hanging. One of the first people to be hung on the public gallows was Catherine London, who was found guilty of murder and hung in May 1798. Franklin County officials used the Kentucky State House as a courthouse until 1806 when the original Franklin County Courthouse was built on the southeast corner of Capitol Square adjacent to the Kentucky State House. From 1832 to 1836, a new Greek Revival-style stone courthouse (NRHP, 1974, 2009) designed with a Doric portico and cupola by architect Gideon Shryock was built on St. Clair Street near the toll bridge (Figure 6-5). Public auctions of enslaved persons took place on the steps of the courthouse from 1836 to 1863.<sup>15</sup>

In 1834, the state government hired local architect M.R. Stealy to design a Gothic Revival-style gatehouse and front office at the Kentucky Penitentiary. Completed in 1835 at the intersection of High and Mero streets, the imposing, three-story stone structure resembled a Medieval castle with castellated towers and parapets flanking an arched entrance (Figure 6-6). Within the two-story, battered stone walls, the four-acre prison complex housed workshops where prisoners manufactured goods such as nails and chairs for the state to sell. By 1860,



Figure 6.5 Franklin County Courthouse, 1909  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-6. Kentucky Penitentiary Entrance and Office, 1838  
Source: Sneed, 1860: frontispiece

the prison had a four-story, stone building containing 336 individual cells for male prisoners and a separate 20-foot-square building for housing female prisoners. Both buildings were segregated by race. In 1860, the prison held 296 prisoners, including 258 white males, 22 Black males, nine white females and one Black female. Nine prisoners were incarcerated for “assisting slaves to run away” or for “stealing slaves.” In 1860, funds were allocated to purchase a new prison cemetery to replace the one in a swampy area “above the prison.” From 1825 to 1855, nearly 100 prisoners died while incarcerated, including 37 of cholera during the 1833 and 1850 epidemics.<sup>16</sup>

During the antebellum period, Frankfort’s free Black population established a private day school in 1820 and a grammar school in 1859. The congregation of the Colored Baptist Church formed in 1833 and worshipped in private homes until 1844 when it acquired land at 132 East Clinton Street adjacent to the Kentucky Penitentiary. The parcel was donated by congregation member John Ward (1778-1851), a grocer and free Black originally from Maryland. Here, the congregation, which became known as the First Baptist Church, built a Gothic Revival-influenced brick church with Flemish bond, façade parapets and a recessed entrance (Figure 6-7). The St. John African Methodist Episcopal congregation formed in 1839 and built a brick church (Figure 6-8) along Buffalo Alley (later Lewis Street) near the State Capitol.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 6-7. First Baptist Church, circa 1905  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Prior to 1800, there were only a few houses and a large warehouse in South Frankfort, an approximately 175-acre area that William Steele platted in February 1796. South Frankfort was platted on a cardinal grid with 340 lots on 40 four-acre blocks served by eight north-south streets and six east-west streets intersected by narrow service alleys. The streets ranged from 66 to 99-feet in width. Primary streets were named for leaders in state government, including Governor Isaac Shelby, Colonel Benjamin Logan, Colonel William Steele, Judge Thomas Todd and William Murray, the attorney general. South Frankfort was incorporated in 1812. By 1816, a toll bridge had been built across the Kentucky River at St. Clair Street, which opened the south side of the river for development. Between 1824 and 1830, the population of South Frankfort grew from 120 to 170 people. Soon after construction of a replacement bridge in 1835, two enslaved men were killed when the center section collapsed into the river. The bridge was replaced again in 1847 with a covered toll bridge. In 1850, South Frankfort was annexed into Frankfort.<sup>18</sup>

On April 29, 1854, a fire destroyed a large section of downtown Frankfort. Starting near the Capitol Square on St. Clair Street, the fire destroyed 24 dwellings and many commercial businesses along Main, St. Clair, Broadway and Lewis streets. The thriving downtown district quickly rebounded with new buildings such as the 1855 stone Italianate-style Farmers Bank Building constructed by John Haly at 216 West Main Street (NRHP, 1979, 2009). By 1860, the town featured Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Christian and

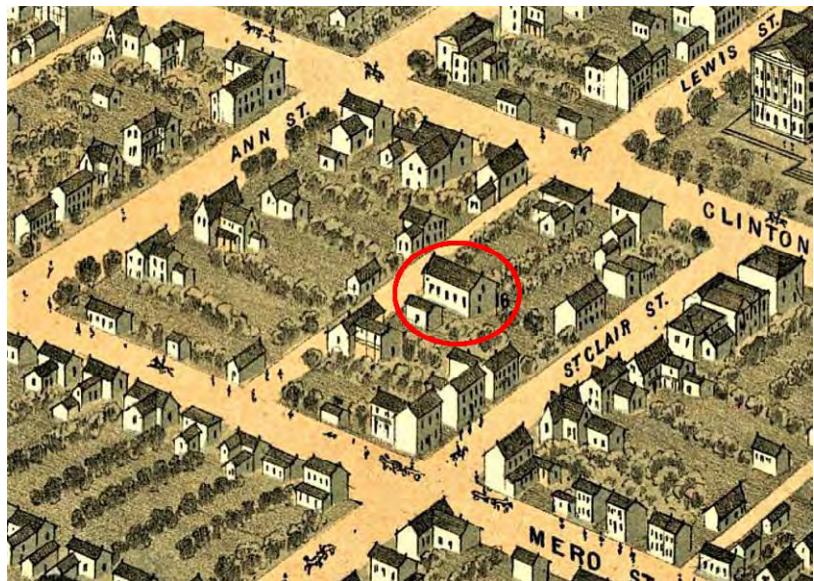


Figure 6-8. St. John AME Church, 1871  
Source: Library of Congress

Presbyterian churches. Exhibiting Gothic Revival architecture, these churches include the 1849 First Presbyterian Church, 1850 Good Shepherd Parish, 1850 Ascension Episcopal Church and the 1858 First United Methodist Church (all NRHP, 1971, 2009).<sup>19</sup>

In 1846, Dorothea Dix, a nationally known advocate of prison reform from New York, evaluated the Kentucky Penitentiary and determined it “exhibits some great defects,” particularly the deplorable condition of the 25-square-foot prison cells, which she described as “outraging every decency of life.” As a result, the state implemented improvements, including replacing several buildings destroyed in an 1844 fire. To deter escapes, in 1857, massive 20-foot-tall stone walls were built with five-foot wide bases that tapered to two-feet wide at the top. The Kentucky Penitentiary was a formidable Gothic fortress (Figure 6-9). From 1825 to 1860, most prisoners were white males, dozens of whom were incarcerated for “assisting slaves to run away” or “stealing slaves.” At least one Black prisoner was a freedman who was imprisoned for “emigrating to the state.” The state also accepted cash as “negro fees, for the safe-keeping of slaves” for enslavers.<sup>20</sup>

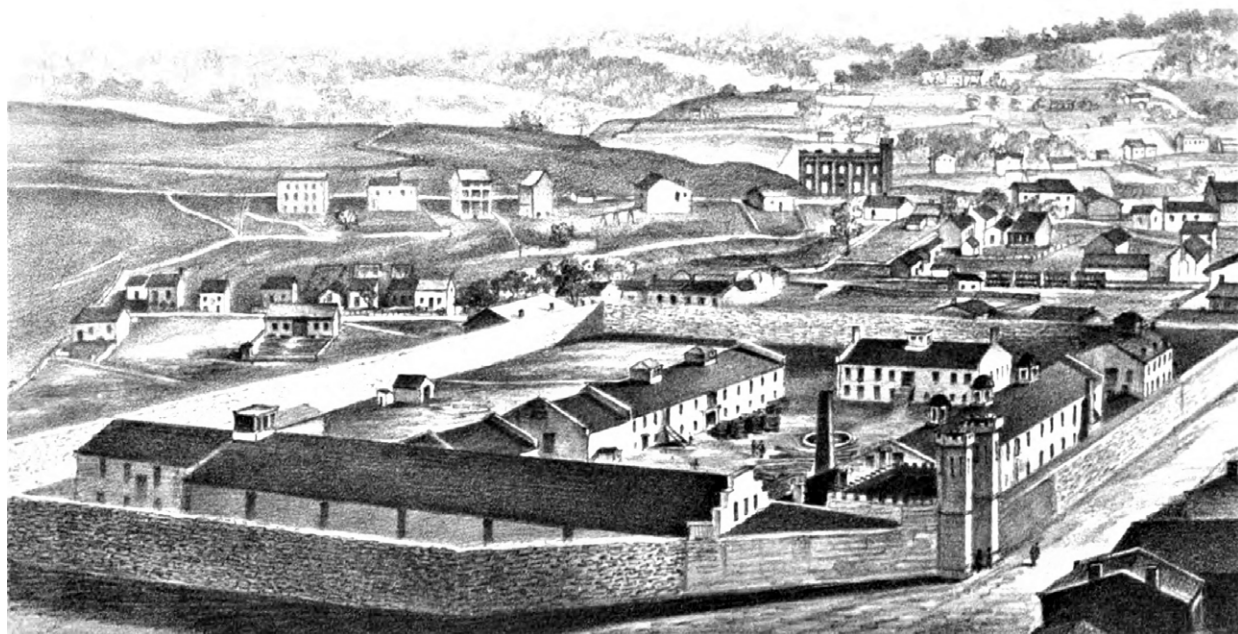


Figure 6-9. Kentucky Penitentiary Looking South, circa 1859  
Source: Sneed, 1860: 218

By 1860, dozens of prominent families had constructed large urban townhouses with landscaped gardens, houses for enslaved workers and support buildings located along service alleys (Figure 6-10). The 1860 U.S. Slave Census documents that Frankfort contained at least 239 houses occupied by 1,026 enslaved persons. The properties of most enslavers featured one or two houses for enslaved workers, but at least 20 properties had three to five houses. Some of the largest enslavers included John J. Crittenden (9), Thomas D. Carneal (10), Massy Franklin (10), Landon Thomas (11), James B. Johnson (14), Edmund Haynes Taylor (14), Lavinia Herndon (15), Jeremiah W. South (16), Arabella Welch (16), Orlando Brown (17), Cornelius Drake (17), John H. Hanna (17), Burwell Bassett Sayre (17), James Henry Garrard (18), John M. Hewitt (19), Mary Jackson (19), Philip Swigert (22), Jacob Swigert (25), C.G. Graham (27), Mason Brown (31), Sarah W. Bacon (32), and John B. Bibb (48).<sup>21</sup>

The properties of enslavers Thomas D. Carneal (407 Wapping Street), John B. Bibb (411 Wapping Street), Jacob Swigert (300 and 308 Washington Street), Landon Thomas (312 Washington Street), Arabella Welch (124 Clinton Street), James Henry Garrard (302 Wilkinson Street), John





Figure 6-10. Map of Frankfort Showing Probable Urban Enslaved Worker Houses, 1854  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

J. Crittenden (401 West Main Street), and Orlando Brown and Mason Brown (218 Wilkinson Street) are extant (NRHP, 1971, 2009). Mason Brown inherited Liberty Hall (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009) from his father John Brown. His brother Orlando Brown lived next door (NRHP, 1971, 2009). The Brown brothers were enslavers of 48 African Americans who occupied seven houses (Figure 6-11) on their adjacent riverfront properties.<sup>22</sup>

The two-and-a-half story, Greek Revival-style Brown-Swigert-Taylor House (NRHP, 1971, 2009) at 300 Washington Street features a one-and-a-half story, detached service wing where enslaved persons worked and most likely lived. Originally constructed in 1815 for Dr. Preston W. Brown, Jacob Swigert (1793-1869) enlarged the house from 1843 to 1845. Swigert served as an attorney, county judge, clerk of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, and was involved in several business ventures and civic organizations. In 1860, Swigert enslaved 25 African Americans who occupied three houses. The 1854 map of Frankfort (Figure 6-10) indicates that the detached, brick service wing was one of the three houses where enslaved people would have worked, cooked, laundered clothes and lived.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 6-11. Enslaved Worker House at Liberty Hall, circa 1930  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

By 1860, nearly 1,300 Black people, or some 35 percent of the town's population, lived and worked in Frankfort. The majority were enslaved; however, nearly 260 were free. They primarily occupied houses and multi-purpose, detached support buildings constructed along narrow alleys and behind urban mansions and townhouses. Free Blacks and perhaps a small number of hired-out enslaved persons occupied small dwellings, tenements, and boarding houses located north and northwest of the downtown business district. At that time, very few Black people lived in South Frankfort. The Black community at Frankfort also operated two private schools, established two churches, operated businesses such as groceries and worked in the construction trades.

In 1860, the Kentucky General Assembly allocated \$25,000 for construction of the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded for educating children. Located on a 61-acre rural campus along Versailles Pike and Glenn's Creek Pike east of Frankfort, the primary four-story building was completed in 1861.<sup>24</sup>

#### ***Torn Apart and Rebuilt: 1861-1885***

Although Kentucky was a slave-holding state, during the Civil War, Kentucky's citizens were split, with divided social, cultural and economic allegiances to the Union and Confederacy. Politicians believed that most citizens wanted Kentucky to be a mediator between the North and South. Therefore, the Kentucky General Assembly at Frankfort declared its neutrality and declined to secede with the rest of the South. However, Confederate support was strong in the south and west sections of the state. In October and November 1861, Logan County hosted the Russellville Convention and created a provisional shadow Confederate government for Kentucky. The convention was comprised of 116 pro-Confederate delegates from 68 counties.<sup>25</sup>

The shadow government never replaced the duly elected government in Frankfort and its jurisdiction extended only as far as the Confederate battle lines. Nevertheless, the Confederacy recognized the provisional government and admitted Kentucky on December 10, 1861, as the 13th and final state in the Confederacy. Immediately exiled by the state and federal governments, the provisional Confederate government was forced to travel with the Army of Tennessee for most of its existence. By the end of the war, it existed mostly on paper and ceased to exist upon the Confederate surrender.<sup>26</sup>

During the war, military impact to Frankfort was limited to a single skirmish and a short-lived Confederate occupation. When Confederate General Kirby Smith's troops occupied Lexington in September 1862, the 1st Louisiana Calvary under Colonel John S. Scott was ordered to take Frankfort. Although a call was issued to every able-bodied male resident to convene at the Franklin County Courthouse to defend the city, the threat of a Confederate attack on Frankfort led the Unionist Governor James F. Robinson and his cabinet and many members of the legislature to flee to Louisville, where a temporary government was established. Colonel Scott occupied Frankfort for one month and raised the regimental Confederate flag atop the state capitol, making Frankfort the only Union capital to have been conquered by Confederate forces. The occupation ended when Federal forces advanced from Louisville to Frankfort on October 4, 1862. As the Confederates left Frankfort, they burned the railroad bridge spanning the Kentucky River.<sup>27</sup>

In 1863, the Union army rebuilt the railroad bridge at Frankfort. During the war, Federal forces used the railroad route between Cincinnati, Lexington, and Louisville for transporting troops and military equipment with munitions stored at the Kentucky State Arsenal in Frankfort. Due to the importance of the rail corridor, it was often attacked by Confederate forces. On June 10, 1864, Confederate Colonel Moses Pryor, and his troops from General John Morgan Hunt's calvary occupied a hill overlooking South Frankfort while Union Colonel George Monroe occupied Fort Hill (NRHP, 1985) on the north side Frankfort (Figure 6-12). Fort Hill featured an earthwork fort constructed in March 1863 by the 103rd Ohio Infantry and civilian labor. Federal commissaries and quartermaster stores were headquartered near the wharf and bridge at St. Clair Street. After a brief fight, Union troops successfully repulsed the Confederate attack on Frankfort. The following day, the Confederates made an unsuccessful attempt to take control of the Kentucky State Arsenal (NRHP, 1974) where munitions and arms were manufactured and stored. Besides a few injuries, the skirmish resulted in no known casualties. On June 12, 1864, the 9th Pennsylvania Calvary arrived at Frankfort and took over defense of the town and railroad from the militia and state officials.<sup>28</sup>

While Frankfort survived the war relatively unscathed, the agricultural plantations and associated industries that were part of the region's economic foundation were devastated. During the war, Confederate soldiers destroyed agricultural fields, killed livestock, pillaged farms and burned buildings.

In 1865, the Kentucky General Assembly allocated nearly \$100,000 for constructing new facilities at the Kentucky Penitentiary, including a two-story chapel, dining room, kitchen, smokehouse, steam engine boilers for heating, and a two-story workshop to replace one that had been destroyed in a fire. Architect H.P. Bradshaw designed the brick buildings.<sup>29</sup>

During the 1860s, the population of Frankfort grew by 46 percent to 5,396 by 1870. Ten years later, the population had increased to over 6,958. During this period, the Black population increased to 2,335 or 43 percent of the city's population. African Americans established two distinct urban communities, one in North Frankfort and one in South Frankfort. These neighborhoods featured dwellings, churches, schools, businesses and gathering places. The primarily Black community in North Frankfort was known as Crawfish Bottom, or Craw. Over time, the Craw neighborhood stretched from the Kentucky River east along the base of Fort Hill and along Mero and Clinton streets and the north side of the State Capitol towards the Kentucky Penitentiary at High Street (Figure 6-13).<sup>30</sup>



Figure 6-12. Frankfort Map - Fort Hill, Arsenal, and Federal Headquarters, circa 1863  
 Source: Library of Congress



Figure 6-13. Craw Neighborhood, 1854  
 Source: Kentucky Historical Society

During the Reconstruction period, Black communities were also established in rural areas east of Frankfort. Located along or near the Versailles Turnpike, these communities included Glenn's Creek, Normal Heights and Green Hill. Other rural Black communities included Farmdale and Hickman Hill. In 1865, the Green Hill Cemetery was established as one of the primary burial grounds for African Americans in Frankfort. Additionally, a small pocket neighborhood, called PawPaw Chute, formed in South Frankfort. A description of these four Black communities follows this chapter.

During the Reconstruction period, the downtown area experienced the loss of several important landmarks. On June 12, 1865, a locomotive boiler exploded, causing the destruction of the railroad depot, damage to residences, and the deaths of eight men and a boy. On November 22, 1865, a fire destroyed the public building next to the Kentucky State Capitol that housed the governor's office, secretary of state and the clerk of the Court of Appeals. On April 2, 1869, George B. Macklin's warehouse was destroyed by a fire. Located on north end of the St. Clair Street Bridge, the warehouse contained 3,500 barrels of whiskey valued at \$350,000. Macklin lived in a Greek Revival-style townhouse (NRHP, 1971, 2009) at 212 Washington Street. On November 2, 1870, a fire destroyed a block of buildings along Broadway, Main, St. Clair and Ann streets, including businesses, Odd Fellows Hall, and First Christian Church. This was the same block that had been destroyed by fire in 1853. Soon, the burned-out structures were replaced with new buildings.<sup>31</sup>

In 1868, the Kentucky General Assembly initiated a plan to enlarge and renovate the Kentucky State Capitol. The legislature hired the Louisville architecture firm of H.P. Bradshaw and F.W. Vodges to design a new Neoclassical-style State House with a central domed block flanked by matching side wings (Figure 6-14), similar in style to the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. Supervised by local master builder John Haly (1827-1890), construction began in 1869; however, the legislature cancelled the project in 1870. Only the new fire-proof, stone east wing was completed in 1871. Intended to serve as chambers for the House of Representatives, this detached wing became the Capitol Annex (NRHP, 1980, 2009), which housed the state offices that were destroyed in the 1865 fire.<sup>32</sup>



Figure 6-14. Proposed Kentucky State Capitol, 1871  
Source: Library of Congress

In 1868, the city hired builder John Haly to construct a three-story brick school for white residents in South Frankfort. That same year, the U.S. Freedman's Bureau opened a Freedman's School on Mero Street in Craw. Classes were taught by Mattie E. Anderson (b.1853), a Black teacher from Ohio. In 1870, the day school had 47 students. The Freedman's School closed in 1871 but was soon replaced by Frankfort Female High School at 209 West Clinton Street, a private school established by Anderson with \$600 of her own money. In the 1870s, Anderson hired more teachers from the North and added classes for elementary students. By the mid-1880s, the institution had added courses for training schoolteachers and was renamed the Colored Normal School. In 1876, the Corinthian Baptist Church, a Black congregation, organized in the former Freedman's School on Mero Street.<sup>33</sup>

In 1869, the Lex&F Railroad and Lou&F Railroad merged to form the Louisville, Cincinnati and Lexington (LC&L) Railroad with the purpose of constructing a new rail line from LaGrange to Cincinnati. That same year, the LC&L Railroad added a five-foot-wide floor to the bridge spanning the Kentucky River, which allowed residents to cross to the Bellepoint community that developed after the war on the west side of the river. The cost of the new rail line forced the LC&L Railroad into receivership. In 1881, the Louisville & Nashville (L&N) Railroad purchased the LC&L Railroad. Additionally, in 1872 the Shelby Railroad built a line connecting Shelbyville with Louisville via a tunnel near Frankfort.<sup>34</sup>

In 1870, Frankfort's economy was supported by five steam sawmills, two shingle factories, five large whiskey distilleries, one large cotton mill, a chair factory, a tobacco factory and a furniture factory. The whiskey distilleries included the riverside Hermitage Distillery (Figure 6-15), built for William A. Gaines & Company in 1868 in South Frankfort. The Hermitage Distillery was among the largest producers of sour-mash whiskey in the world and employed African American workers. Whiskey brands produced there included Old Crow and Old Hermitage. William A. Gaines & Company operated from a four-story office building (NRHP, 1979, 2009) that opened in 1883 at 229-231 West Main Street. Constructed of elaborate brick and terra cotta, the building was designed by Clarke & Loomis of Louisville.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 6-15. The Hermitage Distillery, circa 1901  
Source: Capital City Museum

In 1871, A. Ruger created a lithograph with a birds-eye view of Frankfort as it appeared looking south from above Fort Hill (Figure 6-16). The work was “exceedingly well done” and shows the “entire town and suburbs in picturesque style.” The detailed lithograph shows the town’s street grids, dwellings, commercial businesses, industrial facilities, distilleries, bridges, roads, and civic landmarks such as churches, schools, courthouse, depot, market house, cemetery, State Penitentiary, State Arsenal and State Capitol. The lithograph also shows the St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church on Lewis Street, the Colored First Baptist Church on East Clinton Street, and the First Christian Church (NRHP, 1971, 2009) then under construction by John Haly at 316 Ann Street.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 6-16. Craw and Freestown Neighborhoods, 1871  
Source: Library of Congress

After the Civil War, Mary Carroll Freeze (1814-1874), an Irish Catholic immigrant who settled in Frankfort in the 1840s, constructed several tenement houses along Ann, High and Mero streets near the city’s original cemetery. Freeze rented the tenements to Black residents. Her surname was also spelled Fries and Freese. Located in the eastern end of Craw, the neighborhood of African American rental houses became known as Freestown. Six tenements were located along

the south side of East Clinton Street adjacent to the Kentucky Penitentiary and First Baptist Church. In 1873, these tenements were sold at auction to Black residents.<sup>37</sup>

In 1880, North Frankfort and South Frankfort were legally incorporated as one town. The two towns had consolidated around 1850 and were operated by a single government body, but their property rights were not settled until 1880. In the early to mid-1880s, the economy of Frankfort was improved with an ice factory, telephone exchange, a new gas works, a new dam at Lock No. 4, several retail businesses and the introduction of tobacco as the region's leading cash crop. The manufacturing sector experienced growth with cotton, milling, and distilled whiskey products. The town also saw a significant growth in professional services, such as physicians, attorneys, and bankers.<sup>38</sup>

During the early to mid-1880s, Frankfort was impacted by a series of disasters. On November 11, 1882, a fire destroyed the City Hall, Buhr's Hotel, the U.S. Post Office and several businesses and homes. In February 1883, a flood inundated more than half of Frankfort, including the riverside Craw neighborhood (Figure 6-17). The flood washed some 100 houses and barns into the St. Clair Bridge and the LC&L Railroad Bridge, both of which were greatly damaged. Floodwaters extended all the way to the penitentiary. The homes of more than 200 families were damaged or destroyed. On December 7, 1885, a fire destroyed the 1868 public school in South Frankfort. A new school was completed from 1886 to 1887.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 6-17. Craw During a Flood, 1883  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In April 1882, the U.S. Congress authorized \$100,000 to fund a new U.S. Courthouse, Custom House and Post Office (NRHP, 1974, 2009). Located at 305 Wapping Street near the wharf and St. Clair Street Bridge, the three-story, stone building was completed from 1883 to 1887. Exhibiting elements of Second Empire and Châteauesque architecture with an asymmetrical tower, the Federal landmark was designed by James G. Hill (1841-1913), the Supervising Architect of the U.S. Department of the Treasury from 1876 to 1883. Hill oversaw similar Federal buildings at Baltimore and Albany, New York.<sup>40</sup>



In the mid-1880s, the city and county governments also constructed new buildings. In 1883, the city funded the construction of a new Opera House and City Hall at 213 West Main Street. Designed by Chicago architect Oscar Cobb (1842-1908), this Italianate-style building contained an 814-seat theater with a frescoed ceiling on the main level and city offices on the second level (Figure 6-18). Cobb designed about 200 theaters and grand opera houses throughout the U.S., including Maysville (NRHP, 1975), Louisville and Lexington (NRHP, 1975). The Frankfort Opera House hosted musical performances, minstrel shows, comedians and theatrical entertainment, as well as graduation ceremonies, business meetings, community gatherings and public speakers, such as Booker T. Washington in 1906 and William Jennings Bryan in 1911. Additionally, in 1885, the McDonald Brothers architectural firm at Louisville designed the new Franklin County Jail, a three-story stone building located behind the Franklin County Courthouse and near the U.S. Courthouse. The town also built a city workhouse on Ann Street in the eastern section of Craw.<sup>41</sup>

As Frankfort grew in the 1870s and early 1880s, African Americans developed a neighborhood in South Frankfort. Located in the northeast corner along the river, the neighborhood was adjacent to the Hermitage Distillery that had operated there since 1868. Separated from the distillery by stone fences, the residential area was concentrated along Murray, East 2nd and East 3rd streets as well as intersecting alleys. By 1871, it contained around 20 dwellings (Figure 6-19). The neighborhood was bound on the north and south by riverside sawmills, planing mills and a slaughterhouse.<sup>42</sup>

By the early 1880s, the Black neighborhood in South Frankfort contained around 50 dwellings (Figure 6-20). Several of these dwellings were constructed for formerly enslaved persons and veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops, including George Washington (c.1846-c.1908), a distillery worker at 222 East 2nd Street; Anthony Williams (1835-1900), a carpenter at 226 East 3rd Street; Elias Spaulding (1844-1907), a church sexton at 708 East 3rd Street; and Warren Green (b.1827) at 317 East 3rd Street. Many of these dwellings were two-stories with outbuildings (all NRHP, 1983, 2008). Around 1886, Adolphus Dilger (1843-1910), a German immigrant, constructed a two-story grocery store at 216 Murray Street, near the center of the Black neighborhood.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 6-18. Frankfort Opera House and City Hall (left), 1907

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1884, the Kentucky General Assembly authorized \$9,500 for construction of the Clinton Street School for African Americans. Located at 168-170 East Clinton Street near the Kentucky Penitentiary and First Baptist Church, the three-story school was designed by Monroe Quarrier Wilson (1848-1907), an architect at Louisville, and constructed by Michael Buckley (1845-1903), an Irish Catholic immigrant. Accommodating 350 students, the brick building featured four rooms per floor and a stone basement (Figure 6-21). Newspaper articles described the school as comparable to the city's white school. The Clinton Street School was led by principal William H. Mayo (1862-1931), an African American leader at Frankfort. Mayo lived in a two-story, brick, side-hall house at 311 Wilkinson Street (Figure 6-22) (NRHP, 2009). In 1886, Wilson also designed the three-story public school for white students on East 2nd Street in South Frankfort. Costing \$22,500 and completed in 1887, the 16-room school featured a cupola and an exhibition hall.<sup>44</sup>

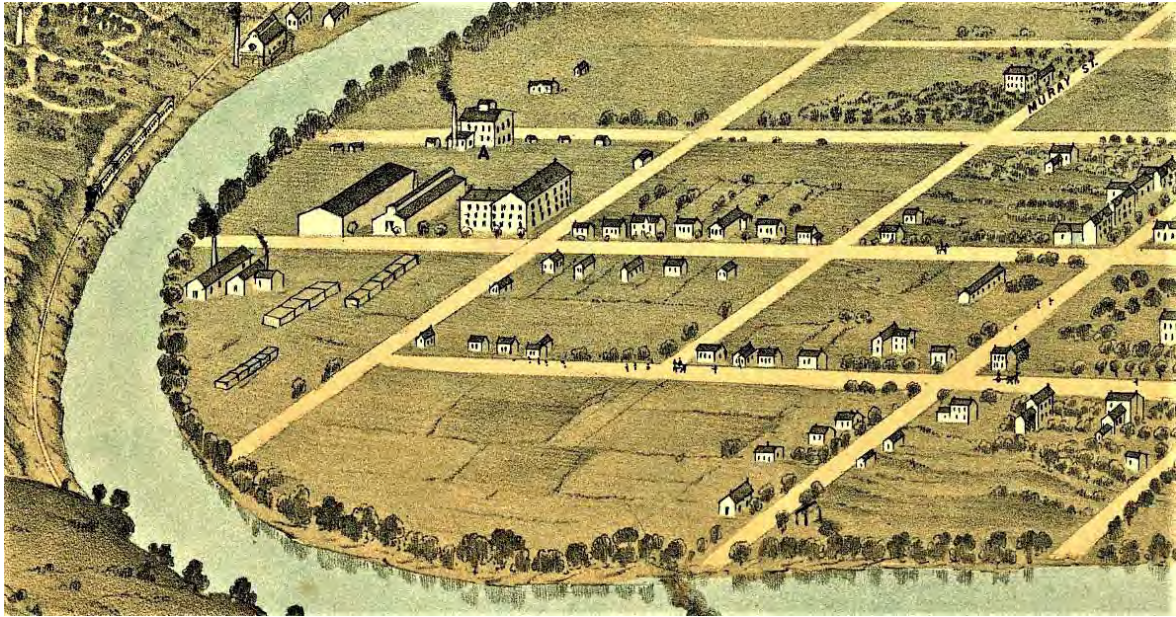


Figure 6-19. African American Neighborhood at South Frankfort, 1871  
 Source: Library of Congress

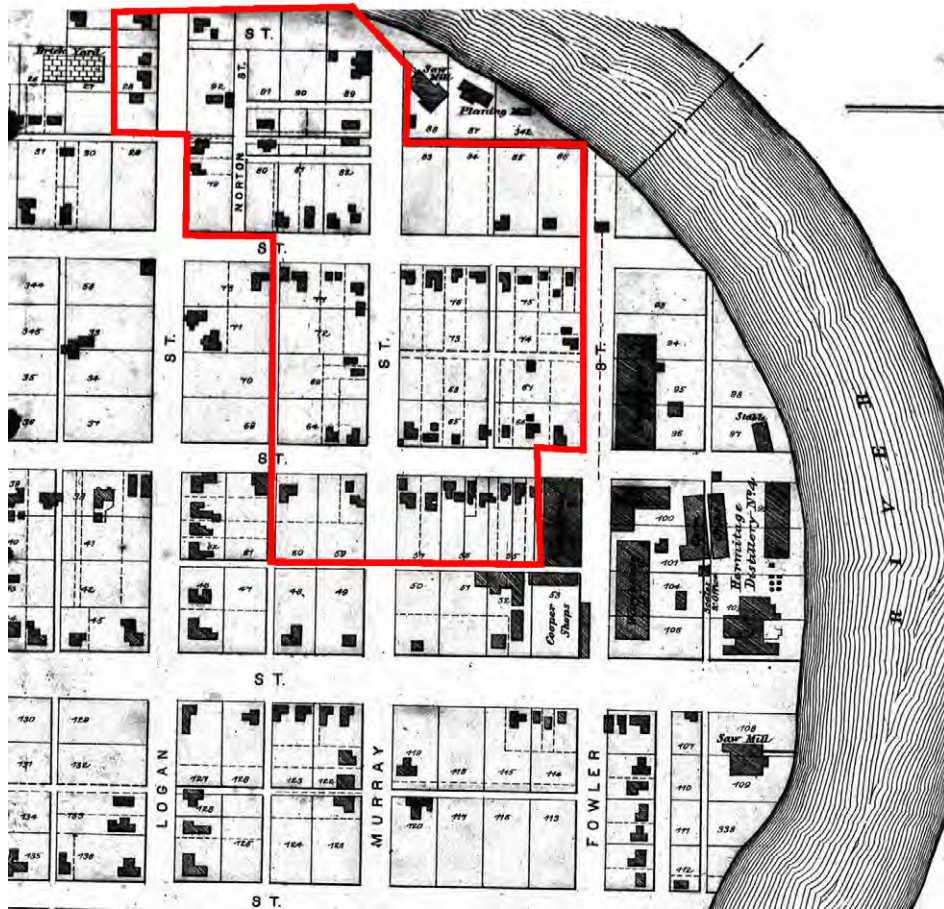


Figure 6-20. African American Neighborhood at South Frankfort, 1882  
 Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, 1882

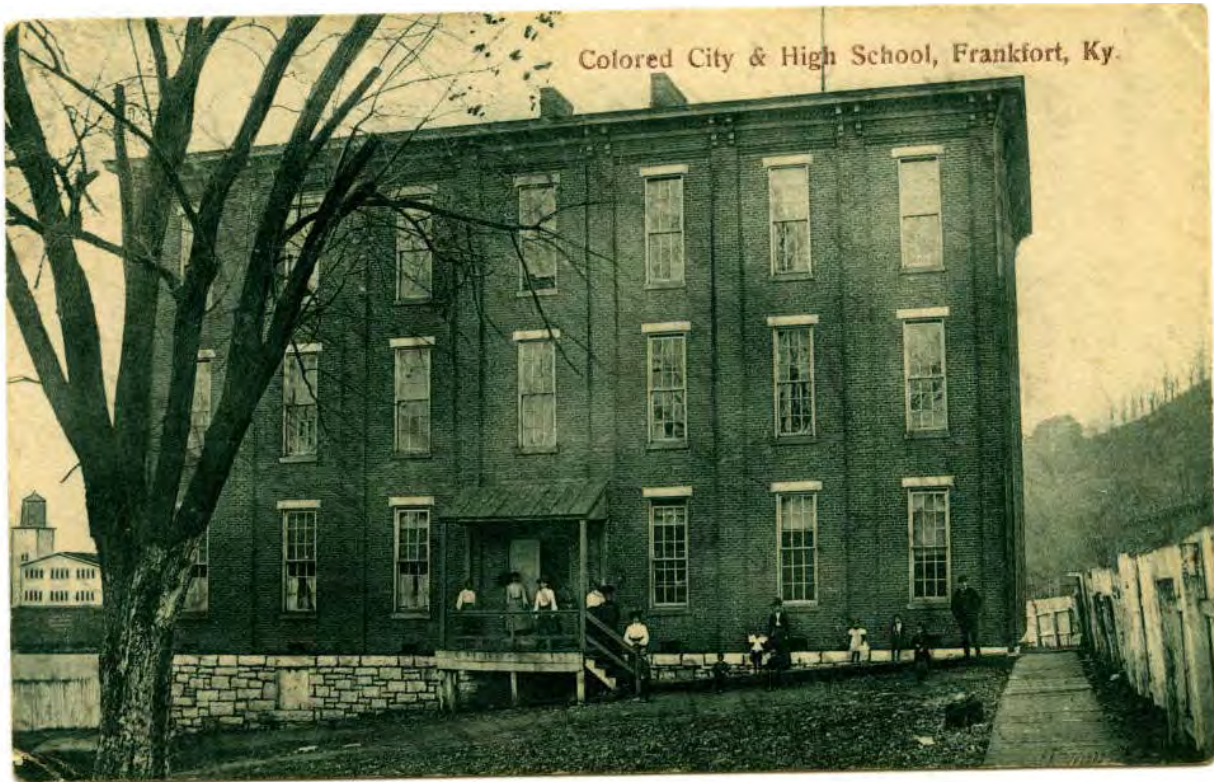


Figure 6-21. Clinton Street School, circa 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

The post-war Reconstruction period was a difficult time in Frankfort's history, especially for its African American residents. Racial violence, political upheaval and destructive fires and floods left deep scars on the town's landscape. The Federal government had a significant impact on the town through the construction of a military post that provided protection to Black residents and a Federal Building housing the U.S. Courthouse, Custom House and U.S. Post Office. The state government funded construction of a State Capitol Annex and new schools for both white and Black residents. Segregated Black neighborhoods developed throughout the town, including the sprawling Craw in North Frankfort. Twenty years after the war ended, local leaders turned their attention to building infrastructure and diversifying the economy as Frankfort grew from a small town into a bustling New South city.

#### ***Modernize and Diversify: 1886-1929***

On October 6, 1886, Frankfort held a grand public event celebrating the town's centennial. A crowd of 25,000 people witnessed a parade along Main Street, ceremonies and picnics at the State Capitol, and evening firework displays on the riverfront. The centennial celebration marked a turning point in the town's history, as Frankfort celebrated the "greatest day in the history of the city."<sup>45</sup>

Frankfort thrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a shipping center for hogs, cattle, sheep, tobacco, hemp and grain raised on farms throughout the region. The town featured more than a dozen bourbon whiskey production industrial facilities including warehouses, stillhouses, barrel making, bottling, distribution and corporate offices. In the 1878, George T. Stagg purchased a riverside distillery north of Frankfort and added steam heating in the storage warehouses in 1886 – making it the first climate-controlled warehouse for aging whiskey in the U.S. In the 1880s, the George T. Stagg Distillery (NHL, 2013; NRHP, 2001) was also improved with masonry Romanesque Revival-style stillhouses and warehouses (Figure 6-23). During this period, the town

also saw construction of manufacturing facilities such as the Hoge-Montgomery Chair Company, G.H. Mastin & Company Carriage Factory, R.J. Lynch Granite & Marble Works, Frankfort Roller Mills and the Capital City Brewery, which Sigmund Luscher (1833-1891, a Swiss immigrant, built on Ann Street in the eastern end of Craw. The brewery was constructed in the center of the city's original cemetery, which had been abandoned. These manufacturing facilities provided employment for many of Frankfort's African American residents.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 6-22. Dr. William H. Mayo House, 311 Wilkinson Street, 1914  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

On January 1, 1895, the community of Bellepoint on the west side of the Kentucky River was annexed into Frankfort. The town also expanded to the northeast up Holmes Street, to the east along East Main Street (U.S. 60), and to the south in South Frankfort (Figure 6-24). By 1900, the town's African American population had grown to 3,316, or 35 percent of the overall population of 9,487. By 1910, Frankfort's population exceeded 10,000, indicative of its status as an urbanized city. However, in the early 20th century, large numbers of African Americans in the South migrated to industrial cities in the North and Midwest for better economic opportunities and to escape increasingly restrictive Jim Crow segregation laws. By 1920, Frankfort's Black population had decreased to 2,246, or 22 percent of the overall population of 9,804. During this period, Black residents lived primarily in Craw north of downtown and in the northeast corner of South Frankfort (Figure 6-25). African Americans also lived in small rural communities east of town at Normal Heights, Glenn's Creek, and Green Hill as well as Farmdale and Hickman Hill in other parts of the county.<sup>47</sup>



Figure 6-23. George T. Stagg Distillery with African American Workers, circa 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

### ***Frankfort in the New South***

Although Frankfort evolved into a thriving New South city during this period, it continued to be plagued by disasters that affected its growth. In 1888, a fire destroyed the main building housing the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded along Versailles Pike. The following year, a new main building, designed by the McDonald Brothers architectural firm at Louisville, was completed on the campus. On April 25, 1895, a fire destroyed the Finzel Block on the west side of Bridge Street in South Frankfort, resulting in the destruction of several businesses and the deaths of three people. And on July 12, 1896, a nighttime flood destroyed about 1.5 miles of railroad tracks, several homes, outbuildings and a highway bridge.<sup>48</sup>

Despite these setbacks, Frankfort continued to prosper. In 1894, Leo L. Oberwarth (1873-1939), a native of New York, opened an architectural studio in Frankfort. Oberwarth quickly established himself as the leading local firm for architectural design services. During his long professional career, Oberwarth's practice had an exceptional impact on Frankfort's built environment. Some of his important commissions include the Church of the Ascension Chapel (1899), South Frankfort Presbyterian Church (1900), King's Daughters Hospital (1904), First Baptist Church (1904), Franklin County Courthouse Addition (1909), Elks Club (1902) and First Christian Church (1923), as well as buildings on the campuses of the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble Minded, George T. Stagg Distiller, and Stewart Home Training School. His firm also designed numerous private dwellings. From 1921 to 1923, Oberwarth partnered with noted architect Frank L. Packard (1860-1923) of Columbus, Ohio, in the design of the \$350,000 Capitol Hotel, an extravagant Colonial Revival-style landmark which replaced the original hotel that had been destroyed in a fire. Many of these buildings are listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of historic districts.<sup>49</sup>





Figure 6-25. Dwellings near Wilkinson Street in Craw, 1913  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

One of the landmarks that Oberwarth designed was the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Building (NRHP, 1979, 2009) located at 104 Bridge Street in South Frankfort. In October 1911, William Jennings Bryan laid the cornerstone during a riverside ceremony at the south end of the St. Clair Street Bridge (Figure 6-26), which became known as the "Singing Bridge" after an open-grate steel deck was added in 1937. Completed in 1912, the four-story, brick Beaux Arts-style landmark YMCA featured a gymnasium, indoor swimming pool, bowling alley, classrooms, dining hall and guest quarters.<sup>50</sup>

Due to Jim Crow segregation laws, African American residents were not allowed to use facilities such as the YMCA or King's Daughters Hospital and were forced to open separate facilities. In December 1915, the Women's Improvement Club Hospital for Blacks opened in a dwelling at 228 East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street in South Frankfort. One of the founders of the Women's Improvement Club was Winnie Annette Scott (1864-1920), an African American teacher at the Clinton Street School who lived across the street at 231 East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008). After Scott's death in 1920, the facility was renamed the Winnie A. Scott Memorial Hospital in honor of her leadership and support.<sup>51</sup>

At Craw, Frankfort's African American community constructed other civic and commercial buildings, including the Colored Skating Rink at 603 Wilkinson Street, the Empress Theater at 414 Washington Street, the Colored Branch of the library at 306 Mero Street and the Odd Fellows Building at 427-429 Washington Street. Costing \$10,000, the three-story Odd Fellows



Figure 6-26. William Jennings Bryan at YMCA Cornerstone Ceremony, 1911  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Building was constructed in 1908 by Thomas L. Brooks, a Black contractor, and John Ecton (1838-1926), a Black stonemason. The building housed a restaurant and the People's Pharmacy on the first floor, a banquet hall on the second floor, and a Masonic lodge hall on the third floor (Figure 6-27). The primary occupants were the Capitol City Lodge No. 1597 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, Industrial Legion Lodge No. 3102, Knights of Pythias Young Men's Pride Lodge No. 12 and Mosaic Templars of America Trinity Chapter No. 3251.<sup>52</sup>

In 1904, the Kentucky General Assembly deemed the State Capitol as overcrowded and inadequate and appropriated funding for a new State Capitol. Originally envisioned as replacing the existing State Capitol on the public square, the legislature instead decided to construct the new building on a 34-acre promontory in South Frankfort. Constructed from 1905 to 1909, the Beaux Arts-style State Capitol (NRHP, 1973) was designed by architect Frank Mills Andrews (1867-1948) of Dayton, Ohio. Andrews had designed the Montana State Capitol, completed in 1902. The legislature hired the Olmsted Brothers, a prominent landscape architectural firm in Brookline, Massachusetts, to design the grounds and hillside approach to the domed capitol, which was dramatically located at the end of the Capital Avenue boulevard extending seven blocks south of the Kentucky River. The State Capitol was constructed with the assistance of Black workers (Figure 6-28). Dedicated on June 2, 1910, the new State Capitol cost \$1.8 million, funded in part with \$1 million in federal reparations allocated to Kentucky for damages stemming from the Civil War and services provided during the Spanish-American War of 1898.<sup>53</sup>





Figure 6-27. Odd Fellows Hall in Craw, 1917  
Source: Hatter, 2021



Figure 6-28. Kentucky State Capitol Under Construction, 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1911, Governor Augustus E. Willson advised the Kentucky General Assembly that the new State Capitol necessitated construction of a new Governor's Mansion to replace the original 1798 Governor's Mansion at 420 High Street. The following year, the legislature appropriated funds to build a 25-room mansion on the capitol's east lawn overlooking the Kentucky River. Designed by Weber, Werner & Adkins of Cincinnati and costing nearly \$95,000, the Beaux Arts-style Kentucky Governor's Mansion (NRHP, 1972) was completed in 1914. Landscaping was completed by architect William Speed of Louisville.<sup>54</sup>

During this period, Frankfort's downtown commercial district saw significant growth with the construction of new retail stores, offices, restaurants, hotels, entertainment venues and social halls such as the 1893 Masonic Lodge at 308 Ann Street and the 1902 Elks Lodge at 309 Lewis Street (both NRHP, 1979, 2009). Among the largest new buildings was the seven-story McClure Building (NRHP, 1979, 2009), completed in 1906. Located at the corner of Main and St. Clair streets, the building housed McClure's Dry Goods Store on main level and a variety of offices on the upper floors for physicians, dentists, attorneys, the Frankfort Women's Club, Taylor's Distillery and others.<sup>55</sup>

During World War I, the Frankfort Arsenal (NRHP, 1973) played a role in developing and manufacturing arms and ordnance, such as small field artillery munitions, for U.S. troops fighting in Europe (Figure 6-29). The Frankfort Arsenal was also involved with developing an innovative synchronizing gear for machine guns firing through whirling propellers on front-engine mounted military aircraft. Additionally, a committee of women workers at the arsenal were chosen for the task of selecting the standard uniform for all women working at government munitions plants throughout the U.S.<sup>56</sup>

Soon after the end of World War I in November 1918, Frankfort's economy took a significant hit in January 1920 when the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution went into effect. The amendment prohibited the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages, except for medicinal purposes. As a result, the whiskey distilleries in Frankfort largely closed and the city's population decreased to 9,805. One of the industries that grew during this period was Rebecca-Ruth Candy, established in 1919 by schoolteachers Rebecca Gooch and Ruth Hanly.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Educational Facilities***

During this period, the growth of Frankfort's population resulted in the construction of numerous schools and educational facilities, including several for African Americans.



Figure 6-29. Worker at Frankfort Arsenal, 1918  
Source: National Archives

### ***Kentucky State University***

One of the most momentous events for Frankfort occurred on May 18, 1886, when the Kentucky General Assembly established the State Normal School for Colored Persons and allocated \$7,000 for construction of an educational building and \$3,000 for operating expenses. State officials selected Frankfort, which offered a monetary incentive and to purchase the campus property. City officials chose a 29-acre property in a rural, Black community along Versailles Turnpike about one mile east of town for the campus. The purpose of the normal school was to provide a two- to three-year certificate program for training schoolteachers. Over time, the school evolved into a four-year college with several changes to its mission and name, including Kentucky Normal Industrial Institute in 1902, Kentucky State Industrial College for Colored Persons in 1926, Kentucky State College for Negroes in 1938, Kentucky State College in 1952 and finally Kentucky State University (KSU) in 1972.<sup>58</sup>

The first academic building constructed was Jackson Hall (NRHP, 1973), named for the first president, John Henry Jackson (1850-1919). Facing the town of Frankfort, the Gothic Revival-style brick and stone building (Figure 6-30) was on a bluff along the Versailles Turnpike, now East Main Street (U.S. 60). Advertisements for a contractor were published in early May 1887. Constructed with the assistance of students enrolled at the school, Jackson Hall was completed during the summer and fall of 1887. Inspired by English Collegiate Gothic architecture of preeminent universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, the ornate two-story brick building exhibits crenelated parapets, octagonal corner pilasters, and a three-story castellated entrance tower.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 6-30. Jackson Hall at KSU, 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

From 1891 to 1904, Moses Alexander Davis (1870-1941) served as an African American professor of mechanical engineering and architecture at the school. A native of Georgia, Davis earned a degree from the Hampton University in Virginia. He also took courses at Stout Institute in Wisconsin, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) at Boston and Chicago University. Davis may have been inspired to study at MIT due to Robert R. Taylor (1868-1942) who attended architecture school there from 1888 to 1892. Taylor was the first known Black student to attend and graduate from MIT and later worked as an architect and professor at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama from 1892 to 1932.<sup>60</sup>

Before arriving in Frankfort, Davis helped design and built the home of Booker T. Washington in 1890 at Tuskegee Institute (NHL, 1966). At KSU, Davis laid out the campus plan and designed several of the original buildings, built by his students, including a two-story Women's Dormitory (1894), the Mechanical Shop (1895) and a Chapel (1897). Other early academic buildings include a

President's Cottage, Dean's Cottage, two-story frame Men's Dormitory and a three-story brick Women's Dormitory, completed in 1906 (Figure 6-31). These buildings faced a linear interior road on a north-south axis culminating at Jackson Hall (Figures 6-32-33). The linear campus plan with buildings lining an interior road was also used at Tuskegee Institute (Figure 6-34), laid out by Robert R. Taylor and undoubtedly served as a model for Davis.<sup>61</sup>



Figure 6-31. Women's Dormitory (1906) at KSU, circa 1915  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1908, KSU hired William Sidney Pittman (1875-1958) to design two academic buildings. Pittman was a prominent African American architect in Washington, D.C. who had studied architecture at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and Drexel Institute in Philadelphia. From 1900 to 1905, Pittman taught architectural drawing at Tuskegee Institute where he designed several buildings. At KSU, Pittman designed Hathaway Hall (Figure 6-35), a two-story trades school building, and Hume Hall (NRHP, 1983), a three-story administration building (Figure 6-36). Hathaway Hall was named after school president James Shelton Hathaway. Costing nearly \$30,000, both limestone buildings were constructed with assistance from students under the direction of Thomas L. Brooks (1862-1923), a Black contractor who lived in Frankfort (Figure 6-75). Completed in 1910 at the southern terminus of the campus plan, the two-and-half-story Collegiate Gothic-style administration building originally housed the library, auditorium and chapel.<sup>62</sup>

Under the leadership of President James Edward Givens (1861-1910), a graduate of Harvard University, in 1898 KSU purchased the Dudley Farm for use as a campus working farm for training students in agriculture. Located on the south side of Versailles Pike (East Main Street, U.S. 60), the 265-acre farm retained a circa 1855 two-story brick farmhouse and several outbuildings originally constructed for General Ambrose William Dudley (1798-1884), a wealthy farmer who enslaved 10 to 12 persons. The Dudley farmhouse was repurposed into a farm laboratory (Figure 6-37). Students constructed new support structures such as a brick silo. Around 1900, a cast concrete springhouse was constructed near the farmhouse (Figure 6-38). Most likely designed by Moses Alexander Davis, the springhouse features a concave concrete roof with a skylight, built-in seating, ornate trim and a bas-relief nameplate.<sup>63</sup>

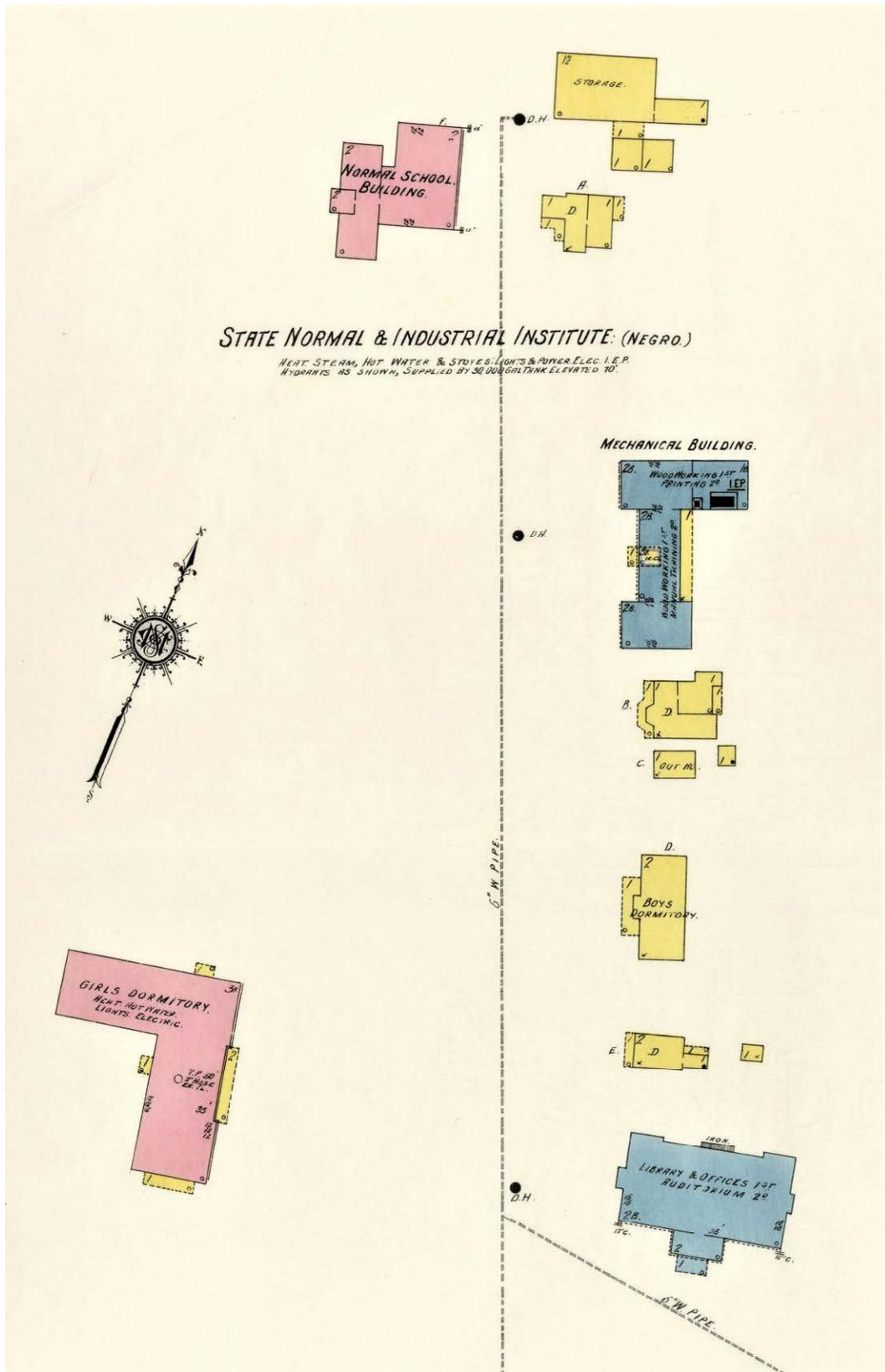


Figure 6-32. Map, KSU Campus, 1912  
 Source: Library of Congress



Figure 6-33. KSU Campus Looking South Along Interior Road, circa 1915  
Source: *KSU Yearbook*, 1917



Figure 6-34. Tuskegee Institute Campus Along Interior Road, 1902  
Source: Library of Congress



Figure 6-35. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1910  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-36. Dean's Cottage and Hume Hall at KSU, 1913  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-37. Former Dudley Farm at KSU, 1912  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-38. Springhouse at KSU Farm, circa 1916  
Source: *KSU Yearbook*, 1917



In 1918, KSU hired local architect Leo L. Oberwarth to design a new President's House. Located southwest of Hume Hall and facing Versailles Turnpike, the two-story, brick dwelling with a wraparound front porch was an example of an American Foursquare. Except for 1923, KSU President Green Pinckney Russell (1863-1936) and his family occupied the house from 1918 to 1929 (Figure 6-39).<sup>64</sup>



Figure 6-39. President's House at KSU, circa 1918  
Source: *KSU Yearbook*, 1919

In December 1926, a nighttime fire destroyed the 1906 Women's Dormitory. Tragically, the fire resulted in the deaths of four students and significant injuries to 15 others. Female students were temporarily housed in Hume Hall. In 1928, KSU hired the architectural firm Frankel & Curtis of Lexington to design a new women's dormitory costing \$184,145. Called Kentucky Hall, the two-story brick dormitory exhibited Colonial Revival-style architecture (Figure 6-40).<sup>65</sup>

### ***Rosenwald Schools***

In the early 20th century, Frankfort improved its school districts with construction of several new buildings, including the Frankfort High School (NRHP, 1983, 2008), completed in 1924 at 328 Shelby Street in South Frankfort. Designed by the architectural firm of Frankel & Curtis of Lexington, this four-story Colonial Revival-style school served the city's white residents. Between 1917 and 1929, the city's Black school districts were improved with three Rosenwald-funded educational facilities. The Rosenwald Fund was a collaboration between Booker T. Washington, a well-known Black educational leader at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and Julius Rosenwald, a German-Jewish immigrant who owned Sears, Roebuck, and Company. The first 33 Rosenwald Schools were built from 1917 to 1920 under the supervision of Tuskegee Institute and with the aid of the General Education Fund and the Rosenwald Fund.<sup>66</sup>

Of the first 17 Rosenwald Schools constructed in Kentucky in 1917, Normal School 61 was built at KSU. Costing \$6,000, the four-room frame school was funded by a \$1,200 grant from the Rosenwald Fund, a \$900 donation from the Black community, a \$900 donation from the white community, and \$3,000 in public funds. This school was destroyed by a fire on January 27, 1922, but replaced with Normal School 62, a \$6,000 four-teacher school built on a four-acre lot with a \$540 grant from Rosenwald Fund and \$5,460 in public funds. Operated by professors at KSU for educating teachers and students in the community, this brick school was known as the Rosenwald Model Laboratory School (Figure 6-41).<sup>67</sup>



Figure 6-40. Kentucky Hall at KSU, 1930  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-41. Rosenwald Model Laboratory School at KSU, circa 1922  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

From 1928 to 1929, the city of Frankfort replaced the Clinton Street School with the Frankfort School at 426 Mero Street in Craw. Costing \$96,000, the 16-teacher school was constructed on a two-acre lot with a \$2,600 Rosenwald Fund grant, \$10,500 in donations from the Black community and \$82,900 in public funds. The two-story brick Colonial Revival-style school was designed by architect Leo L. Oberwarth. The large L-shaped school featured a library and classrooms for elementary and high school classes. Of the 158 Rosenwald Schools built in Kentucky, the Frankfort School was the most expensive. It was later named Mayo-Underwood School in honor of William H. Mayo and Dr. Edward E. Underwood. Known as the Tigers, the school's athletic teams practiced on the riverfront sandbar park, which was also used for physical education classes. Students often gathered at the Tiger Inn Café, a restaurant located at the corner at 400 Mero Street (Figure 6-61).<sup>68</sup>

### ***Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded***

In 1928, the Kentucky General Assembly appropriated \$100,000 to construct a Negro Boy's Dormitory at the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded. Completed in July 1930, the two-story, brick Colonial Revival-style building (Figure 6-42) was designed by the Weber Brothers architectural firm at Cincinnati. In the early 20th century, Christian C. Weber and Edward A. Weber were leading architects in northern Kentucky, specializing in school and university buildings. In 1914, they were commissioned to design the Governor's Mansion adjacent to the Kentucky State Capitol. Located along Glenn's Creek Road and known as Jones Hall, the Boy's Dormitory was the first building constructed for African Americans on the institute's campus, which opened in 1861.<sup>69</sup>



Figure 6-42. Boy's Dormitory at Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded, 1930  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

### ***Religious Buildings***

During this period, Frankfort's growth resulted in the construction of several new religious buildings, including churches for Black residents. In 1887, the congregation of the Corinthian Baptist Church constructed a new sanctuary at 324 Mero Street in Craw. The congregation had organized in 1876 as the Independent Baptist Church in the former U.S. Freedman's Bureau School on the opposite side of Mero Street. The Gothic Revival-style brick church featured opera house-type seating and stained-glass windows (Figure 6-43). The architect or builder is currently unknown.<sup>70</sup>



Figure 6-43. Corinthian Baptist Church, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Around 1890, the congregation of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Community Church constructed a one-story frame sanctuary at 315 East 3rd Street in South Frankfort. Established in 1880 as the first and only Black church in South Frankfort, the congregation initially met in private homes. In 1923, the congregation hired Thomas L. Brooks, a local Black contractor, to build a new church at this location. It was Brooks' final commission before he died that year.<sup>71</sup>

In 1892, the congregation of the St. John African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church constructed a new sanctuary at 208-210 East Clinton Street. Completed in 1893, the Victorian Gothic Revival-style brick church was designed by Moses Alexander Davis (1870-1941), an African American professor of mechanical engineering and architecture at KSU. Davis designed several buildings in Frankfort and on the KSU campus. However, his best-known commission was the St. John AME Church on East Clinton Street (NRHP, 1980, 2009), located across Lewis Street from the original brick sanctuary constructed around 1839. The new sanctuary exhibited a concave sanctuary ceiling, lancet arched stained-glass windows and a square corner tower (Figure 6-44).<sup>72</sup>

In May 1898, the African American congregation of the First Baptist Church purchased a lot at 370 High Street for \$4,000 from Kate M. Rogers (1844-1924), a widow, for a new church. Deed records document that the congregation took possession of the corner lot on August 10, 1900, after paying off the purchase cost. In 1901, the congregation cleared the parcel for building a new sanctuary at 100 West Clinton Street, across from the Governor's Mansion and one block west of

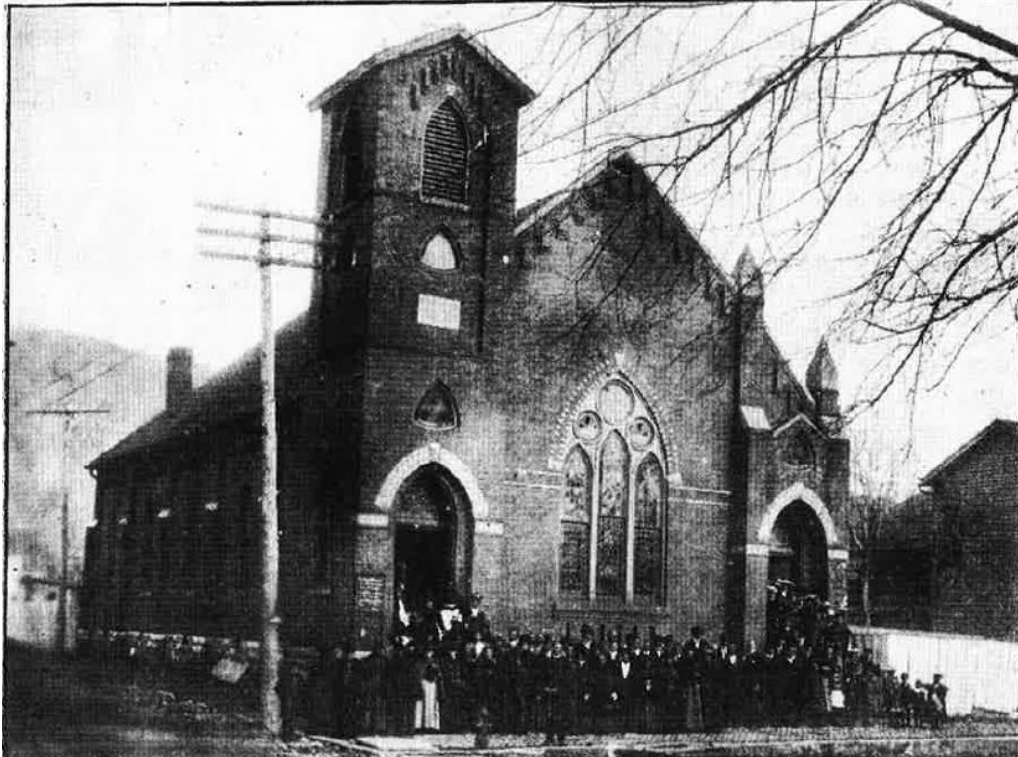


Figure 6-44. St. John AME Church, circa 1906  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

their church at 132 East Clinton Street. In September 1901, Michael Buckley (1845-1903), an Irish immigrant and local contractor, began construction of the foundation when city police arrested him and three Black members of the congregation's board of trustees for building without a permit. The governor and adjacent property owners had opposed construction of the Black church, which they claimed was a public nuisance. The congregation hired local attorneys James Hervey Hazelrigg and James Andrew Scott and sued the city. A years-long legal battle delayed the granting of a building permit until 1904, when the congregation hired Leo L. Oberwarth, the leading white architect at Frankfort, to design a new sanctuary and local Black contractor Thomas L. Brooks to construct the \$25,000 building (NRHP, 1980, 2009). Completed from 1907 to 1908, the Richardsonian Revival-style brick sanctuary (Figure 6-45) featured a corner octagonal tower with a belfry, arched stained-glass windows, a circular wheel window, and round arched door openings. The 50-foot by 100-foot building was constructed with pressed brick, Bedford limestone, marble and iron work, cast iron columns and beams, concrete floors, cornices, and skylights, mosaic tiling, plaster walls, and plumbing.<sup>73</sup>

### ***Infrastructure and Transportation***

One of the primary needs of the New South era was good roads. In September 1896, a gang of night riders destroyed nearly all the toll gates and toll houses in Franklin County. The destruction of property continued until the county purchased the turnpikes and removed the tolls. In the 1910s, the county and state focused its transportation improvements on building new highways and upgrading older turnpikes such as the Versailles Turnpike (U.S. 60) – later renamed Versailles Pike - connecting Frankfort to Lexington. These routes featured roadside businesses for both white and Black travelers, including service stations, tourist homes, restaurants, motels and recreational facilities such as fishing camps and picnic areas. Located on Versailles Pike (U.S. 60) adjacent to the Green Hill Cemetery, the Green Mill Gulf Service Station was designed to resemble a Dutch windmill (Figure 6-46).<sup>74</sup>



Figure 6-45. First Baptist Church, 1912  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In July 1893, the city and county governments approved \$65,700 in funding to replace the 1847 St. Clair Street covered bridge connecting north and south Frankfort. The covered bridge was replaced with a single-span, steel truss bridge (NRHP, 1979, 2009). Constructed by the King Bridge Company of Cleveland, Ohio, the 409-foot-long bridge was opened to traffic in March 1894 (Figure 6-47). In 1898, the 1868 railroad bridge was dismantled and replaced with a steel truss bridge. In 1929, the 1898 railroad bridge was converted into the Broadway Street highway bridge, and a new a steel truss railroad bridge was constructed alongside it by the American Bridge Company of New York (both NRHP, 2009).<sup>75</sup>

The Louisville & Nashville (L&N) Railroad acquired the Shelby Railroad in 1893 and extended the line to Versailles. Two years later, the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Railroad reached Frankfort on its way to Louisville. In 1908, the Kentucky Highland Railroad

(KHRR) was formed, connecting Frankfort with whiskey distilleries at Millville. Three years later, the KHRR was sold to Louisville & Atlantic (L&A) Railroad, which ran lines to the coal fields in eastern Kentucky. From 1906 to 1908, the L&N Railroad constructed a new Union Passenger Depot at 119 West Broadway Street (Figure 6-48). The depot featured separate lobbies and bathrooms, for white women, white men, and Black patrons (Figure 6-49). The Union Passenger Depot served all the railroads that ran through Frankfort.<sup>76</sup>



Figure 6-46. Green Mill Service Station at Green Hill, 1939  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-47. St. Clair Street Bridge and U.S. Courthouse (I), circa 1920  
Source: HistoricBridges.org



Figure 6-48. Union Passenger Depot, 1909  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

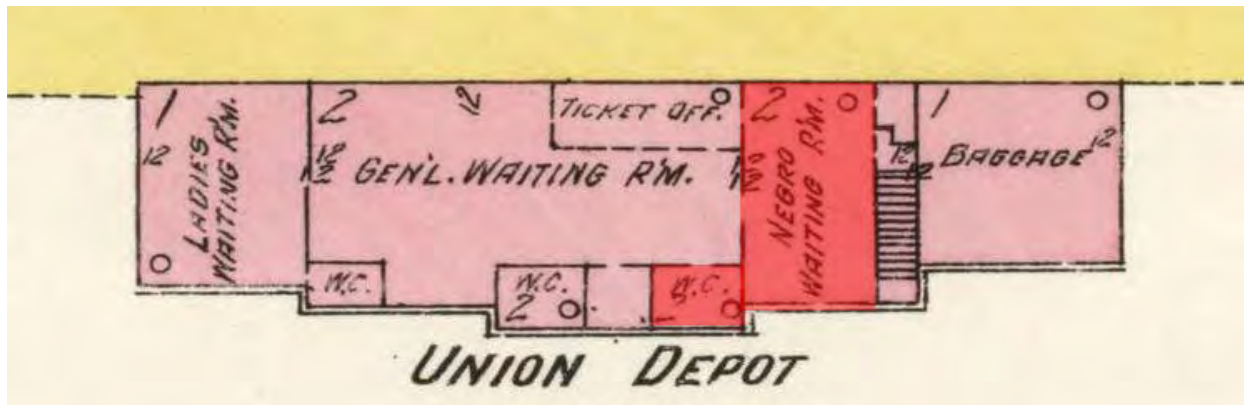


Figure 6-49. Map, Union Depot Showing “Negro” Lobby and Bathroom, 1912  
Source: Library of Congress

Beginning in 1886, Frankfort was served by horse-drawn streetcars. In August 1893, construction of the town’s electric streetcar system was initiated. Headquartered at the Capitol Hotel on East Main Street, the Capital Railway Company operated electric streetcar lines connecting North and South Frankfort with Thorn Hill to the northeast and the George T. Stagg Distillery to the northwest (Figure 6-50). The streetcars operated from 6:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. generally on 15-minute intervals with more frequent service during morning and evening rush hours. Powered by electric overhead lines, the streetcars operated along Mero and Wilkinson streets in the Craw neighborhood of North Frankfort and along East 2nd and Murray streets in the Black neighborhood of South Frankfort. Beginning in 1905, an interurban line connected Frankfort to Lexington via the Versailles Turnpike (East Main Street, U.S. 60). The interurban terminal was located on East Main Street next to the Capitol Hotel and L&N Railroad Depot (Figure 6-51). By 1910, interurbans connected Frankfort and Lexington with Nicholasville, Georgetown and Paris.

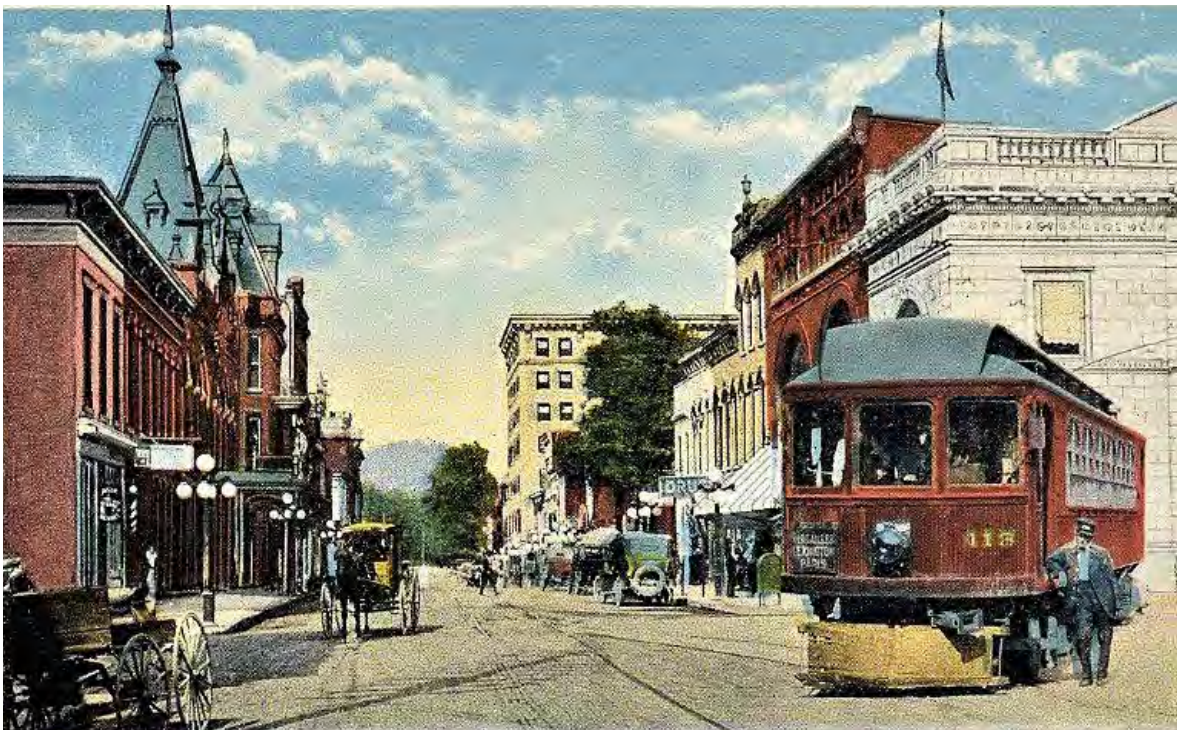


Figure 6-50. Streetcar on East Main Street near the Capitol Hotel, circa 1915  
Source: Keef Jackson Collection





Figure 6-51. Interurban Streetcar Probably at the Terminal on Main Street, 1914  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Running every hour from 6:00 a.m. to 10:45 p.m., the interurban was about a 90-minute ride from Frankfort to Lexington. The interurban served suburban Black neighborhoods at Normal Heights and Green Hill as well as the campus of Kentucky State University. Due to lack of ridership, both the streetcars and interurbans ceased to operate on January 28, 1934.<sup>77</sup>

Frankfort's electric streetcars and interurbans utilized segregated cars, with Black passengers riding the back and white passengers in the front. White passengers always received preferential treatment. The interurban cars featured a hardwood and glass partition separating front seats for white passengers and rear seats for Black passengers. The cars generally contained twice as many seats for whites than Blacks.<sup>78</sup>

During this period, Frankfort evolved from a small town into a prosperous city with modern amenities such as entertainment venues, mass transit, industries, retail stores, restaurants, watering holes, hotels, offices, apartments and schools. Trains, steamboats, streetcars and automobiles connected Frankfort with the rest of the country. New neighborhoods spread in all directions. Architects and engineers designed impressive civic landmarks such as the Kentucky State Capitol, Governor's Mansion, Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded, U.S. Courthouse, City Hall, St. Clair Street bridge and Union Depot. However, racial violence, lynchings, discriminatory Jim Crow laws, and economic disparity continued to plague the city, leading to the migration of hundreds of African Americans to cities in the North and Midwest. Nevertheless, African Americans persevered and constructed prominent community landmarks, including high schools, churches, a Masonic lodge, and most important, a state university with innovative facilities for training farmers, engineers, tradesmen, and schoolteachers.

### ***Struggles of the Great Depression: 1929-1941***

During the Great Depression, Frankfort's role as the seat of county and state government had a stabilizing effect on the economy. The economic misery was minimized when national prohibition was repealed in 1933, allowing the city's numerous whiskey distilleries to reopen and provide an economic boost. Several local, state and federally funded projects provided jobs for unemployed construction industry workers, including African American brick masons, stonemasons and carpenters. Unlike most cities, none of Frankfort's banks failed and its population grew. By 1930, the city had grown to 11,626, a nearly 30 percent increase from 1920, resulting in the construction of several new residential subdivisions. In January 1934, the city's electric streetcars and interurbans shut down, and the city switched to buses.<sup>79</sup>

Recovery from the Depression came to a standstill after the Great Flood of 1937, which caused catastrophic destruction to Frankfort. On January 21 after weeks of heavy rain and snow, the Kentucky River crested at 47-feet above flood level, the highest on record at that time. Floodwaters submerged more than half of Frankfort, including the entire downtown business district and riverside neighborhoods (Figure 6-52). Floodwaters inundated the Black neighborhood at South Frankfort and Craw in North Frankfort, where homes were washed off their foundations and carried several blocks away and overturned. More than 2,000 residents were displaced during the deadly flood, which ravaged communities across the region. Exacerbated by freezing temperatures and winter snow, the Kentucky National Guard evacuated displaced residents to temporary refugee camps and facilities such as churches, schools, and the State Capitol. The flood ravaged the city's infrastructure resulting in a loss of electricity, water, communications and transportation. A gas main exploded on the St. Clair Street Bridge. Newspapers reported that more than half the city lay in ruins. The American Red Cross assisted in the emergency recovery efforts, which lasted through June.<sup>80</sup>



Figure 6-52. Flooding along Washington Street at Craw, 1937  
Source: Keef Jackson Collection

The flood engulfed the Kentucky Penitentiary with more than six feet of icy water, leaving 2,906 waterlogged prisoners trapped for three days. Forced to crowd into upper floors with little food and drinking water, the flooded prison resulted in riots and attempted escapes. The Kentucky National Guard evacuated the male prisoners to a hastily built 25-acre prison stockade camp on the grounds of the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded and adjacent to the Armory (NRHP, 2002). Workers with the Works Progress Administration assisted in building the stockade with 500 tents. Some 80 female prisoners were evacuated to the abandoned Clinton Street School, which had been incorporated into the prison grounds after closing in 1930. Nearly 300 Federal troops were brought in to guard the temporary prison facilities. All prisoners were relocated to the new Kentucky Reformatory at La Grange in June 1937.<sup>81</sup>

### ***New Deal Projects***

New Deal programs such as the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) had a significant impact on Frankfort's built environment. At Kentucky State University, New Deal programs funded the construction of several new academic buildings. The PWA funded Atwood Hall (1934-1935), a three-story men's dormitory designed by Leo L. Oberwarth and his son C. Julian Oberwarth, who joined the firm in 1924 after graduating from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The dormitory was named for school President Rufus B. Atwood. The WPA funded the E.E. Underwood Student Union (1939-1940) and the James A. Jordan Heating Plant (1939-1940), both designed by Leo L. Oberwarth and Son in association with Ossian P. Ward. The WPA most likely funded the Mildred Chandler Hall (1938-1939), designed by C. Julian Oberwarth. These brick buildings exhibited restrained elements of the Colonial Revival style such as entrance porches supported by Doric columns (Figure 6-53).<sup>82</sup>



Figure 6-53. Atwood Hall at KSU, 1935  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In 1938, the WPA funded a Colored Branch of the Frankfort Public Library, then located in the Letcher-Lindsay House (NRHP, 1971, 2009) at 200 Washington Street. The Frankfort Colored Library operated until 1943 when WPA financial support ended. However, Florence C. Fort (1887-1957), a member of the library board of trustees, assisted in having the branch library reopened

in a leased three-room house at 306 Mero Street (Figure 6-54) in the Craw neighborhood. Constructed around 1891, this building served as a medical office for Dr. Edward Ellsworth Underwood (1864-1942), a prominent African American leader at Frankfort who lived next door (Figure 6-77), until 1913. The branch library was operated by African American librarians Alice Simpson and Anna M. Wolfe.<sup>83</sup>



Figure 6-54. Frankfort “Colored Library,” 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

The largest New Deal project in Frankfort was the construction of an 11-story Kentucky State Office Building (NRHP, 2009) at the site of the Kentucky Penitentiary. In 1937, Governor A.B. Chandler closed the prison after the flood badly damaged the aging facility. The Kentucky National Guard evacuated most of the 2,906 prisoners to a hastily built 25-acre prison stockage camp until a new prison was completed in June 1937 at La Grange with WPA funds. By the spring of 1938, nearly all the buildings and support structures on the old prison site had been demolished. The stones from the 20-foot-tall walls constructed in 1857 were salvaged for use as a flood retaining wall for the new building. The state commissioned architect Ernst Vern Johnson (1911-1972) to design the \$1.25 million steel frame office tower, which stands at the center of the former prison site (Figure 6-55). A graduate of Yale University, Johnson was a faculty member of the University of Kentucky’s engineering school. Completed from 1938 to 1941 with WPA funding, the building was Frankfort’s first monumental skyscraper and its finest example of Art Deco-style architecture. The building housed offices for state agencies such as the highway and welfare departments that had previously operated from the State Capitol and rented downtown offices.<sup>84</sup>

In 1938, the WPA also funded a recreational center at the playground of the city-owned Murray Street School in South Frankfort.<sup>85</sup>



Figure 6-55. State Office Building Under Construction, 1939  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) - a New Deal program for unemployed architects, draftsmen and photographers - documented several architecturally important landmarks at Frankfort. In 1934, Theodore Webb photographed the interior and exterior of Liberty Hall (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009) and the Old State Capitol (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 2009). A team of architects also prepared a set of 23 measured drawings of the Old State Capitol. In 1940, Lester Jones photographed the exteriors of the Orlando Brown House (Figure 6-56) (NRHP, 1971, 2009) and the former Church of the Good Shepherd (NRHP, 1979, 2009). By creating an archive of historic architecture, the HABS program played a crucial role in the then-fledgling historic preservation movement.

### ***State Funded Projects***

In 1931, the Kentucky National Guard constructed an Armory (NRHP, 2002) at 208 Maryland Avenue near KSU and the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded. The Armory was used to store arms and house horses for the National Guard's 123rd Cavalry. After the January 1937 flood, the Armory served as a temporary facility for housing some 800 male prisoners until a temporary prison stockade camp, constructed with the assistance of WPA workers, could be built at the adjacent Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded.<sup>86</sup>

A major state-funded, Depression-era civic project was the Capital Bridge (NRHP, 2009), designed in 1937 by engineers with the Kentucky Department of Highways. Spanning the Kentucky River, the 705-foot-long steel bridge linked West Main Street (U.S. 60) with Capital Avenue in South



Figure 6-56. Orlando Brown House, 1940  
Source: Library of Congress

Frankfort. Completed in 1938, the three-lane, Art Deco-style structure became better known as the War Mothers Memorial Bridge since it was sponsored by the American War Mothers of Kentucky as a memorial to veterans of World War I. It is now known as the Capital Avenue Bridge. In 1938, the bridge received an Award of Merit from the American Institute of Steel Construction in the “Most Beautiful Steel Bridge” in Class B.<sup>87</sup>

### ***Recreational Facilities***

During the 1930s, several recreational facilities were developed. In 1934, the city built McChesney Stadium at Bellepoint High School in the Bellepoint community. The stadium boasted concrete grandstands and a two-story, Gothic Revival-style clubhouse for Frankfort High School (Figure 6-57). African American students at Mayo-Underwood High School in the Craw neighborhood relied on community donations to support their athletic teams, who played at the riverside sandbar. Students at Mayo-Underwood also utilized athletic facilities at segregated white schools such as the Good Shepherd Catholic School (NRHP, 2009), a private school on Wapping Street in downtown Frankfort.<sup>88</sup>

Established around 1909, KSU’s athletic field, located on the south side of Versailles Pike (U.S. 60) near the Rosenwald Model Laboratory School, was improved to accommodate football, soccer and track. In the 1930s, KSU’s football team won three Negro College national championships. In 1931, KSU constructed the Bell Gymnasium, a brick Colonial Revival-style building named for Dr. W.C. Bell, superintendent of education (Figure 6-58). The KSU baseball team played at Glenwood Park and Fairgrounds near Thorn Hill, a white community northeast of downtown. Frankfort also supported several Blue Grass Negro League baseball teams such as the M.W.L. Giants, an integrated team that played at Reformatory Park adjacent to the Kentucky Penitentiary in the mid-1920s, and the Frankfort Royal Giants.<sup>89</sup>



Figure 6-57. Frankfort High School Football Field Clubhouse, 1935  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-58. KSU National Champion Football Team at Bell Gymnasium, 1934  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

By 1940, the economy of Frankfort had rebounded from the Great Depression and the Great Flood of 1937. The population had grown to 11,492; 1,680 or 14.6 percent, were Black persons. During the 1930s, the city's Black population decreased by nearly 24 percent as Black residents continued to leave Frankfort for better opportunities in the North and Midwest. The growing white population resulted in new residential subdivisions in areas outside the city limits. Serving the middle class, many of the homes exhibited Colonial Revival-style architecture. In 1939, nearly 150 new homes were built. Popular subdivisions included Montrose Park and the Marshall Addition within the city limits and Henry Park at Thorn Hill. According to a 1940 newspaper article, east of Frankfort along Versailles Pike (U.S. 60), popular new suburban white subdivisions included Crestwood and Poplar Dairy. Frankfort's Black population continued to reside in urban neighborhoods such as Craw and South Frankfort.<sup>90</sup>

### ***Entering the Modern Era: 1941-1970s***

During World War II, about 307,000 Kentuckians served in the military and an estimated 8,000 died in combat. Another 14,000 were wounded. During wartime, many industries converted from consumer products to war goods, such as Ford Motor Company's Louisville plant, which switched from making automobiles to military Jeeps, and Frankfort's George T. Stagg Distillery, which made industrial alcohol instead of bourbon whiskey.<sup>91</sup>

During the war, German and Italian prisoners of war were housed in Frankfort, reportedly at the former prison stockade camp at the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded. This temporary prisoner of war branch camp was created in 1944 or 1945 under the direction of Fort Knox located south of Louisville. Under contract with county farm bureaus, prisoners harvested tobacco and corn, baled hay, filled silos and dug ditches. The branch camps typically housed 250 prisoners in 42 army regulation tents and 160 officers and guards. Additional tents contained a post office, storage, mess hall, shower, latrine, chapel, and recreation hall. The camps were supported by canteen and kitchen trailers. The 282-foot by 550-foot stockades were surrounded by an eight-foot-tall wire fence with portable guard towers and search lights at opposite corners.<sup>92</sup>

After World War II ended in 1945, Frankfort experienced a population boom. Between 1950 and 1960, the city's population grew by 54 percent, from 11,916 to 18,365. During the time span, the number of African American residents grew from 1,492, or 12 percent of the total population, to 2,387, or 13 percent of the total. In the 1950s, city officials annexed suburban residential areas. Much of the growth took place along the East Main Street/Versailles Pike (U.S. 60) corridor stretching to KSU and Green Hill east of downtown. The first suburban shopping center opened in 1960.<sup>93</sup>

During this period, several historic sites associated with African American history were demolished for redevelopment. With state and federal funding, in 1952 the city built the Frankfort Airport at the site of the Fleetwood Farm and Stable along the Louisville Turnpike (U.S. 60) about two miles southwest of town. Established in the 1870s by John Wesley Hunt Reynolds (1846-1880), a wealthy thoroughbred horse racer, Fleetwood Stable was managed by Eli Jordan (1823-1908), a famous African American trainer of horses and jockeys. Under Jordan's management, Fleetwood Farm became one of the most successful thoroughbred horse stables in the South.

In the early 1950s, the site of Glenwood Park and Fairgrounds, built in the 1870s along Owenton Turnpike near Thorn Hill about one mile northeast of downtown, was redeveloped with an extension of Holmes Street and new residences. In the early 20th century, Glenwood Park was the site of the annual Colored Fair and KSU baseball games.

### ***Urban Renewal***

In the U.S., municipal urban redevelopment projects began in the 1850s with the creation of Central Park in New York City, which razed a majority-Black neighborhood called Seneca Village. In the early 20th century, city planner Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis pioneered racially



segregated urban redevelopment projects through eminent domain in St. Louis, Memphis, Louisville, Chattanooga, Fort Worth and Knoxville. In the 1930s, federally funded urban redevelopment and public housing projects were implemented throughout the U.S. as part of the New Deal.<sup>94</sup>

The U.S. Housing Act of 1949 provided federal funds for slum clearance. Amended in 1954, the federal government introduced the term “urban renewal.” That same year the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the general validity of urban redevelopment statutes in the landmark case, *Berman v. Parker*, which interpreted the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment in the U.S. Constitution as allowing the government to take private property for a public purpose with just compensation.<sup>95</sup>

The U.S. Housing Act of 1949, as amended, required state enabling legislation for housing authorities to acquire blighted areas and an approved comprehensive plan for federally funded urban renewal projects. To qualify for federal funding, the federal government required that 20 percent of the “residential structures must 1) need major repair or be deficient in plumbing and heating facilities; 2) be in a poor state of repair; or 3) be converted to excessive densities or to incompatible types of living accommodation, *e.g.*, rooming houses among family dwellings... In addition, at least one of six environment deficiencies had to be present. These deficiencies included narrow and crooked streets, overcrowding, overoccupancy and mixed uses.”<sup>96</sup>

The first major city to implement a federally funded urban renewal project under the Housing Act of 1949 was Nashville. The city’s Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project razed a 72-acre majority-Black neighborhood and built state office buildings and green space surrounding the historic State Capitol and a six-lane parkway lined by apartment towers, a municipal auditorium, a hotel and private office buildings. Because many urban renewal projects targeted majority-Black urban neighborhoods, novelist James Baldwin famously dubbed Urban Renewal as “Negro Removal” in the 1960s.<sup>97</sup>

In Frankfort, Craw was the target of urban renewal. By 1950, Frankfort’s downtown business district had become crowded with limited area for expansion due to the riverside city’s hilly topography. As more residents chose to use automobiles instead of mass transit, traffic and parking became congested in the downtown area. In the early 1950s, city officials and business leaders conceived an urban renewal project that would eventually replace Craw with a multi-use civic plaza and parking garage. The 50-acre redevelopment project would allow expansion of the business district to north of Broadway and the Old State Capitol.

Although Craw was a racially mixed neighborhood, most of the residents were African American. Initially developed in the mid-19th century alongside the city’s gasworks and industrial sawmills, it became a primarily Black neighborhood during the 1870s. Between 1885 and 1956, the population ranged from 60 to 69 percent Black. The neighborhood was also home to German and Irish immigrants and families of prisoners incarcerated at the Kentucky Penitentiary. By the early 20th century, it was Frankfort’s largest Black neighborhood and home to businesses, restaurants, bars, social clubs, Masonic lodges, barbershops, physicians, dentists, schoolteachers, funeral homes, churches and various types of dwellings, including apartments, tenements and townhouses. Craw was also home to Mayo-Underwood, the city’s only African American high school. Many of the working-class residents used the electric streetcars that operated through Craw from 1894 to 1934 to get to and from their jobs as porters, janitors, laundresses and factory workers. Some people referred to the neighborhood as the Craw, or just Craw, while others called it the Bottom, or just Bottom. First used in print in the late 1870s, the name is thought to have referred to the crayfish, also known as crawfish or crawdaddies, found along the riverfront after periodic flooding.<sup>98</sup>

However, a long-held perception of crime, vice, and poverty led to Craw being dubbed as an urban slum even though some of the neighborhood was solidly middle class. As early as 1913, city leaders documented the neighborhood and explored ways to revitalize it (Figure 6-59). After the Great Flood of 1937 devastated Craw, many of the residents chose not to return, leaving many buildings abandoned. In the following years, the condition of the neighborhood rapidly declined.<sup>99</sup>



Figure 6-59. c.1850 Tenement Houses, 516-520 Wilkinson Street, 1913  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In March 1955, city officials and the local chamber of commerce created the Frankfort Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Agency for the purpose of redeveloping Craw as part of the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. The following year, the agency hired Scruggs and Hammond, a city planning and landscape architecture firm in Lexington, to complete a Structure and Family Survey, which concluded that a large percentage of the residents lived in “mere shacks” that lacked proper running water, bathing facilities, and furnaces. The report concluded that the “majority of the residents qualified for low-rent public housing.” In 1958, the agency hired Jack C. Hulette to appraise the property values of properties in the 50-acre neighborhood. Hulette photographed over 320 buildings that the city wished to acquire through eminent domain for the urban renewal project (Figures 6-60 through 6-80).<sup>100</sup>

The North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project was initially proposed as a five-year project with a budget of \$2 million. However, it ultimately took 14 years and \$49 million to complete. The city demolished 323 buildings, including 39 businesses, and displaced 369 families who were intended to be rehoused in new public housing developments. Crow was reconstructed with a Capital Plaza complex featuring a 28-story office tower, a parking garage, a YMCA, a civic plaza, a federal building, a hotel and convention center, and a municipal auditorium.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 6-60. c.1850 Tenement Houses, 516-520 Wilkinson Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-61. c.1880 Tiger Inn Restaurant and  
Apartment, 400 Mero Street, 1958.  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-62. c.1915 Ward Apartments, 325 West Clinton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-63. c.1885 Dr. Booker T. Holmes Office & Apts., 334-336 Mero Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-64. c.1905 V.B. Christopher Grocery, 433 Mero Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-65. c.1923 Alex Gordon's Stag Tavern, 405 Washington Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-66. c.1905 Green Watts Lunch Room, 403 West Clinton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-67. c.1952 First Baptist Chapel, 726 Wilkinson Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-68. c.1947 Trinity Pentecostal Tabernacle, 641 Wilkinson Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-69. c.1885 Lucille Harris House, 506 Wilkinson Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-70. c.1910 Cecil Warren House, 624 Washington Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-71. c.1875 Memphis Hart House (Duplex), 222-224 Blanton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society





Figure 6-72. c.1875 James C. Henry House, 218 Blanton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-73. c.1910 James C. Henry House, 214 Blanton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-74. c.1880 Sylvester Love House, 627 St. Clair Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-75. c.1910 Thomas L. Brooks House, 200 Blanton Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-76. c.1895 Louisa Wright Boarding House, 625 Center Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-77. c.1895 Dr. Edward E. Underwood House, 310 Mero Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-78. c.1905 Edward and Carrie Conley House, 320 Mero Street, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-79. c.1850 Rupert Apartments, 400-404 West Broadway, 1958  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-80. c.1800 Justice John Marshall Harlan House, 400 Madison Street, n.d.  
Source: Love Downtown, Live Downtown

The Frankfort Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Agency coordinated with local, state and federal agencies to implement and fund the urban renewal project, which would acquire the blighted private property and clear it in preparation for redevelopment by government agencies and private developers. According to local historian James E. Wallace, the agency's "mandate included fashioning a city-wide community development plan for review and approval by all parties; drafting housing, building, and subdivision codes; assisting local officials in obtaining much needed matching funds; administering federal monies; overseeing property acquisition and relocation of displaced residents; and facilitating redevelopment."<sup>102</sup>

The agency's board of directors, chaired by local businessman Maurice G. Scott, hired Charles R. Perry as its director. Perry's first objective was to gather data for the "Workable Program for Community Development" and to fashion building codes as part of a comprehensive plan. Federal funds for public housing assistance, low-cost FHA loans and other forms of relocation aid were contingent upon approval of the Workable Program. In 1955, the Frankfort League of Women Voters completed an independent study of a three-block district within Craw. Their study concluded that the district experienced 22 percent of the city's arrests, over 11 percent of fire alarms and nearly half of the city's cases of venereal diseases. The study also determined that the district only produced two percent of the city's revenue from real property taxes. As a result of the study, the Frankfort League of Women Voters "urged the clearance of the area." The study was appended to the Structure and Family Survey then being undertaken by Scruggs and Hammond as well as an initial property appraisal conducted by R.W. Crabtree of Lexington.<sup>103</sup>

The Scruggs and Hammond survey documented 323 buildings – houses, tenements, boarding houses, apartments - which contained 469 dwelling units. According to the study, most of these buildings were crowded on small lots, and 63 percent did not feature indoor bathrooms, but relied on privies. Less than half of the buildings had indoor hot and cold running water. Most buildings were heated by coal and wood-burning stoves. Most of the 438 households were low-income renters who were eligible for federally assisted affordable housing; however, most had no interest in relocating to public housing. Much of the rental housing was owned by a small number of local and out-of-town real estate developers. Craw was not “quite as bad as it sounds” and also had a “scattering of well-tended homes in fine shape,” according to Louisville reporter Grady Clay, “but they are not typical.”<sup>104</sup>

The federal government approved of the agency’s Workable Plan in October 1956. Three months later, the agency hired Scruggs and Hammond to complete the final planning tasks, including land use projections, site clearance and relocation recommendations, and materials to be used by agency staff at the federally mandated public hearings. Scruggs and Hammond estimated that the urban renewal project would cost \$1.4 million and be matched by federal grants at the rate of two-to-one. The firm recommended that fill dirt be used to raise the vacant land above flood crests, that Wilkinson Street be widened into a four-lane boulevard, that a park be built along the riverfront, and that brick public housing be constructed.<sup>105</sup>

The agency’s board of directors accepted the plans on June 26, 1957. The city purchased the first property in July 1959. By January 1960, the city had acquired 58 parcels and demolished 18 buildings that had been declared “unfit for human habitation.” At that time, the city had built only one public housing complex, Leestown Terrace, which opened in 1940 north of downtown. Leestown Terrace contained 85 units for white residents and only 15 units for Black residents. Therefore, many of the displaced residents were shuffled into vacant properties in Craw that had not yet been demolished. The agency subsidized rental costs until “decent, safe and sanitary” housing could be found. In 1960, Craw contained 321 households, 60 percent of whom were Black. In 1961, the agency condemned all non-residential and rental properties. The following year, the number had decreased to 240 families, 79 percent of whom were Black. By 1964, the number had been reduced to 116, who mostly lived in the northeastern corner along St. Clair and Blanton streets. By 1966, only 68 buildings remained, including the Corinthian Baptist Church and Mayo-Underwood School, both on Mero Street (Figure 6-81). The agency finally completed all property acquisition and demolitions in October 1970.<sup>106</sup>

By 1970, Frankfort had “undergone its most extensive downtown surgery in history,” according to Louisville reporter Grady Clay. “The Craw [was] no more than a memory.”<sup>107</sup> According to local historian James E. Wallace, Black residents:

...suffered a heavy toll as a consequence of the project. Slum clearance split families and scattered neighborhood residents throughout the city. Community institutions—schools, businesses, churches, and social organizations—vanished or were severely weakened. Factionalism heightened among African Americans as the community’s leaders debated on how to respond. These citizens lost their communal identity and the continuity entailed therein. The trauma associated with severed relationships, demolished homes, and lost traditions makes the term “victims” applicable when referencing Craw’s African Americans.”<sup>108</sup>

### **Capital Plaza**

In 1964, the Frankfort Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Agency was renamed the Frankfort Urban Renewal Commission, chaired by Farnham Dudgeon (1912-1985), a newspaper editor from North Dakota who had relocated to Frankfort after World War II. The commission was charged with launching the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project, which would result in building a Frankfort Civic Center. The commission convinced Governor Edward T. Breathitt to take the lead



Figure 6-81. Aerial View of Craw, 1966  
Source: *Louisville Courier Journal*, July 31, 1966

on developing and funding the urban renewal project. The following year, Governor Breathitt and the Kentucky General Assembly established the Capital Plaza Authority to administer development of the federally funded Capital Plaza. The Capital Plaza Authority consisted of the governor, finance commissioner, attorney general, a member appointed by the Frankfort mayor and a member appointed by the Franklin County judge. In 1967, the State of Kentucky sold \$45.5 million in bonds to fund the urban renewal project. The funding was attributed to the successful “negotiation, discussion, compromise and, of course, some politicking” by local, state, and federal officials and business leaders.<sup>109</sup>

In 1964, the Authority hired Louisville architect Jasper Dudley Ward (1921-2002) to prepare the first conceptual design and land use plan for the project. A native of New Jersey, Ward had attended MIT, served in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers during World War II and worked for Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill in New York City before establishing his own firm in 1958 at Louisville. Ward proposed building a floodwall instead of elevating the vacant land at Craw with dirt fill to protect it from frequent flooding. Instead of the initial concept of reconstructing the neighborhood with nearly 10 acres of new housing served by a public park and a shopping center, Ward and the Authority proposed redeveloping the vacant land with a YMCA, a state office building, a public library, retirement housing, a motel, a church, and possibly a school to replace the Mayo-Underwood School. The new conceptual plan of the Authority and Ward to reconstruct a civic center and plaza instead of a residential neighborhood for the displaced was a drastic redirection that would have a traumatic and lasting impact on Frankfort’s Black community.<sup>110</sup>

In 1965, at the recommendation of Gov. Breathitt, the Authority hired Edward Durrell Stone (1902-1978) to generate the architectural design and layout of the Capital Plaza along with a \$710 million state office building. Gov. Breathitt was familiar with Stone since he had designed

the nationally acclaimed Paducah City Hall as well as state-funded dormitories at the University of Kentucky.<sup>111</sup>

Based in New York City, Stone was world-renowned for Modernist architecture in the 1950s and 1960s. A native of Fayetteville, Arkansas, Stone attended the University of Arkansas, Harvard, and MIT. He was an early advocate of the International style, which he had observed while studying in Europe in the late 1920s. Stone's best-known work was the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, India, a New Formalist landmark completed from 1954 to 1959. In 1958, he designed the U.S. Pavilion at the World's Fair in Brussels, Belgium; was elected a Fellow with the American Institute of Architects; and made the cover of *Time* magazine.<sup>112</sup>

By the 1960s, his firm had achieved much commercial success and was among the largest in the U.S., with 200 employees on both coasts. Some of his better-known commissions in the Southeast include the Fine Arts Center at the University of Arkansas (1948), International Trade Mart at New Orleans (1959), North Carolina Legislative Building at Raleigh (1960), and the Jefferson County Civic Complex at Pine Bluff, Arkansas (1968), as well as the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. (1964-1971).<sup>113</sup>

In Kentucky, Stone designed several prominent civic facilities, including the Paducah City Hall (1962-1964), which is similar in style to the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, and the University of Kentucky's Kirwan-Blanding Complex (1963-1967), a \$12 million complex of dormitories, originally designed with three, 14-story skyscrapers surrounded by eight, three-story low-rise buildings (less than half were built). Housing 2,400 students when completed in 1967, the 18-acre, International-style Kiran-Blanding Complex was hailed as the "campus of the future." Stone also designed the Lake Barkley Lodge (1967-1970) near Cadiz. Stone designed the Paducah City Hall and Lake Barkley Lodge in association with Lee Potter Smith and Associates of Paducah.<sup>114</sup>

Inspired by urban renewal projects then underway in cities such as Nashville and Pittsburgh, Edward Durell Stone's Capital Plaza consisted of "an impressive collection of new buildings classically arrayed around a formal plaza." Stone designed International-style buildings and a two-story parking garage topped by a pedestrian mall with a large fountain, flag courts and a promenade overlooking the Kentucky River. An elevated pedestrian bridge spanned Wilkinson Street, which was converted into an urban thoroughfare and connected to a riverside park. Mero and Clinton streets passed beneath the elevated pedestrian mall. Public facilities included a 28-story skyscraper for state offices, a civic arena, a U.S. courthouse, a mall and a public housing complex in the northwest corner. Stone also proposed reutilizing the quarry at the base of Fort Hill as an outdoor amphitheater. Private buildings included a YMCA, a hotel and convention center and the Fountain Place retail shops. The Capital Plaza was a gleaming white complex of futuristic architecture and public spaces (Figures 6-82-85).<sup>115</sup>

Located within the 48-acre area, Capital Plaza was intended to be built in three phases. Costing \$21 million, construction of the first phase began in October 1967. Governor Breathitt stipulated a floodwall must be constructed to protect the low-lying area. Frankfort city officials secured a \$1.8 million federal grant to build a levee, which was completed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1969. The first phase included a 28-story state office building (Figure 6-82), a 700-car parking garage beneath a pedestrian plaza, and nearly 12,000 square feet of retail space. The general contractor was Robert McKee Company of Dallas, Texas. Construction of the second phase began in December 1967 and included an extension of the pedestrian plaza above Mero Street, a 600-car parking garage, a cafeteria, a reflecting pool and 63,000 square feet of retail space. The reflecting pool featured a fountain and could be frozen in winter for ice skating.<sup>116</sup>

Stone designed the office tower in association with Lee Potter Smith and Associates of Paducah. A native of Clarksville, Tennessee, Lee Potter Smith (1919-2011) earned an architecture degree at the University of Cincinnati in 1937. He initially worked in the architectural practice of his





Figure 6-82. Illustration, Capital Plaza, c.1967  
 Source: Bill Slone, Personal Collection, 2018

father, George Tandy Smith, Jr. (1890-1953), at Paducah before opening his own practice in 1954. Smith opened a branch office in 1960 at Carbondale, Illinois. He designed buildings in Kentucky, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee and Florida. In 1965, Smith relocated to Naples, Florida, but established a short-term partnership with Pritchett, Hugg & Carter at Frankfort for the Capital Plaza project.<sup>117</sup>

The second phase of the Capital Plaza project also included a privately funded \$750,000 three-story YMCA featuring a swimming and diving pool, a gymnasium, exercise rooms, handball courts, game rooms, a businessman’s club, rooftop gardens and offices. The local architectural firm Gray and Coblin designed the YMCA. Additionally, the second phase included a 6,292-seat civic arena for hosting athletic events and conventions. Designed by Lee Potter Smith and Associates of Paducah, the arena hosted the KSU Thoroughbred basketball games. In November 1967, the U.S. Congress appropriated \$1.8 million to construct a 64,000-square-foot federal courthouse-office building, designed by Luckett and Farley of Louisville. The new courthouse was initially going to replace the historic U.S. Courthouse on Wapping Street, but local officials protested and convinced the General Services Administration to build it at the Capital Plaza instead. The third phase called for construction of an outdoor amphitheater in the limestone quarry north of Mero Street; however, this proposal was never carried out. The third phase also included a “strip” reserved for future high-rise office buildings and apartment towers.<sup>118</sup>

Construction of the 25-acre Capital Plaza was completed in 1971 with \$4.3 million in cost overruns, which required the state’s government to sell an additional \$3.5 million in bonds. Even before it was finished, reporters were questioning if the seven-year, \$49 million project would be a “boon or boondoggle.” The scaled-back YMCA was completed in May, the pedestrian plaza in July, and the state office tower and civic arena in September. However, construction had not yet begun on the federal courthouse-office building or the proposed hotel. And plans for the proposed

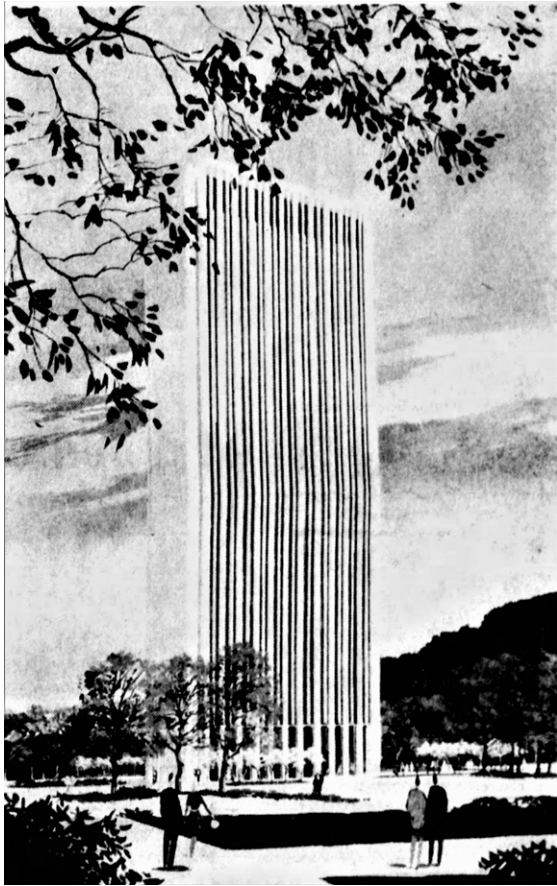


Figure 6-83. Rendering, State Office Building, 1966  
Source: *Lexington Herald*, May 3, 1966

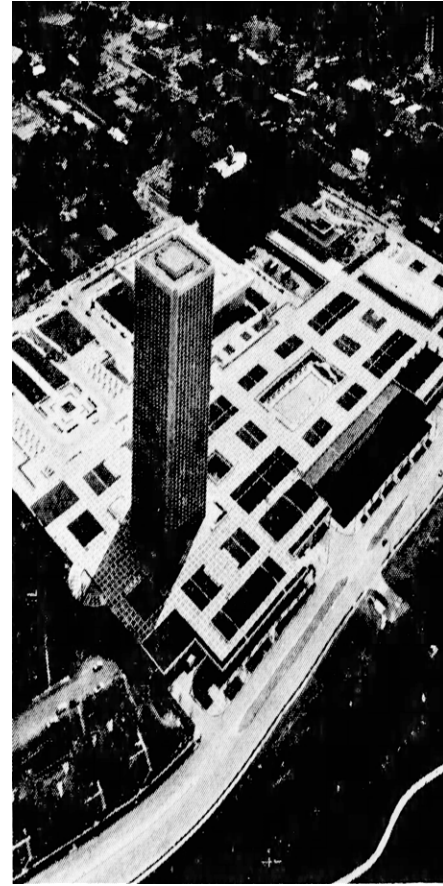


Figure 6-84. Frankfort's Capital Plaza, 1972  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, October 5, 1972

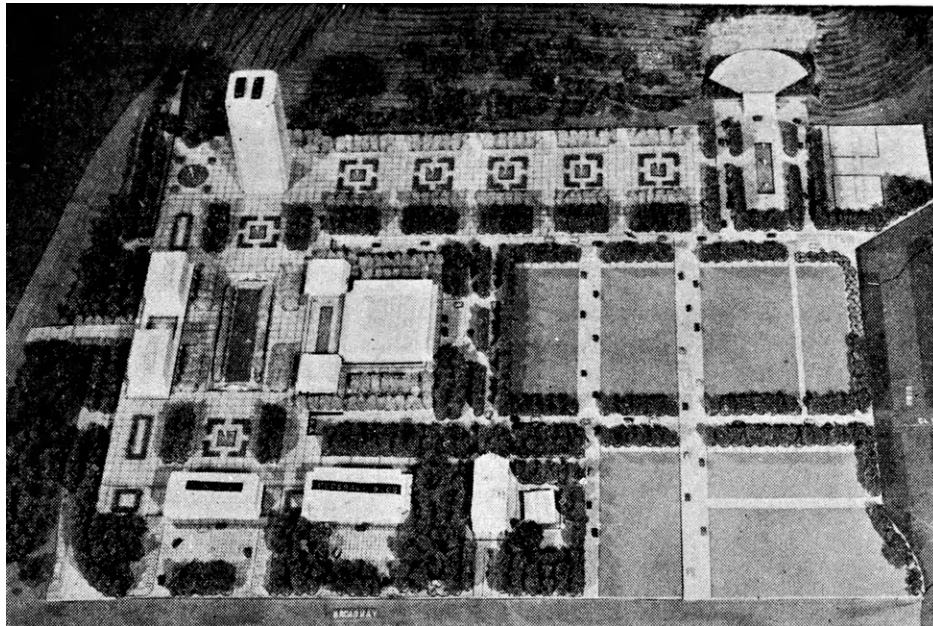


Figure 6-85. Edward Durrell Stone's Capital Plaza, 1966  
Source: *Lexington Herald*, May 3, 1966

riverside park were dropped due to the construction of an electrical transmission line along the new floodwall. Additionally, the city, state and federal governments had spent \$125,000 to purchase the adjacent Fort Hill so it could be preserved as open space. However, state leaders were concerned that local leaders and businesses were “spectators” and not “sponsors” of the project.<sup>119</sup>

By the fall of 1972, the Capital Plaza was nearing completion (Figure 6-88). The new civic arena was named for Farnham Dudgeon, a city commissioner who had served as president of the Frankfort Chamber of Commerce and chair of the Frankfort Urban Renewal Commission. For nearly 20 years, Dudgeon had been called a “sparkplug” for the project. The first retail store, A&D Appliances, opened in September 1972. Some 7,000 residents attended a dedication ceremony for the state office tower on December 3, 1972. The ceremony also included an open house celebration for the Fountain Place retail area with a pops concert and Porter Waggoner show. Completed from 1972 to 1973, the federal courthouse-office building was named the John C. Watts Federal Building in honor of U.S. Representative John C. Watts (1902-1971), who had recently died.<sup>120</sup>

### ***Public Housing***

The Capital Plaza urban renewal project took years to complete chiefly due to the lack of suitable housing for hundreds of displaced Black families. “Frankfort has no low-rent public housing, and practically no vacant decent housing for rent to Negroes,” wrote Louisville reporter Grady Clay. “[And] most Frankfort land owners won’t sell to Negroes, and most builders won’t build for Negroes, or can’t make a profit and still build low-priced houses within the Negro buyers budget.” Therefore, the city could not “get rid of its oldest slum housing, its shacks, its rat-infested alley dwellings.” After three years of protracted headway in executing the much-ballyhooed urban renewal project, according to Clay, Frankfort had “failed.”<sup>121</sup>

To provide low-cost housing for Frankfort’s displaced Black families, in 1961, the Agency hired local architectural firm Oberwarth & Livingston to design a public housing complex in the Normal Heights neighborhood adjacent to KSU. Called Sutterlin Terrace, the 45-unit housing development required demolition of several homes in the northern section of Normal Heights, a segregated Black subdivision initially laid out in 1911. Costing \$550,000 and completed in November 1962, Sutterlin Terrace contained modest brick duplexes (Figure 6-86) with cramped spaces. Some residents referred to Sutterlin Terrace in disdain as a “reservation.”<sup>122</sup>

In January 1965, the city integrated the all-white section of the Leestown Terrace public housing project, which provided additional low-cost housing for displaced Black families at Craw. By 1965, only about 100 families remained in “Frankfort’s most notorious slum.” However, the choice for new housing was “still rather limited and finding new homes for The Craw residents has been a major difficulty over the last seven years,” wrote Louisville reporter Grady Clay.<sup>123</sup>

The Authority was under immense pressure to clear out the last families from Craw so the neighborhood could be reconstructed with the Capital Plaza. Consequently, in 1966, the Authority hired Oberwarth Associates to design a public housing development along Wilkinson Street at the base of Fort Hill just north of Craw. Called Riverview Terrace, the 30-unit, 1.5-acre development exhibited International-style architecture. It was the only public housing built specifically for Black residents in the urban renewal area. In 1967, the Kentucky chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) presented Riverview Terrace with an “Honorable Mention” award for its modernist design.<sup>124</sup>

Many displaced Black families relocated to South Frankfort or to the College Park and Cherokee subdivisions constructed near KSU. The College Park and Cherokee subdivisions are described in the Individual Neighborhoods section.



Figure 6-86. Sutterlin Terrace, 1968  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

### ***Educational Facilities***

During this period, several modern educational facilities were constructed in Frankfort. This section focuses on those built for or associated with African Americans.

#### ***F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium***

From 1955 to 1956, the city built the F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium for Frankfort High School, located three blocks east of the school. Located at 315-317 Ewing Street in South Frankfort, the gymnasium was designed by Oberwarth & Livingston, a prominent architectural firm operated by Clarence Julian Oberwarth and William Curtis Livingston, Jr. (For more information, see Chapter 7.) Costing \$445,000 with a seating capacity of 2,500 people, the one-story, brick gymnasium hosted basketball games and served as a community auditorium. In 1981, the gymnasium was named for Fayette Duncan Wilkinson (1910-2001), who over the span of decades served as the high school's principal, basketball coach and athletic director.<sup>125</sup>

#### ***Kentucky State University***

During the modern era, the campus of KSU underwent a vast expansion and remarkable evolution with the construction of numerous new academic and athletic facilities. During this period the institution's name was changed from Kentucky State College for Negroes to Kentucky State College in 1952 and then to Kentucky State University in 1972. The expansion took place under the presidencies of Rufus B. Atwood (1929-1962) and Carl M. Hill (1962-1975). From 1948 to 1949, three traditional Colonial Revival-style buildings were constructed, including James L. McCullin Hall, a three-story men's dormitory on the north side of campus. The other two, Estell and Ingram Apartments, were two-story faculty apartments (Figure 6-87) at the southwest corner of campus with easy access to East Main Street (U.S. 60).



Figure 6-87. Estell Apartments at KSU, circa 1955  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Beginning in 1952, KSU entered a long-term relationship with the Oberwarth & Livingston architectural firm at Frankfort. (For more information see Chapter 7.) Over the 25 years, the Oberwarth & Livingston firm designed at least eight buildings, and undoubtedly others, as well as a long-range campus master plan. In the 1950s, Oberwarth & Livingston designed three major buildings at KSU, including George Washington Carver Hall (1952-1953), the J. Rosenwald Laboratory School (1953-1954), and the Paul G. Blazer Library (1958-1961). All were modest examples of Mid-Century Modern academic buildings. Located next to Hume Hall at the heart of the campus, Carver Hall served as a science building. The phrase “Enter to Learn – Go Out to Serve” was boldly inscribed in concrete above the entrance (Figure 6-88). Costing \$137,000, the new one-story brick Rosenwald Laboratory School (Figure 6-89) replaced Normal Hill Rosenwald School No.2, built in 1923 on the south side of East Main Street (U.S. 60). The school was connected to the main campus through an underground pedestrian tunnel built beneath the busy state highway. Located on the north side of campus, the one-story Blazer Library was the university’s first purpose-built library (Figure 6-90). In 1961, a small Ranch-style alumni house was constructed on the east side of campus (Figure 6-91).

In 1960, KSU hired Lawrence D. Cammack (1907-1989), an architect at Lexington, to design the Bell Gymnasium. (See Chapter 7.) The new recreational facility was built on the site of the original 1931 Colonial Revival-style gymnasium that had been destroyed by arson on May 2, 1960, during volatile campus protests. (See Chapter 5.) Completed between 1961 and 1962, the new Bell Gymnasium, later renamed the Bell Health and Physical Education Building, featured a basketball arena and an indoor swimming pool (Figure 6-92).

Between 1963 and 1964, KSU built two dormitories for 200 students. Costing \$900,000, these buildings included Bert Combs Hall, a men’s dormitory next to McCullin Hall, and Ann J. Hunter Hall, a women’s dormitory next to Jackson Hall. The four-story Modernist-style buildings were nearly identical (Figure 6-93). From 1964 to 1966, KSU built David H. Bradford Hall, a \$1.3 million, Modernist-style, multi-purpose fine arts and business building with a theater and auditorium located in the southeast corner of the campus.<sup>126</sup>

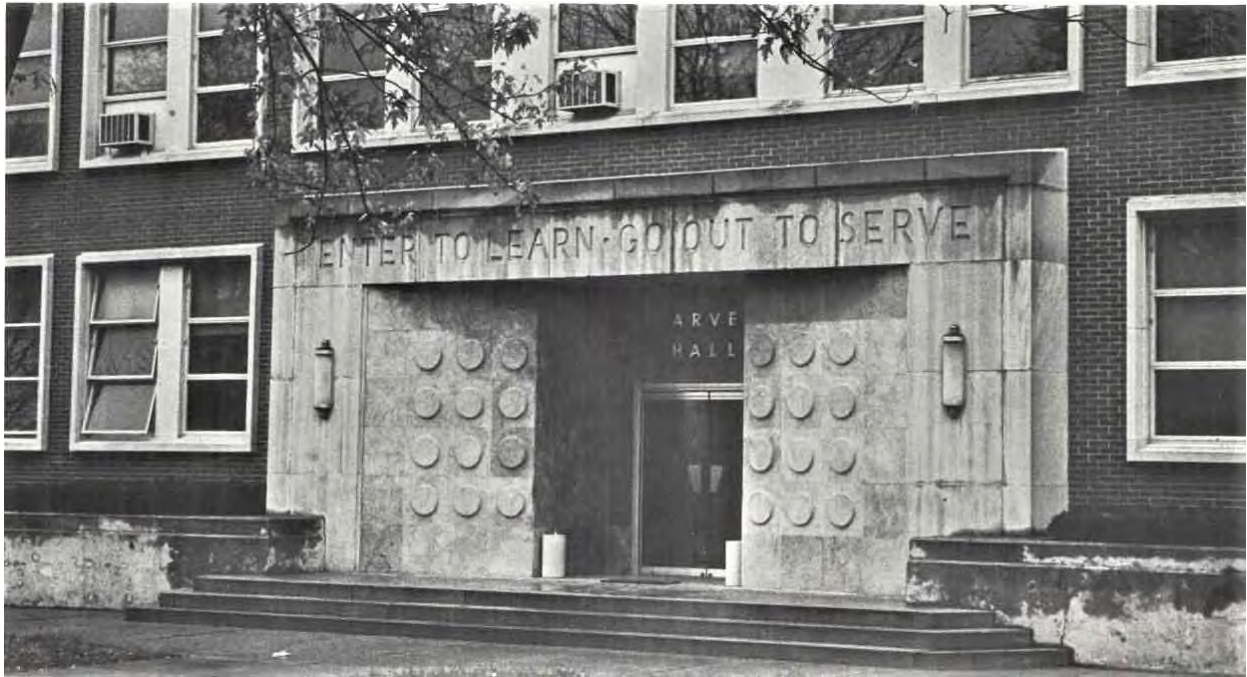


Figure 6-88. Carver Hall, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971: 177



Figure 6-89. Rosenwald Laboratory School, 1955  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1955: 49



Figure 6-90. Blazer Library, 1962  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1962: 96



Figure 6-91. Alumni House at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU, Thorobred*, 1971: 174



Figure 6-92. Bell Gymnasium at KSU, 1960  
Source: KSU, *Thorobred*, 1962: 3



Figure 6-93. Combs Hall at KSU, 1971  
Source: KSU *Thorobred*, 1971



From 1960 to 1965, enrollment at KSU more than doubled, from 640 to 1,451 students. Campus leaders projected that enrollment would grow to 3,300 students by 1975 and that KSU would join an NCAA Division I regional athletic conference comparable to the Ohio Valley Conference, which then included colleges such as Morehead State, Murray State, Eastern Kentucky and Western Kentucky. Additionally, KSU intended to build a state-of-the-art track and a 7,000-seat football stadium. To accommodate the rapid growth and expansion, university leaders undertook an ambitious and large-scale building campaign (Ramsey, 1965: 11; Trout, 1965: 22).

Developed by Clarence Julian Oberwarth in conjunction with President Carl M. Hill, the KSU board of regents approved the plan in March 1965. The long-range, campus master plan was intended to guide expansion of a 220-acre campus along both sides of East Main Street (U.S. 60) over a 20-year period ending just before the university's centennial celebration in 1986. The long-range plan was intended to provide an ultramodern campus for several thousand students. When the plan was approved in 1965, Hill said the "predominantly Negro college has operated for many years under the 'separate but equal' doctrine which is vanishing." During those years, KSU was underfunded. The "thesis will be advanced that extra support now is needed by the integrated institution to compensate for neglect suffered in the separate-but-equal era," stated a reporter. "A new era of opportunity is upon us," responded Hill. "Yet the scars of years of financial impoverishment linger." Hill anticipated KSU would complete the master plan in five phases, with 16 new projects completed by 1971 and another 11 projects by 1983. The master plan also called for the demolition of abandoned buildings, play and parking areas, street and access improvements, landscaping, and enlargement of the pedestrian tunnel beneath U.S. 60.<sup>127</sup>

In February 1966, the KSU board of regents approved \$4,786,000 for the construction of seven new projects, including classrooms, dormitories, faculty housing and support facilities. Funding was provided by federal loans and a \$176 million state bond issue approved by voters in November 1965. Completed between 1966 and 1967, the first three projects included the Robert H. Jordan Maintenance Building, Whitney M. Young, Jr. Hall, and G.P. Russell Court. The Jordan Maintenance Building was next to the 1930s heating plant on the west side of campus. Located near the Rosenwald Laboratory School on the south side of East Main Street, Whitney Young Hall (Figure 6-94) was a three-story, T-shaped men's dormitory housing 324 upperclassmen.<sup>128</sup>



Figure 6-94. Whitney Young Hall at KSU, 1971  
Source: KSU *Thorobred*, 1971

The G.P. Russell Court was faculty housing located along Cold Harbor Drive near the new College Park residential subdivision, where several university professors and faculty lived. Russell Court was designed by Oberwarth Associates, founded at Frankfort in 1965 by Kenneth Norman Berry (1933-2021), who purchased Oberwarth & Livingston after Clarence Julian Oberwarth retired. Berry's new partners included James Earl "Jim" Burris (b.1937) and Milton Doak Thompson, Jr. (b.1938). Berry and Burris received their architecture degrees from the University of Kentucky, while Thompson earned an architecture degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston. The youth-oriented Oberwarth & Associates became one of the leading design firms in the Mid-South and introduced cutting-edge architecture to Frankfort (See Chapter 7).

Completed under the direction of Kenneth Norman Berry from 1966 to 1967, G.P. Russell Court was a 20-unit faculty-staff apartment building costing \$445,000. The Brutalist-style, concrete building was named in 1971 for Green P. Russell, KSU's fourth president. Constructed with a sunken, semi-circular courtyard, the four-story, U-shaped building featured concrete cantilevered staircases, balconies, support columns, and projecting upper-level apartment modules. The original design shows a semi-circular building (Figure 6-95), but the completed version featured a series of trapezoid-shaped cubical rooms that fanned out to form a semi-circular sawtooth plan (Figure 6-96). It is possible that the design change was inspired by the interlocking, cubic modular design for apartment housing at the Habitat '67 Exposition at Montreal, Canada. Designed by Israeli American architect Moshe Safdie (b.1938), Habitat '67 is one of the most acclaimed examples of Brutalist architecture in the world.<sup>129</sup>

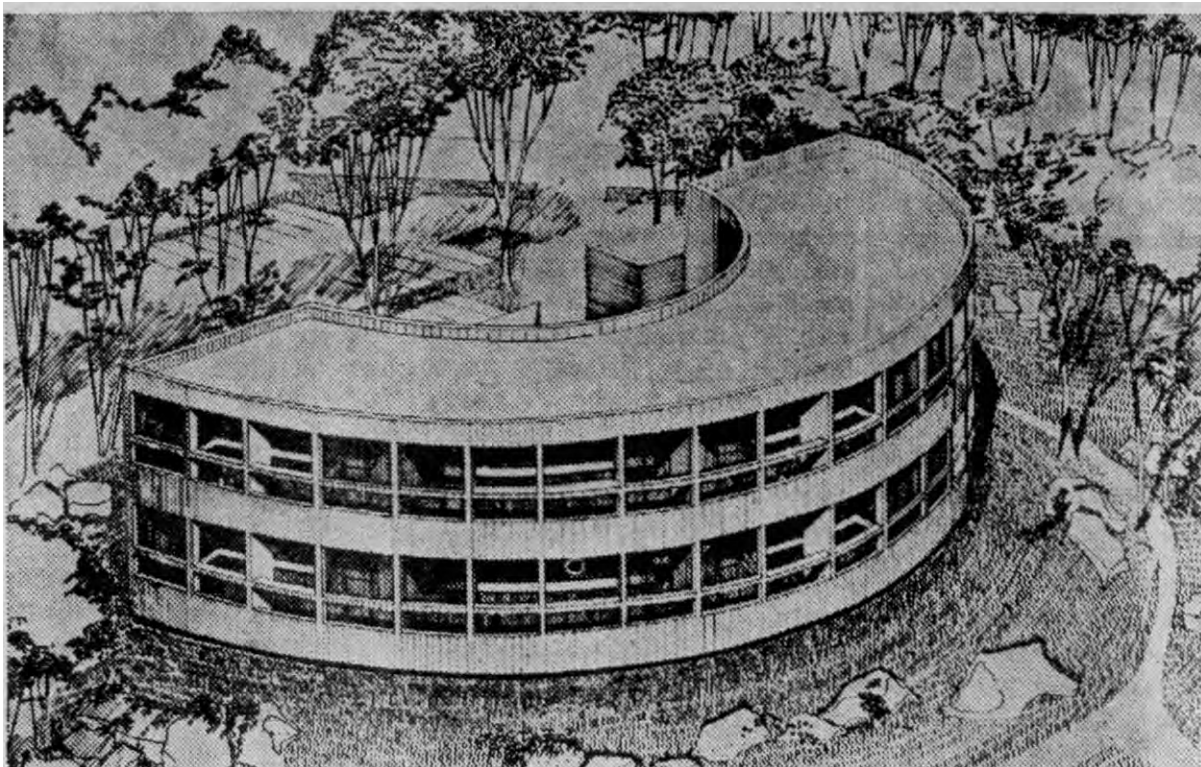


Figure 6-95. Original Design for Russell Court at KSU, 1966  
Source: *Dawson Springs Progress*, 1966

In 1967, Oberwarth Associates also designed a three-story, Brutalist-style addition to the Paul G. Blazer Library (Figure 6-97), completed in 1968, and a three-story Brutalist-style annex to Carver Hall, completed in 1969. Both annexes were constructed of reinforced concrete with brick veneer. The library's annex is characterized by an oversized arched entrance and angled window openings.<sup>130</sup>



Figure 6-96. Russell Court at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971



Figure 6-97. Blazer Library Annex at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSC Thorobred*, 1971

In 1969, the firm designed the Brutalist-style Shauntee Hall, a \$1 million industrial arts building, which won a design award from the Kentucky Society of Architects in 1971. Shauntee Hall was located on the expanded south campus adjacent to the Memorial Athletic Complex (1969-1970) and P.W.L. Jones Field House, completed in 1970. Shauntee Hall was a two-story building housing machine, woodworking, welding and electronic shops on the first floor and a classroom and drafting and crafts rooms on the second floor.<sup>131</sup>

The most arresting new building constructed during this period was J.S. Hathaway Hall, which replaced the original Hathaway Hall (1908-1910) constructed at the center of campus. The original building was demolished in 1967 to make way for the Carver Hall Annex. In 1967, Milton Doak Thompson of Oberwarth Associates oversaw the design of J.S. Hathaway Hall, a Brutalist-style academic building overlooking East Main Street (U.S. 60). The daring design of Hathaway Hall is reflective of avantgarde Modernist architecture in the U.S. At MIT, Thompson was exposed to experimental Modernist and Brutalist landmarks designed by renowned architects such as Eero Saarinen, Alvar Aalto, I.M. Pei and Eduardo F. Catalano. Costing \$1.8 million, the landmark five-story, geometrically shaped building was constructed with reinforced concrete, exposed concrete columns and grey brick with horizontal ribbons of glass windows that face upwards at an angle. The front wings are angled, forming an inverted V-shaped courtyard, while the rear is squared (Figures 6-98-99). The main entrance in the north courtyard is accessed by an elevated walkway connecting to modular cubical-shaped offices projecting from the elevation. At the south side of the building, a triangular-shaped shelter was constructed above the entrance to the underground tunnel going beneath East Main Street (U.S. 60). The 70,000-square-foot academic building contained 24 general classrooms, 70 faculty offices, an audio-visual center, several laboratories and a 220-seat lecture hall.<sup>132</sup>



Figure 6-98. J.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1966  
Source: *Lexington-Herald*, 1966



Figure 6-99. H.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971: 176

The cutting-edge design for Hathaway Hall won an award in 1967 from the Kentucky Society of Architects and in 1968, an AIA national award, the first in Kentucky's history. "Good, tough building in a traditionally sweet environment," stated one juror. "I think there was one prime reason that the building won the award," said Milton Thompson. "The client wanted more than just a building." President Carl M. Hill served as the primary representative of the client, KSU. Named for the university's third president, James S. Hathaway, the building is considered one of the best examples of Brutalist architecture in Kentucky (KNBA, 2022; Nunn, 1968: 87-89; *Franklin Favorite*, 1968: 18; *Lexington Herald*, 1968: 4).

From 1969 to 1971, two additional buildings were completed. Located between Hathaway Hall and Bradford Hall, the Carl M. Hill Student Center was designed by Hugg, Carter and Blakeman, an architectural firm established in 1965 at Frankfort. (See Chapter 7). The firm designed several educational buildings, including Modernist academic buildings on the campuses of Morehead State University and Western Kentucky University. Two of their buildings at Western Kentucky won awards from the Kentucky Society of Architects. The firm had worked with Edward Durrell Stone on the design of the 28-story Capital Plaza Office Tower (1969-1972) and the International-style Paducah City Hall (1962-1963). The \$1.3 million student union facility was named for Carl M. Hill, then KSU's president. The three-story Modernist building featured reinforced concrete with brick veneer, ribbons of black reflective glass windows (Figure 6-100). In 1972, the Hill Student Center received an Achievement of Excellence Award from the Kentucky Society of Architects, who complimented the siting and noted it was a "beautifully detailed building of awareness and sensitivity."<sup>133</sup>

Completed between 1970 and 1971, the Betty White Health Center (Figure 6-101) was located at the east side of the campus. The Brutalist-style building was designed by William Granville Coblin, Sr. (1918-2002), an architect who established a firm in 1954 at Frankfort. (See Chapter 7.) Coblin served as chairman of the Frankfort Planning Commission from 1960 to 1970. The

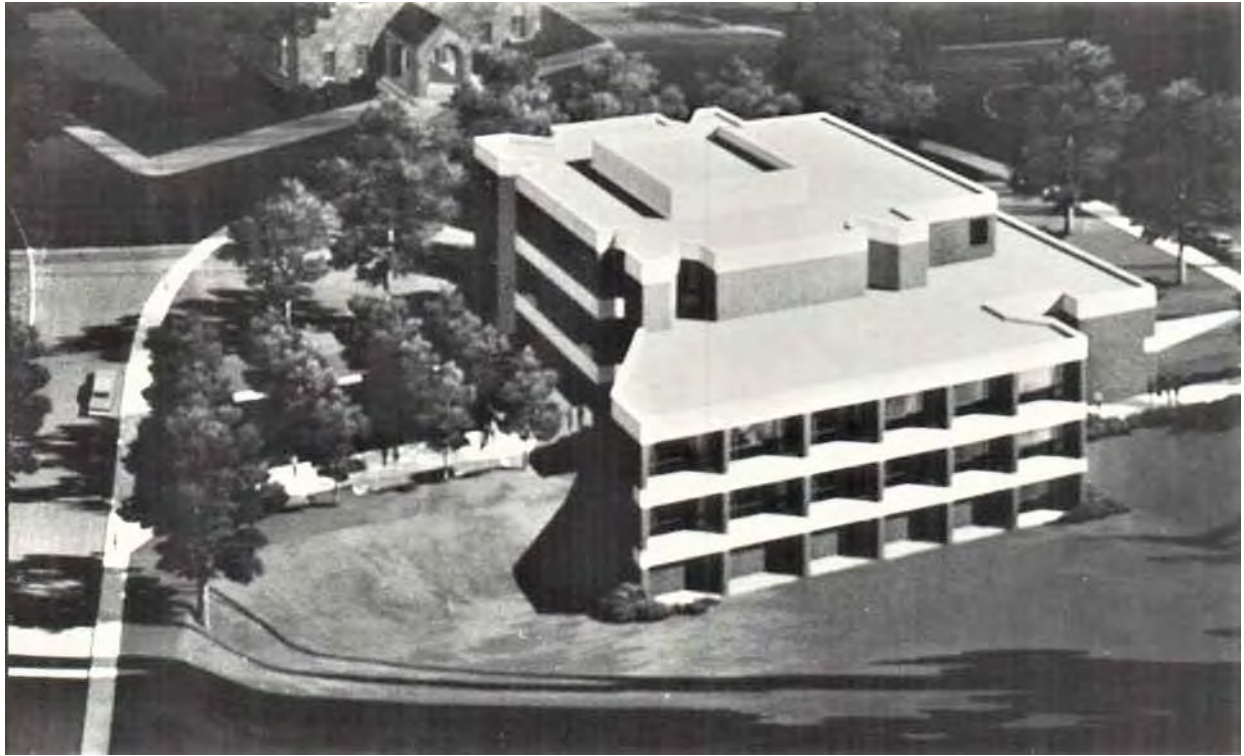


Figure 6-100. Carl M. Hill Student Center at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971: 178



Figure 6-101. Betty White Health Center at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971: 178

Betty White Health Center was a \$400,000, two-story infirmary with male and female wards for 30 patients on the second floor and an x-ray room, exam rooms, a laboratory, and offices for physicians, nurses, and dentists on the first floor. The reinforced concrete and brick building was constructed with cantilevered second floor massing projecting on all four sides, a mushroom form popularized by the iconic Milwaukee County War Memorial, completed in 1957 by Eero Saarinen (1910-1961), a Finish-American architect and industrial designer.<sup>134</sup>

In the 1960s, KSU demolished the Dudley Farmhouse and agricultural support buildings on the KSU Farm. Constructed in the 1850s, the brick farmhouse was the seat of the Dudley plantation, which KSU purchased in 1898 for agricultural educational purposes. As part of the 1965 campus master plan, the KSU farm was redeveloped over time with new academic and recreational facilities. New facilities included Russell Court (1966-1967), Alumni Stadium (1977-1979), Aquaculture Research Center (1984) and the Research & Demonstration Farm (1986). At the hilltop site of the Dudley Farmhouse, KSU built a new president's house called Hillcrest. Completed around 1972, Hillcrest is a traditional, two-story Colonial Revival-style dwelling with one-story side wings and a central portico accessed by a circle driveway.

### Recreational Facilities

Around 1946, the State of Kentucky constructed State Stadium on the east side of the new State Office Building at the corner of High Street and East Clinton Street. The stadium was built on or near the site of the Clinton Street School, which closed in 1929. Built of hewn limestone, the stadium held 2,000 spectators for softball and baseball games. In 1953, the city purchased a 105-acre estate at 700 Louisville Road, centered on the stone Colonial Revival-style Berry Hill Mansion (NRHP, 2002) constructed in 1900 for George Franklin Berry. By 1957, the city had converted the property into the Juniper Hill Park featuring an Olympic-sized swimming pool, clubhouse, ballfield, tennis courts, picnic facilities, and an 18-hole golf course.

### **State Stadium**

On October 18, 1947, State Stadium was scheduled to host a four-round exhibition boxing match between Joe Louis and Bob Garner along with four additional bouts. Boxing matches are rarely held outdoors so the event was a big draw with African American spectators bussing in from Lexington earlier in the day to attend both the boxing match and KSU's Homecoming football game. However, the Saturday night outdoor boxing match was rained out at the last minute. Joe Louis (1914-1981) was an African American boxer from Detroit who competed professionally from 1937 to 1951. Nicknamed the "Brown Bomber," Louis reigned as the world heavyweight champion from 1937 until his temporary retirement in 1949. Louis is widely regarded as one of the greatest and most influential boxers of all time. Robert Tinsley "Bob" Garner (1923-1998) was an African American heavyweight boxer from Louisville who was a sparring partner with Louis. The two held several exhibition fights in 1947 and 1948. At Frankfort, tickets to their match cost \$2 to \$3, and a ringside section was reserved for Black spectators.<sup>135</sup>

The exhibition match scheduled for Frankfort was part of Louis's October training tour held in several cities in Kentucky and Indiana. Many of the matches were held between Louis and Garner. That an exhibition match was scheduled in Frankfort can possibly be attributed to his friendship with Jackson Robb (1910-1977), an African American community leader at Frankfort and son of Thomas K. Robb. Louis had visited Jackson Robb several times over the years. In November 1940, the two were involved in a minor car accident when Louis's limousine slid into the entrance posts at KSU. They were on their way to congratulate the football team for being invited to the Peach Blossom Bowl in Atlanta. An exhibition match scheduled for Woodland Auditorium a Lexington on October 24 was also cancelled at the last minute due to the lack of a proper event license. After the Frankfort match was cancelled, Louis went to visit the veterans' hospital at Louisville and on October 21, 1947, he fought an exhibition match with 1,200 spectators at the Daviess County High School Gymnasium in Owensboro, Kentucky. These exhibition matches were used as training for Louis's defense of his World Heavyweight Championship Title on December 5, 1947, against Joe Walcott at Madison Square Garden, which held over 23,000 spectators. "Garner fights something like Walcott," Louis told a reporter at Louisville. "And I think he'll be able to help me."<sup>136</sup>

### ***Religious Buildings***

In the mid-1960s, the congregation of the First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church was forced to relocate from their sanctuary at 324 Mero Street in Craw. In 1967, the city demolished the Gothic Revival-style church the congregation had worshipped in since 1887 as part of the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. In 1965, under the direction of Rev. Charles N. King (1892-1975), the congregation hired Oberwarth Associates of Frankfort to design a new Modernist sanctuary at 214 Murray Street in South Frankfort.<sup>137</sup>

Completed in two phases from 1966 to 1975, the Modernist sanctuary and educational wing is an anchor in the historic African American neighborhood. The original design concept featured angular massing with triangular-shaped roof forms for vertical clerestory skylights and an angulated projecting screen wall at the main entrance (Figures 6-102-103). The final design was softened with a two-story entrance façade that projects upward with a gently curved roof supported by curved wood ceiling beams that project from the exterior of the facade. The final design also exhibited angulated vertical side windows, vertical façade window bays, recessed window banks on the rear wing, an angulated side entrance, brown glazed brick, blue colored plate glass windows, and a projecting concrete rear entrance stair with a vertical slot. The interior features globe lights, a second-floor balcony, and a lobby atrium flanked by partially enclosed staircases to the balcony.<sup>138</sup>

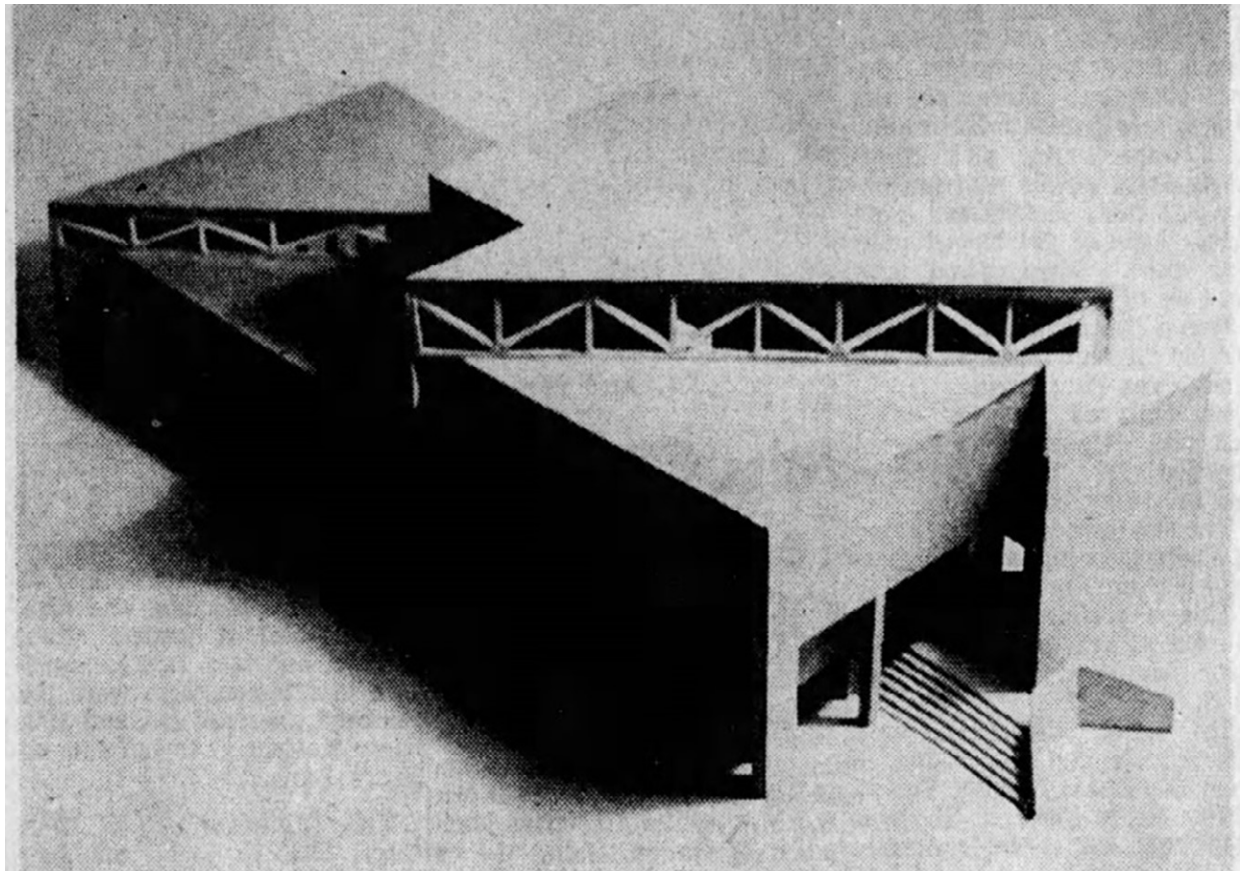


Figure 6-102. Model of First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, 1965  
Source: *Lexington Herald*, 1965





Figure 6-103. First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, circa 1975  
Source: First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church Collection

### ***School Desegregation***

Frankfort desegregated its public high schools during the 1956-1957 academic year. Constructed in 1924 at 328 Shelby Street in South Frankfort, Frankfort High School (NRHP, 1983, 2008) was the first public school in Frankfort to desegregate. African American students had the option of continuing to attend Mayo-Underwood High School, completed in 1929 at 426 Mero Street in Craw, during the transitional academic year. By the 1957-1958 academic year, all public high school students attended Frankfort High School.

During the 1956-1957 academic year, Good Shepherd Catholic High School (NRHP, 2009), a private school in downtown Frankfort, also desegregated. Built from 1922 to 1923, the two-story Collegiate Gothic-school was located 316 Wapping Street. Simultaneously, the State of Kentucky desegregated the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded, which had changed its name to the Kentucky Training Home in 1948, and Franklin County desegregated public high schools at Bridgeport and Elkhorn.<sup>139</sup>

Frankfort's six elementary schools did not desegregate until the 1963-1964 academic year. Desegregated public elementary schools included Murray Street School, built in 1912 at 411 Murray Street and Second Street School (NRHP, 2008), built in 1936 at 306 West 2nd Street, both in South Frankfort, and Mayo-Underwood School in Craw. Other desegregated elementary schools included Bellepoint at 715 Dabney, Holmes Street at 607 Hoge Avenue, Thorn Hill on Leslie Avenue and Wilkinson Street on Leestown Road. Two additional elementary schools located in the recently annexed eastern suburbs which may have been desegregated at this time include Elkhorn at 920 East Main Street in Green Hill and Little Elkhorn at 123 Rolling Acres Drive near KSU. The Rosenwald Laboratory School at 485 East Main Street continued to be operated by KSU. It was integrated in 1964 and was later renamed the Rosenwald Center for Early Childhood Development (Figure 6-104).



Figure 6-104. Rosenwald Laboratory School at KSU, 1971  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

### ***Individual Neighborhoods***

The following is a description of individual Black neighborhoods at Frankfort that were documented as part of the reconnaissance survey for this report.

#### ***Pawpaw Chute***

Pawpaw Chute was a small pocket neighborhood in South Frankfort at the north side of the Governor's Mansion. Sometimes known as Paw Paw Shoots, the neighborhood was located near the Kentucky River at the intersection of Logan Street with current day Briar Cliff Street and East State Street, which was called Paw Paw Street prior to construction of the Governor's Mansion between 1912 and 1914 (Figure 6-105). Today, the area is located generally along the 600 block of Logan Street.<sup>140</sup>

The source for the name is said to have come from the Pawpaw fruit tree, which grew in the area. The Pawpaw tree is native to rivers in North America and produces a fruit that is described as a cross between a mango and a banana. Historians claim it was popular with American Indians and enslaved Black people as a source of sustenance and was found at stations along the Underground Railroad. Africans also used pawpaw for medicinal purposes. The fruit was a staple for early Americans, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and residents of Colonial Williamsburg. Paw Paw Chute was also a name for navigable waterways in Louisiana and Mississippi. Throughout the South and Midwest, there were also instances of river bends, river bottoms and bayous named Paw Paw. An 1891 article in the *Frankfort Roundabout* referred to a "little colored boy" who broke his arm in the Pawpaw Chute neighborhood in South Frankfort. In 1905, a fire damaged a rental house occupied by a "colored man named James Taylor" on Logan Street, which was then "more familiarly known as Paw Paw Chute." An article published in the *Lexington Herald* in 1920 referred to "negro women from Pawpaw Chute" who were registering to vote.<sup>141</sup>

The 20th century city directories do not reference Paw Paw Street. However, in the 1910s, the Pawpaw Chute neighborhood included Logan Alley, now Stanley Street, which extended south of East Todd Street to the new Governor's Mansion. According to the 1914 city directory, Black residents along Logan Alley included Henry Quincy, a porter at the New Capital Café; Maggie Thomas, a laundress; James White, a laborer at a distillery; Mildred Allen, a laundress; Henry Brown, a laborer; Mallie Dudley, a laundress; and Warren Dudley, a driver.



Figure 6-105. Paw Paw Street, 1907  
 Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Map

In the 1950s, nearly all the homes for Black residents were demolished and replaced with greenspace for the Governor’s Mansion or larger homes and apartments for white residents. A lone exception is a small frame shotgun residence at 442 Logan Alley/Stanley Street, which according to city directories was occupied in 1924 by Booker T. Washington (1902-1979), a porter for Peter Luchini (1889-1959), and his wife Carrie Washington, as well as Sallie Williams (b.1874), a widowed laundress. Census records show that Luchini was an Italian immigrant who operated a confectionary. In 1926, the house was occupied by William Beatty, a laborer for the Frankfort Water Company, and his wife Mary, as well as Sarah Williams, a cook.

According to city directories, in 1928 the shotgun house was occupied by Huston Mallory Settles (1909-1985), a Black house servant, and his wife Pauline. By 1942, he had moved to Normal Heights, but in the late 1940s returned to 452 Stanley Street and remained there until his death in 1985. He was buried in the Green Hill Cemetery.<sup>142</sup> In 1958 and 1960, the house was occupied by Katy M. Green.

### **Green Hill**

Green Hill is a small suburban community in East Frankfort about one mile east of the KSU campus. Located at the intersection of East Main Street (U.S. Highway 60) and Versailles Road (U.S. Highway 421), Green Hill historically featured several African American resources, including farmsteads, Green Hill Cemetery, Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church and Black's Pond (Figure 6-106). The Green Hill community was settled in the early 19th century at the intersection of two turnpikes that connected Frankfort with Lexington via Versailles and Georgetown. In the 1830s, a toll gate was built at the intersection, which represented the entrance into Frankfort from the Bluegrass region to the east.<sup>143</sup>

In the late 1880s, the Frankfort-Georgetown Turnpike, dating from the 1780s settlement period, was improved into a state road, which served the interurban streetcar line from 1905 to 1934. The interurban provided public transit between Frankfort, Versailles, Lexington, Paris and Georgetown. As Frankfort grew, the turnpike to Georgetown evolved into U.S. Highway 460 and East Main Street, and the turnpike to Versailles evolved into U.S. Highway 421. Today, the Green Hill community has been nearly completely absorbed by modern residential subdivisions and commercial developments.<sup>144</sup>

Containing over 2,000 burials, the Green Hill Cemetery was established in 1865 as Frankfort's earliest cemetery exclusively for Black residents, although white residents were also buried there. It was originally owned by the city and county but was turned over to the Black community in 1958. The cemetery contains many graves of veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops from central Kentucky who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War. From the 1880s through the 1920s, the local Black community held grand parades from downtown Frankfort to the cemetery to honor the U.S. Colored Troops buried there. In July 1924, the Colored Woman's Relief Corp of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) erected the Colored Soldiers Monument at the cemetery. The monument is inscribed with the names of 142 U.S. Colored Troops from central Kentucky. It is the only monument erected in Kentucky memorializing the state's nearly 30,000 African American soldiers that fought in the U.S. Army during the American Civil War. It is said to have been funded by both white and Black residents of Frankfort.<sup>145</sup>

A landslide caused by heavy rains in November 1906 carried graves and tombstones from the cemetery onto the interurban tracks, requiring the reinternment of several burials. In the early 20th century, the cemetery expanded to the south side of Atwood Avenue. In 1958, the county sold a portion of the western side of the cemetery for commercial redevelopment and turned the rest of the cemetery over to the Black community. Apparently, the decommissioned portion was unused. As a result, Atwood Avenue was realigned, and the original house used as a tool shed was demolished. In 1958, local Black builders William C. Jacobs, William Jack Gaines and John Henry Guy, Jr. built a new tool shed at the entrance to the cemetery. In 2007, a historical marker memorializing the U.S. Colored Troops was erected. The cemetery also features an interpretive wayside exhibit for the U.S. Colored Troops.<sup>146</sup>

In 1891, the congregation for the Green Hill Colored Baptist Church formed. The congregation originally met in the Green Hill Colored School, built in 1890 on the southeast side of the cemetery. The first minister was Rev. Arnold Walker (1866-1926) of Louisville. He was soon replaced by Rev. Alfred W. Harris (1862-1927), an African American clergyman from Georgetown in Scott County. Rev. Harris was licensed to preach in 1886 and ordained in 1893. In the 1960s, the congregation changed its name to Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church.<sup>147</sup>

The church was destroyed by fire during a service in December 1920. The fire was caused by stove sparks from the wood-burning stove. The following year, the congregation held fundraising concerts and built a new frame church at the site along Greenhill Avenue (Figure 6-107). The

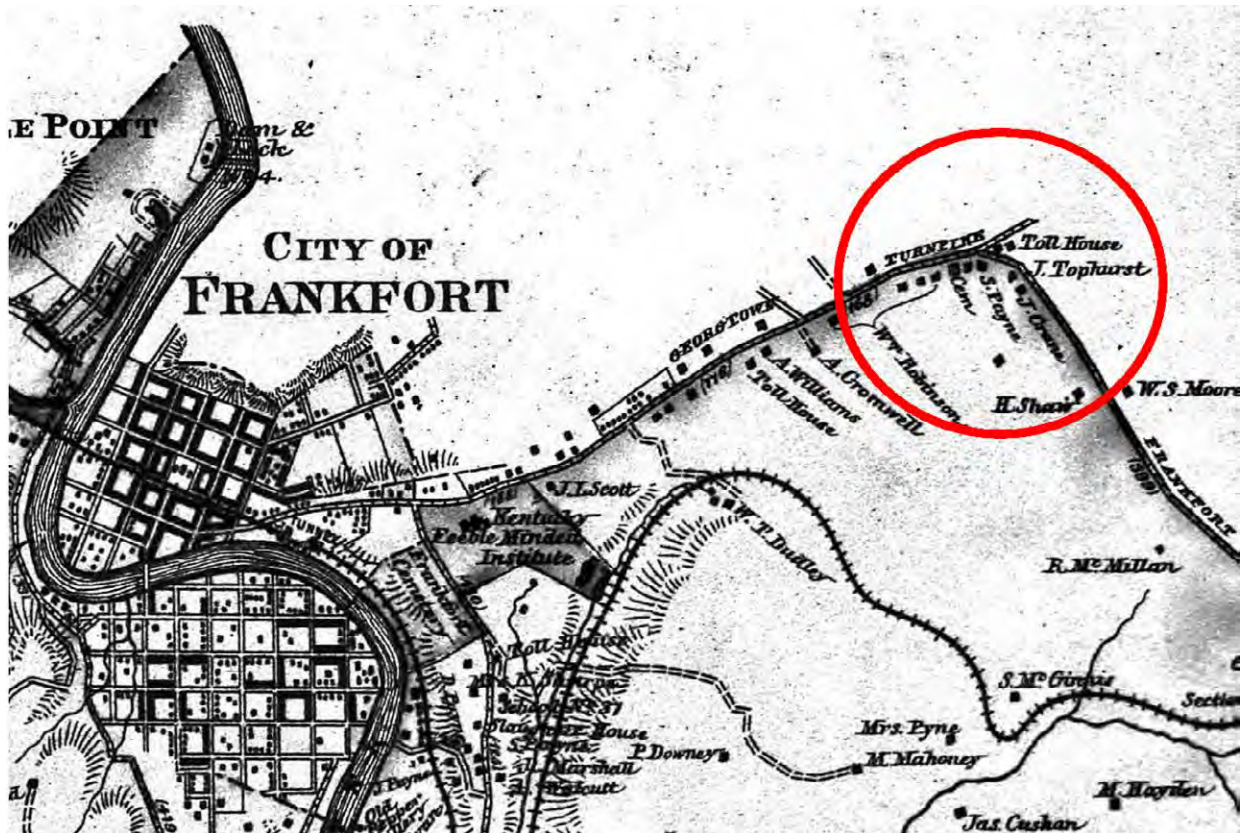


Figure 6-106. Franklin County Map - Green Hill Community 1882  
 Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky, 1882*

cornerstone for the new church was laid in August 1921. In 1947, the church was renovated with a raised basement and front porch with stonework constructed by William Jack Gaines (1904-1995), a Black stonemason who lived at 146 Greenhill Avenue.<sup>148</sup>

For nearly a century, the congregation of the Green Hill Baptist Church used Black's Pond for outdoor baptisms. Located along U.S. Highway 421 around 0.75 miles east of the church, Black's Pond was created in 1843 when Alexander Walker Macklin, Sr. (1799-1863), a wealthy planter, dammed South Elkhorn Creek with a massive stone structure, known as Macklin's Dam, that supported a flour mill. Macklin enslaved 87 people, several of whom fought in the Union Army during the Civil War. It is likely that Macklin's formerly enslaved workers were the founders of Green Hill's Black community. After 1867, Macklin's son George B. Macklin (1829-1888), lived in a circa 1850 townhouse at 212 Washington Street in Frankfort. In the 1870s, Macklin's son-in-law, Stephen Black (1827-1911), rebuilt the dam and pond, which was named in his honor. Black had acquired the property in 1867, which his wife Lydia had inherited, and renamed it Silver Lake Stock Farm. The farm was renowned for breeding cattle and thoroughbred horses. By the 1880s, the pond was a popular fishing spot, used by Black and white residents for fish fries, picnics, boating, and recreation. In the 1910s, the State of Kentucky used the pond as a fishery. The pond was known both as Black's Pond and Silver Lake; however, by the 1950s, the name Black's Pond fell out of favor.<sup>149</sup>



Figure 6-107. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, circa 1960  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Located along Greenhill Avenue, Atwood Avenue and Thompson Street, near the Green Hill Cemetery and Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, are several older homes, dating from the early to mid-20th century. William Taylor Combs (1901-1945), a farmer, and his wife Millie Carter Combs (1902-2002), a maid, lived in a 1938 house at 929 Atwood Avenue. After her husband died of a heart attack, she raised nine children as a single mother. She was known throughout the community for her cooking. William Jack Gaines (1904-1995), a prominent local stonemason, lived in a stone house at 146 Greenhill Avenue. Since the 1950s, other homes in the community have been demolished for the construction of an apartment complex, Rolling Acres and Fairview subdivisions, commercial buildings and improvements to U.S. Highway 421.<sup>150</sup>

### ***Glenn's Creek***

The Glenn's Creek community is a suburban area located along Glenn's Creek Road on the south side of the Frankfort Cemetery and the former Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded. Known as Cliffside in the early 20th century, the community contains dwellings, a contemporary apartment complex and construction company, and the Bethesda Temple Church of the Living God, constructed by a Black congregation in 1982. African American families associated with Glenn's Creek include Brown, Johnson, Payne, Terrell and Thornsberry<sup>151</sup>.

With a majority white population, the rural neighborhood developed in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century near a toll house along the Glenn's Creek Turnpike, which had been established in 1875 (Johnson, 1912: 186). In 1882, the community featured a slaughterhouse and School No. 37 (Figure 6-108). The turnpike provided access to John Cochran & Company's Spring Hill Distillery (Figure 6-109) and the Old Oscar Pepper Distillery, two riverside distilleries that opened in the late 1860s along the L&N Railroad and Kentucky River (Figures 6-108 and 6-109).<sup>152</sup>



Figure 6-108. Franklin County Map - Glenn's Creek Community 1882  
Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky, 1882*

From 1907 to 1908, the Kentucky Highlands Railroad (KHRR) was constructed from the Spring Hill Distillery southeast to Millville, site of the Old Crow and Old Taylor distilleries. The L&N Railroad purchased the KHRR in 1909. Later known as the Hermitage Spur line, the railroad continued operation to Old Crow and Old Taylor distilleries until they closed in 1999. At that time, the CSX Railroad pulled up the tracks along the Hermitage Spur line.<sup>153</sup>

Census records and city directories indicate that African American families who lived in the Glenn's Creek community in the early 20th century included the following heads of household: William H. Thornsberry (b.1862), a cook for a family; Joseph Terrell (1830-1915), a day laborer; James Payne (b.1842), a farmer; Richard James Payne (1876-1934), a cattle pen feeder at the Spring Hill Distillery; Harriet Payne (b.1834); George Wilson (1868-1962), a day laborer; Edward Patterson (b.1866), a laborer; Bush

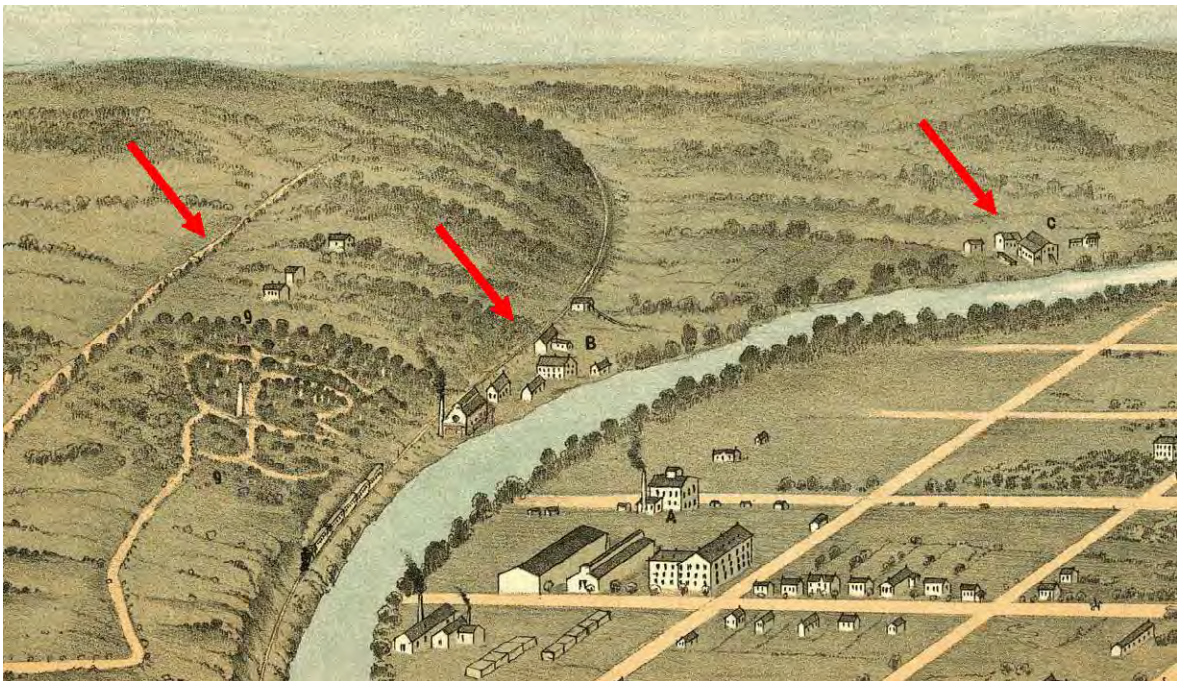


Figure 6-109. Map - Spring Hill Distillery (B), Pepper Distillery (C), and Glenn's Creek Turnpike  
Source: Ruger, 1871

Marshall (b.1842), a day laborer; and William Lenn. Many of these residents were most likely formerly enslaved people and freedmen. Most of the Black families lived on the west side of the road near the Kentucky River and the Spring Hill Distillery.<sup>154</sup>

These records indicate that many of the African Americans at Glenn's Creek worked at the Spring Hill and Old Oscar Pepper Distilleries, both of which ceased to operate when Prohibition was enacted across the U.S. in 1920. Soon thereafter, many of the Black residents of Glenn's Creek left the community, undoubtedly, to find work elsewhere. For example, Richard James Payne, who had worked at a distillery, moved to Topeka, Kansas, where he found work in construction.<sup>155</sup> Normal Heights

The Normal Heights neighborhood is located on the northeast side of the KSU campus. The name is derived from Normal Hill where the Kentucky State Normal School for Colored Persons was founded in 1886. Located along the turnpike connecting Frankfort with Lexington, this rural area was referred to as a Colored Settlement on an 1882 county map (Figure 6-110). By the turn-of-the-20th century, Normal Heights had been developed with housing for professors and staff at the state college.<sup>156</sup>

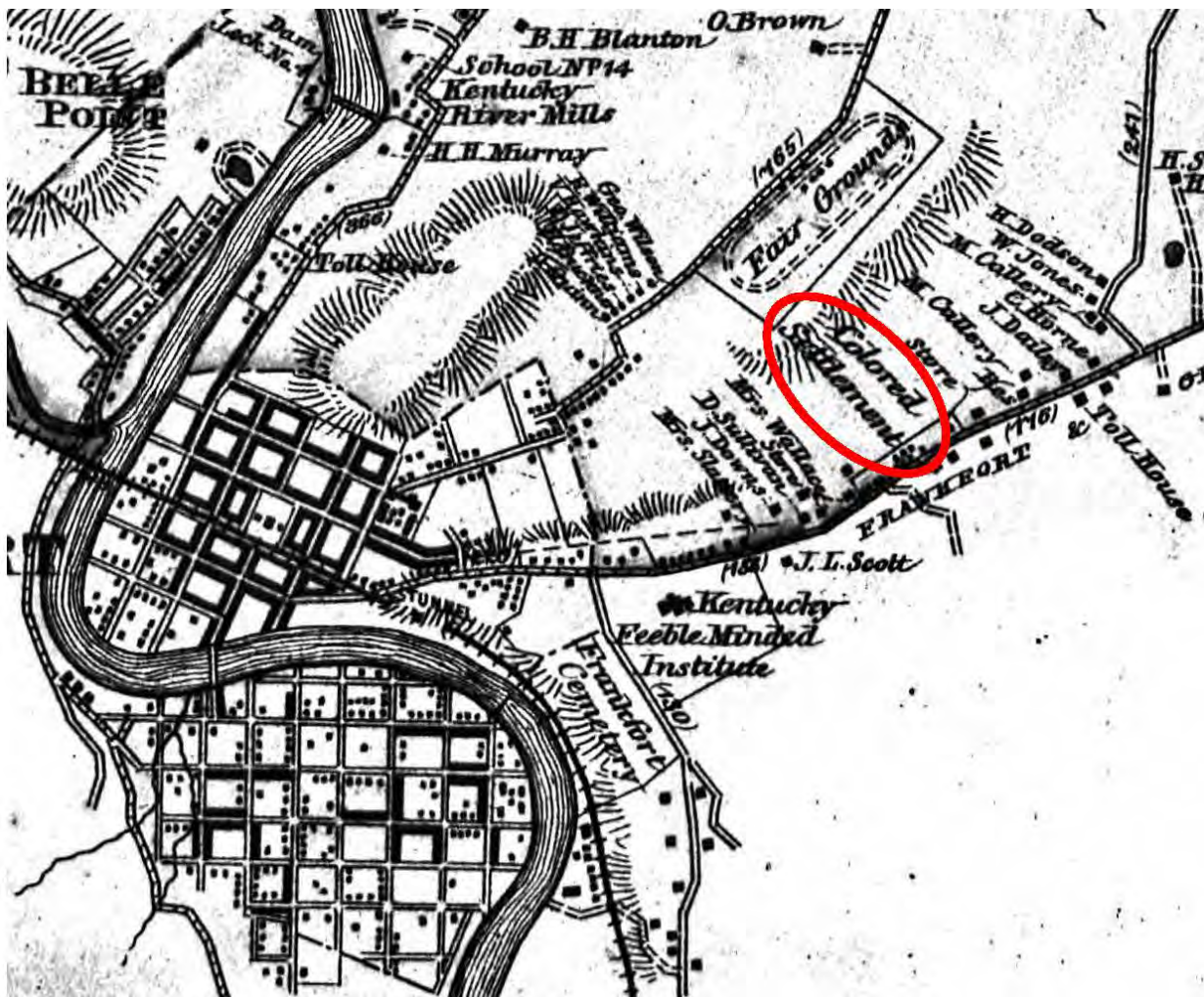


Figure 6-110. Map of Franklin County Showing the “Colored Settlement,” 1882  
Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky, 1882*



In 1911, the Adcock Realty Company, based in Paris, Kentucky, developed a residential subdivision at Normal Heights along the interurban as Frankfort's first Black subdivision (Hatter, 2021). Area residents referred to this as the city's first Black subdivision (*Courier-Journal*, 1958: 14). The following year, in 1912, Adcock developed a "high, dry, healthy" subdivision for the "very best class" of "colored people" in Lexington. Located along the interurban in suburban Lexington, the Black subdivision featured graded streets, concrete sidewalks and city water.<sup>157</sup>

The Normal Heights neighborhood featured homes lining Douglas Avenue and commercial businesses along East Main Street (U.S. Highway 60), which served the interurban streetcar line from 1905 to 1934. The interurban provided public transit between Frankfort, Versailles, Lexington, Nicholasville, Paris and Georgetown. By 1955, Normal Heights contained around 35 homes. From 1961 to 1963, several homes in the northern section of the neighborhood were demolished so that the area could be redeveloped with Sutterlin Terrace, a 45-unit public housing development for residents displaced by the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. Costing \$550,000, Sutterlin Terrace contained modest brick duplexes (Figure 6-89) designed by Oberwarth & Livingston, a local architectural firm. Additional homes were demolished or relocated to Langford Avenue as KSU expanded.<sup>158</sup>

Prominent Black businesses at Normal Heights included the LaVilla Restaurant and Tavern at 127 Douglas Avenue (Figure 6-111). Built in the 1940s, the LaVilla restaurant was listed as a roadside business in the national African American *Travelguide* from 1947 to 1950. Popular with high school and college students, the restaurant was owned by Dr. Eugene Daniel Raines (1905-1991), chair of the chemistry department at KSU. Dr. Raines lived at 122 Douglas Avenue and owned an apartment building at 120 Douglas Avenue.<sup>159</sup>



Figure 6-111. LaVilla Restaurant, 1952  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

In the 1960s, John Robert Davis, Jr. relocated his barber shop from downtown to 519 East Main Street in Normal Heights due to the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. In the 1970s, Robert Lee Taylor (1931-2011) purchased the barber shop, which became known as Mr. Taylor’s Barber Shop. Located at the intersection with Langford Avenue, the concrete block building with a permastone façade was a popular gathering place for Frankfort’s Black community.<sup>160</sup>

Robert Esprit “Bob” Hogan (1933-1999), a local stonemason, lived at 133 Douglas Avenue, with his wife Clara Elizabeth Hogan (b.1928). Bob Hogan built many stone houses, fences and fireplaces in Frankfort, Lexington and the surrounding area (Figures 6-112). The Hogans later moved to 209 Missouri Avenue in the Cherokee subdivision, which featured many houses built by Bob Hogan. Other Black stonemasons and brick masons such as Pete Marshall (Figure 6-113), William Clinton Jacobs, Sr. (1914-1997), John Henry Guy, Sr. (1888-1943) and John Henry Guy, Jr. (b.1917), lived in the neighborhood. Some were trained at the Paducah Vocational School of Masonry. According to city directories, the Guy family lived in a two-story Folk Victorian house at 531 East Main Street, which the KY-DOT demolished in 2015.<sup>161</sup> (For more information on the Guy family of stonemasons, see Chapter 7.)



Figure 6-112. Robert E. “Bob” Hogan Building a Stone Fence, circa 1965  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society



Figure 6-113. Pete Marshall Building Home on East Main Street, circa 1955  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Over time, many of the dwellings and businesses at Normal Heights were demolished and replaced with academic buildings, student apartments, and surface parking lots serving KSU. In the 1990s, the LaVilla restaurant and tavern was replaced with the LaVilla Apartments. In 2016, the KYDOT demolished Mr. Taylor’s Barber Shop for an intersection realignment project. A historic marker was erected at the site in 2018<sup>162</sup>. Today, approximately 10 historic dwellings remain in Normal Heights.

### ***Cherokee-Langford Avenue***

The Cherokee subdivision was platted around 1962 on a wooded hillside along the east side of the L&N Railroad and southeast edge of the KSU campus. Located along Langford Avenue, Missouri Avenue, and Cold Spring Drive, the subdivision contains approximately 50 suburban residences. Constructed in the 1960s, these residences are primarily examples of modest Ranch-style and Split-Foyer homes situated on small, wooded lots. Many of the homes were built by Robert E. “Bob” Hogan (1933-1999), a local stonemason who built his own home in 1965 at 209 Missouri Avenue.<sup>163</sup>

Approximately a dozen houses along Langford Avenue, which intersects with East Main Street (U.S. Highway 60), and the house at 200 Missouri Avenue predate the Cherokee subdivision. Langford Avenue was an extension of the Normal Heights neighborhood. Dating from the 1940s and 1950s, these homes were occupied by Black working-class residents, such as John H. Hall’s gambrel roof Bungalow at 106 Langford Avenue (Figure 6-114) and James B. Johnson’s brick Ranch house at 133 Langford Avenue. James Brawner Johnson, Jr. (1915-2011) was a veteran of World War II who grew up on Glenn’s Creek and worked for 42 years at the Buffalo Trace Distillery, a National Historic Landmark. His father, James B. Johnson, Sr. (1898-1962), had worked at the Buffalo Trace Distillery for 52 years, serving as its first Black foreman.<sup>164</sup>



Figure 6-114. Langford Avenue at East Main Street, Looking Northwest, circa 1954  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

William Clinton Jacobs, Sr. (1914-1997), a local stonemason, built a stone house in the mid-1950s at 145 Langford Avenue. Jacobs grew up on Douglas Avenue in Normal Heights. He and other Black stonemasons built stone homes, fences and fireplaces throughout the region.<sup>165</sup>

In 1960, Harris Clinton Mueller, Jr. (1933-2011), a leading real estate developer and building contractor from Louisville, planned to redevelop farmland in eastern Frankfort into two residential subdivisions. Mueller was president of the Mutual Development Corporation, which built thousands of suburban FHA-financed homes in Louisville. At Frankfort, Mueller “planned a Negro subdivision with 85 lots near Winding Way and another for white families with 85 lots in the Franklin Heights area.” The Black subdivision was located “between the L&N tracks and Winding Way Court” and the white subdivision was located “between Franklin Heights and the L&N tracks.” The subdivision lots were around 0.1-acres each with 60-feet of road frontage. However, the Frankfort Planning and Zoning Commission denied Mueller’s rezoning request for the two subdivisions due to the small lot sizes.<sup>166</sup>

In 1962, local attorney Louis Lawrence Cox (1907-1971), acting as a trustee for the property owner, requested rezoning for the Cherokee subdivision, which provided new housing for African American residents displaced by the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. The Cherokee subdivision was situated at the end of Langford Avenue where Mueller had previously proposed developing a Black subdivision. It is unknown currently if Mueller was the developer. Cox was a partner in Hazelrigg and Cox, a prominent law firm in Frankfort. Cox served three terms in the 1940s as a Democratic state senator and as an advisor to four Kentucky governors.<sup>167</sup>

Served by an extension of Langford Avenue and Cold Spring Drive, which connects to the KSU campus, the Cherokee subdivision abutted the Winding Way subdivision, a large all-white neighborhood with hundreds of suburban homes, and the General Shoe Corporation factory, a Modernist-style industrial building designed in 1955 by local architects C. Julian Oberwarth and William C. Livingston.<sup>168</sup>

In 1971, the city opened East Frankfort Park, a 47.5-acre public park, just south of the shoe factory and adjoining the Franklin Heights neighborhood. There is no direct access from the Cherokee and Langford Avenue neighborhood to the Winding Way neighborhood or to the East Frankfort Park. A 1970s apartment complex, Hickory Hills Manor, features a through street, connecting Langford Avenue with Franklin Heights, however, the city blocked the through street with a steel guard rail at Langford Avenue. Thus, African American residents living in the Cherokee subdivision and along Langford Avenue are required to drive a 1.5-mile circuitous route to the state highway and through the Winding Way neighborhood to access the public park. With no vehicular or pedestrian access to the abutting white neighborhood or public park, the African American Cherokee and Langford Avenue neighborhood is physically and psychologically separated from the surrounding white neighborhood.

In 2016, the KY-DOT demolished three dwellings and two roadside stores for an intersection realignment project at Langford Avenue and East Main Street (U.S. Hwy 60). For additional information about these properties, refer to the Normal Heights section of this chapter.

### ***College Park***

The College Park neighborhood is located southeast of the KSU campus. Located on the former 265-acre KSU Farm that the college acquired in 1889, the College Park subdivision was platted in 1958 by the College Park Subdivision Corporation (CPSC), comprised primarily of faculty and staff at KSU. College Park was the first Black subdivision developed by Black people in Frankfort since Normal Heights in 1911. The 32.8-acre subdivision contained 67 lots with at least 75-feet of road frontage to be developed with homes containing at least three bedrooms and costing \$10,000 to \$15,000. The CPSC requested that College Park be annexed into the city so that city utilities would be provided. In 1959, the city approved the annexation.<sup>169</sup>

College Park was initially intended to be developed with 12 to 15 homes with plans for the subdivision to eventually cover the entire KSU Farm. The CPSC planned for the subdivision to provide homes to Black people displaced by the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project, although all races were welcome.<sup>170</sup>

In the 1960s, the subdivision was developed with about 25 to 30 homes, located along Cold Harbor Drive, College Park Drive, Wellington Court and Exum Court (Figure 6-115). A few additional homes were built in the 1970s. Today, the subdivision contains about 40 homes. Mostly covered with brick and stone veneers, the Ranch, Split-Foyer, Split-Level, and Mid-Century Modern-style homes were primarily owned by faculty and staff at KSU as well as local community leaders. Some of the most prominent residents of College Park include:

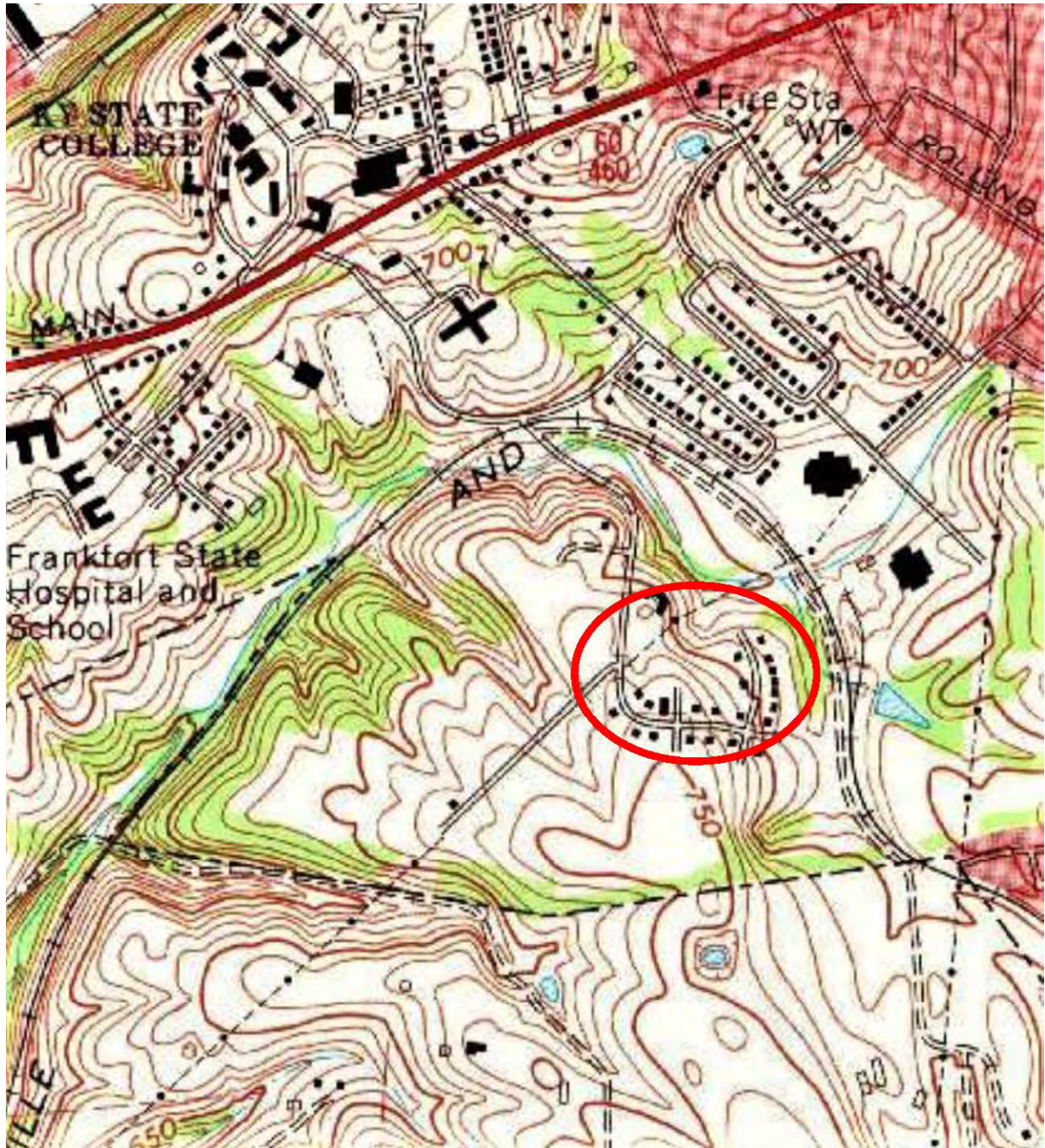


Figure 6-115. Map, College Park Subdivision, 1970  
Source: USGS Topographical Map, Frankfort East, 1970

### ***Dr. William Exum***

Dr. William Exum (1910-1988) lived in a Mid-Century Modern Split-Foyer home built in 1965 at 315 Cold Harbor Drive. Dr. Exum served as track and football coach and athletic director at KSU from 1949 to 1980. He held two degrees from University of Wisconsin, where he became the first Black football player in 1929, and a doctorate from New York University. At the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Exum was also a track and field athlete (1930, 1935-1936) who competed with Ohio State's Jesse Owens, the winner of four gold medals in track at the 1936 Summer Olympics in Nazi Germany. He was a veteran of World War II and coached at Bethune Cookman College (1936-1939), Morehouse College and Lincoln University before coming to KSU in 1949.<sup>171</sup>

In 1964, Dr. Exum coached KSU men's cross-country team to a national championship. He served on the U.S. Olympic Committee from 1967 to 1976 and participated in the Summer Olympics as manager of the U.S. Track and Field teams in Munich in 1972 and Montreal in 1976. He also managed the U.S. track team for the 1971 Pan American Games in Cali, Columbia. In recognition of his accomplishments, the National Association of College Directors of Athletics inducted Dr. Exum into its Hall of Fame in 1978. Dr. Exum retired in 1980. The William Exum Athletic Center at KSU was named in his honor in 1994, and he was posthumously inducted into the Kentucky Sports Hall of Fame in 2019. He lived in College Park with his wife Helen Exum. Their son, Dr. William Henry Exum (1942-1986), attended Harvard and New York University and taught at Northwestern.<sup>172</sup>

### ***Dr. Gus T. Ridgel and Dr. Gertrude Cain Ridgel***

Dr. Gus Toliver Ridgel (1926-2020) and his wife Dr. Gertrude Cain Ridgel (1922-2010) lived in a trilevel Ranch home at 312 Cold Harbor Drive. They married in 1956. A native of West Virginia, Dr. Gertrude Cain Ridgel earned degrees from West Virginia State College and the University of Wisconsin. She was a professor of biology and dean at KSU from 1960 to 1986 and a local Civil Rights leader who worked with Helen F. Holmes. She participated in the downtown lunch counter sit-ins in 1960, marches in 1961 and Freedom March on Frankfort in 1964. Upon moving to Frankfort in the summer of 1960, she and her husband lived in a pink walk-through house on Murray Street near Holmes Street.<sup>173</sup>

A native of Missouri and veteran of World War II, Dr. Gus T. Ridgel was dean of the KSU business school and vice president of Finance and Administration at KSU, where he worked from 1960 to 1998. He was the first Black graduate student at University of Missouri in 1950 after suing the university with the NAACP for admission; he earned his doctorate in 1957 from the University of Wisconsin and completed postdoctoral work at Chicago, Indiana and Duke. He taught at Fort Valley State College and Wiley College prior to coming to KSU in 1960. The University of Missouri established the Gus T. Ridgel fellows' program in his honor in 1987; over 500 students have received the fellowships for minority graduate students. In 2018, the University of Missouri initiated the Gus T. Ridgel Graduation Celebration and named an atrium in the Lucile Bluford Hall in his honor. In 2019, Poplar Bluff, Missouri, named a branch library in his honor; it was dedicated in 2021. In 2017, KSU established a faculty award in honor of Dr. Gus Ridgel and Dr. Gertrude Ridgel.<sup>174</sup>

### ***Henry and Odessa Green***

Henry and Odessa Green lived at 303 Cold Harbor Drive. Henry Green (d.1968) was leader of the KSU Band. Odessa Green was the KSU dean of students; their daughter Jackie (d.2015) married Robert Lee Taylor (1931-2011), who operated Mr. Taylor's Barber Shop on East Main Street.<sup>175</sup>

### ***George W. Simmons***

George W. Simmons, Jr. (1911-2004) lived in a Ranch house at 401 College Park Drive. A veteran of World War II and graduate of KSU, Simmons worked at the KSU Farm and lived in the antebellum Dudley Farmhouse on the farm. When the Dudley House was demolished around 1964, Simmons salvaged a mantel for reuse in his new home in College Park. He was also a schoolteacher and

state employee for adoptions. Simmons wrote an autobiography.<sup>176</sup>

### ***Dr. LeRoy Victor Smith and Dr. Mary Levi Smith***

Dr. LeRoy Victor Smith (1937-2002) and Dr. Mary Levi Smith (1936-2020) lived in a Split-Level home built around 1969 at 410 College Park Drive. A native of Mississippi, Dr. Mary Levi Smith held degrees from Jackson State University and the University of Kentucky. Dr. LeRoy Smith was the KSU football coach from 1970 to 1982. They had previously worked at Tuskegee in Alabama. When they moved to Frankfort in 1970, they moved to a new home in College Park where they raised three children. When Dr. Mary Levi Smith was appointed KSU's first female president in 1991, they moved to the president's home, Hillcrest.<sup>177</sup>

Other prominent residents at College Park included Henry and Margaret Baker, Henry and Ora-Mae Cheaney, William and Ruby Dixon, Dr. Carl Harold and Clara Smith, Archie L. and Ann Surratt, Arnold and Lilian Wright, and Joe and Winona Fletcher (Hatter, 2021). Beginning in 1958, Dr. Carl H. Smith served as director of the KSU Choir. He led the Frankfort Choral Choir at the Freedom March on Frankfort in 1964.<sup>178</sup>

### ***Helen F. Holmes***

Frankfort was home to several leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. However, perhaps none were as engaged over a long period of time as Helen Fairfax Holmes (1902-1995). A native of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, Holmes graduated in 1924 from Bucknell University in Pennsylvania. She was the first Black female to graduate from Bucknell. She earned a master's degree in 1930 from Columbia University and took courses at New York University. Her degrees were in English. Her first job was teaching high school English at Durham, North Carolina.<sup>179</sup>

While teaching at Delaware State College in Dover, she met fellow teacher Booker Taliaferro Holmes (1905-1990). They married on April 25, 1932. A native of Tappahannock, Virginia, Booker Holmes held degrees from Virginia Union University and the University of Michigan. They moved to Frankfort in 1943 when Holmes accepted an offer to teach English at KSU. However, Booker Holmes wanted to become a physician, so Helen Holmes encouraged him to move to Nashville and study at Meharry Medical College where he earned his medical degree in 1947.<sup>180</sup>

Before arriving at KSU in 1943, Helen Holmes had taught at Talladega College in Alabama, Delaware State College, Virginia Union University, and the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. When Booker Holmes graduated from Meharry, he returned to Frankfort to establish a medical practice. His office was initially located on Washington Street in Craw before he located to a two-story brick building at 334-336 Mero Street (Figure 6-66). The couple lived in faculty housing on the KSU campus and attended St. John AME Church on West Clinton Street.<sup>181</sup>

Helen Holmes became head of the English Department at KSU. She also directed the campus theater group and was most likely involved with the invitation of Langston Hughes (1901-1967), a leader of the Harlem Renaissance, to speak at KSU in 1943, 1951, and 1960. Under her guidance, the university's theater group "received campus applause and national praise." Many of her students "regarded her as an intellectual parent, some affectionately referring to her as 'Mother Holmes.'" She was involved in community service through the Girl Scouts, Cancer Society, Red Cross, Upward Bound, and by serving on many city commissions, including the Frankfort Electric and Water Plant Board.<sup>182</sup>

Helen Holmes served as president of local NAACP chapter from 1948 to 1968. In the 1950s, she led resistance to the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project that obliterated Craw, including her husband's physician's office on Mero Street. She helped convince KSU President Carl Hill to invite Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. to serve as the commencement speaker in 1957. She was a pivotal

leader in local Civil Rights Movement, including organizing the downtown march for integration of businesses in December 1961, elementary school integration marches in September 1962, and was the local organizer, along with Jackson Robb, of the Freedom March in March 1964. She was also actively involved in the CORE sit-ins at 20 downtown businesses in April 1960. She led integration efforts of recreational and public facilities. She secured funding for bailing out protestors that were arrested during sit-ins and marches. And she recruited students and faculty, such as Dr. Gertrude Ridgel, to get involved in the Civil Rights Movement. She was “really independent” and “really was interested in the welfare of human beings,” said Dr. Ridgel. “She worked very hard, very, very hard.”<sup>183</sup>

In December 1954, the couple purchased a two-story house at 318 Murray Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort and moved from their faculty apartment at KSU. The home, built in 1922, was purchased from the estate of Carrie Conley (1881-1954), an African American who had sued the Central Kentucky Traction Co. in 1909 for Civil Rights violations on Frankfort’s interurban streetcar. As president of the NAACP chapter and Head of the English Department at KSU, Helen Holmes often entertained educational, fraternity and sorority members, women’s clubs, and social justice leaders. (Dr. Holmes was an Alpha Phi Alpha and Mrs. Homes was a Delta Sigma Theta.) She hosted lunch counter sit-in training sessions in 1960, and her home most likely acted as the de facto local office of the NAACP from 1954 to 1968. During her tenure as president the NAACP chapter would host annual dinners at the First Baptist Church at 100 West Clinton Street.<sup>184</sup>

After Dr. Booker Holmes’ office in Craw was demolished in the 1960s during urban renewal, he relocated his medical practice to a corner commercial building at 300 East 3rd Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008), just a few doors down from their home. In the 1960s, Governor Edward T. Breathitt honored Helen Holmes as a Kentucky Colonel for her “unselfish and distinguished contribution to the Commonwealth of Kentucky.” She continued to teach at KSU until her retirement in 1973 (Figure 6-116). Her husband, Dr. Booker T. Holmes, continued to practice medicine until his retirement in 1983. Both are buried at Sunset Memorial Gardens.<sup>185</sup>



Figure 6-116. Helen F. Holmes, 1971  
Source: KSU *Thorobred Yearbook*, 1971



## Endnotes

- 1 *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, John E. Kleber, ed. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992: xviii
- 2 *ibid*
- 3 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 422-423, 894; "Franklin County: Early Settlements on the South Side of the Kentucky River," John Lewis Franklin, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 6, No. 17 (May 1908): 47
- 4 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 894
- 5 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 138, 352-355; *The History of Franklin County, Kentucky*, Lewis Franklin Johnson, 1912: 5-7, 14
- 6 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 30-35; *A Corner in Celebrities*, Alice Elizabeth Trabue. Louisville: George G. Fetter Compass, 1923: 8; "Central Frankfort Historic District," David L. Taylor. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2009: Section 7-4: 4, 33
- 7 "Liberty Hall [Frankfort, Kentucky]," Christina Carbone, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed March 11, 2022. <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0045>; "Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort, Kentucky," Sharon Cox, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Volume 41, 2020, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://www.mesdajournal.org/2020/harry-mordecai-plasterer-and-bricklayer-of-frankfort-kentucky/>; "Uncovering the story of Harry Mordecai, Bricklayer and Plasterer at Liberty Hall Historic Site," Sharon Cox, Liberty Hall Historic Site, August 26, 2020, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://www.libertyhall.org/blog/76-uncovering-the-story-of-harry-mordecai-bricklayer-and-plasterer-at-liberty-hall-historic-site>; *Architecture of the Old South: Kentucky & Tennessee*, Mills Lane. Savannah, Georgia: Beehive Press, 1993: 48-56
- 8 *Architecture of the Old South*, Lane, 1993: 48-56; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 6; Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022
- 9 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 353; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 8-9, 36-39, 43, 51-52, 63; *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Charles H. Bogart, *Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society*, Vol. 2, March 2010: 11; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," David Pollack, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Archaeology Survey Education Series 10. Lexington: Kentucky Heritage Council and University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, 2009: 10-16, 28-29; "'Heads of Family' in Franklin County: Census of 1810," A.C. Quisenberry, *Register of Kentucky Historical Society*, September 1915, Vol. 13, No. 39: 83-85
- 10 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 353; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 73, 79, 93-97, 130; *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Bogart, 2010: 11
- 11 *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Bogart, 2010: 1-3, 11-12
- 12 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 353; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 73, 79, 93-97, 130; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," Pollack, et al, 2009: 16, 19, 61
- 13 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 40, 111, 118; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 50-51; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," Pollack, et al, 2009: 18-19; *A Walking Tour of Historic Frankfort*, Russ Hatter. Frankfort: Self-published, 2002: 87-88; *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, Marion B. Lucas, Kentucky Historical Society, 2003: xviii, 8-9
- 14 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 133; *Architecture of the Old South*, Lane, 1993: 109-115, 158-160; *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*, Clay Lancaster. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991: 206; "Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort, Kentucky," Cox, 2020; "Uncovering the story of Harry Mordecai, Bricklayer and Plasterer at Liberty Hall Historic Site," Cox, 2020; "Old Capitol [Frankfort, Kentucky]," Christina Carbone, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed March 11, 2022. <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0062>; *Kentucky Rising: Democracy, Slavery, and Culture from the Early Republic to the Civil War*, James S. Ramage and Andrea S. Watkins. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press and the Kentucky Historical Society, 2011: 120-121
- 15 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 8-12, 44, 92-93; *Kentucky Rising*, Ramage and Watkins, 2011: 121; *Architecture of the Old South*, Lane, 1933: 112; "A Report on the History and Mode of Management of the Kentucky Penitentiary from its Origin, in 1798, to March 1, 1860," William C. Sneed. Frankfort: State of Kentucky, 1860: 16-17
- 16 *Architecture of the Old South*, Lane, 1993: 199; "Kentucky Penitentiary," Sneed, 1860: 226, 397-400, 561, 564, 569, 574-575; "Kentucky State Reformatory," Phil Tkacz and Shawn Logan, Kentucky Historic Institutions, accessed March 25, 2022. <https://kyhi.org/kentucky-state-reformatory/>

17 *History of Blacks*, Lucas, 2003: 130, 141, 144; Hatter, 2022; *A Brief History of the Colored Churches of Frankfort, Kentucky*, Edward Ellsworth Underwood, Frankfort, Kentucky, 1906: 4, 23; *U.S. Federal Population, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census, Population, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850

18 *A History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 12-13, 41-42, 100-101, 117-133; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 33; "Second Street, South Frankfort: Chapter First, May 1899," Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 11, No. 33 (September 1913): 1; *South Frankfort, Kentucky*, Ermina Jett Darnell. Frankfort: Roberts Print Co., 1947: 1-3, 9, 11

19 *A History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 137-138; Hatter, 2022; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 11, 39; "Frankfort Commercial District," Lee Walker and Kenneth Gibbs. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1979: 3

20 "Kentucky Penitentiary, Sneed, 1860: 343, 396-397, 404, 504, 544, 550

21 *U.S. Slave Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census, Population, 1860

22 Hatter, 2022; U.S. Slave Census, 1860; *Celebrities*, Trabue, 1923: 15-21

23 *Walking Tour*, Hatter, 2002: 39-40; U.S. Slave Census, 1860

24 "Kentucky State Reformatory," Tkacz and Logan, 2022

25 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 390; "A House Divided: Civil War Kentucky," Garry Adelman and Mary Bays Woodside, *American Battlefield Trust*, 2019, accessed March 15, 2022. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/house-divided-civil-war-kentucky>

26 *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 390

27 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 152; "Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage," Bogart, 2010: 3; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 41

28 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 41; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 154; *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Bogart, 2010: 3

29 "Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Superintend Erection of Buildings in the Kentucky Penitentiary: Law Authorizing Erection of Buildings," P. Swiger and J.B. Temple. Frankfort: State Printing Office, 1866: 3-13

30 *Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Fletcher, Sheila Mason Burton, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter, and Douglas A. Boyd. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003: 3, 10 143; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," Pollack, 2009: 24; U.S. Census, 1860, 1870

31 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 90, 162-163, 170-172, 176; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 42-43

32 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 43; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 180; "Old Statehouse Historic District," Martha Hubbard, Walter Langsam, William Broberg, Carolyn Torma, and Calvin P. Jones. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1980: Section 7: 3

33 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 168; *History of Blacks*, Lucas, 2003: 249; *Colored Churches*, Underwood, 1906: 16; Hatter, 2022; U.S. Census, Population, 1880; U.S. Freedman's Bureau Records, 1865-1878

34 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 169; *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Bogart: 2010, 3

35 "Central Frankfort Historic District, Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 26, Section 8: 43; "Frankfort Commercial District," Walker, 1979: Section 7: 2, 12

36 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 179; *Walking Tour*, Hatter, 2003: 85-87

37 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 184; "Personals," *Frankfort Roundabout*, March 26, 1887: 3; U.S. Find A Grave Index; U.S. Census, Population, 1860, 1870; Hatter, 2022

38 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 196-197, 204; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 42-43

39 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 209; *Crawfish Bottom: Recovering a Lost Kentucky Community*, Doug Boyd. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2011: 29-30

40 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 52

41 "Capitol Theater," Craig Escherich, *Cinema Treasures*, 2022, accessed March 22, 2022. <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/16914>; "Feeble-Minded Institute: The New Building That Will Rise on the Site of the One Burned," *The Courier-Journal*, October 18, 1889: 5; *Frankfort Roundabout*, 1906: 4; *Lexington Herald*, 1911: 1

42 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 8, 10, 68, 143; "South Frankfort," Morton, 1913: 37; "Frankfort, Franklin County, Kentucky," Sanborn Map Company, New York City, New York Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, June 1886, and November 1890

43 U.S. Census, Population, 1880, 1900; U.S. Find A Grave Index; "Frankfort City Directory," *U.S., City*

*Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011; Hatter, 2022  
 44 "Monroe Q. Wilson Dies of Pleurisy: Was Well-Known Architect of Louisville, Built Many of the Modern Schoolhouses," *Courier-Journal*, March 4, 1907: 3; Hatter, 2022; "Notice to Contractors," *Frankfort Roundabout*, June 21, 1884: 2; "Notes," *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 8, 1886: 2; "South Frankfort," Morton, 1913: 32; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 44  
 45 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 207-208  
 46 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 216-217; "Frankfort's Forgotten Cemetery," Pollack, 2009: 11, 15; "George T. Stagg Distillery," Daniel J. Pezzoni. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2001: Section 8: 28-30  
 47 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 216-217, 221; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 144  
 48 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 221-223; "Feeble Minded Institute," *The Courier-Journal*, 1889: 5  
 49 "A Firm of Architects," *Frankfort Roundabout*, January 26, 1895: 1; "Leo L. Oberwarth," Prabook, *World Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2022, accessed April 13, 2022. <https://prabook.com/web/leo.oberwarth/1716883>; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 52-53; "History," K. Norman Berry Associates (KNBA), 2022, accessed January 21, 2022. <https://knbarch.com/history/>; "New Capitol Hotel, Frankfort, Kentucky." *Architectural Forum*, November 1923: 109-110. <https://usmodernist.org/AF/AF-1923-11.pdf>  
 50 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 45; *Lexington Herald*, 1911: 1  
 51 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 110, 112, 144; "Site of Winnie A. Scott Hospital," Kate Sowada, *ExploreKYHistory*, accessed March 24, 2022. <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/555>  
 52 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 12, 31, 69; Hatter, 2022; Local News Notes." *Frankfort Roundabout*, March 14, 1908: 5  
 53 "Kentucky State Capitol Building," Charles E. Parrish. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1973: Section 8: 1; "Historic Properties: The Capitol of Kentucky: A Brief Introduction," Commonwealth of Kentucky, accessed March 21, 2022. <https://historicproperties.ky.gov/hp/ncs/Pages/ch.aspx>  
 54 "Kentucky Governor's Mansion," Simeon Willis. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1972: Section 8: 1  
 55 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 38, 45; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 233  
 56 "No Frills at all about this "Frock"—It's Made to Work in." *Courier Journal*, April 22, 1918: 5; "Frankfort: The Old Arsenal and the Kentucky Military Museum," Trevor Jones, American History TV, C-SPAN, August 11, 2011, accessed March 27, 2022, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_12o15GAG-U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_12o15GAG-U)  
 57 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 46-47  
 58 "History of Kentucky State University," KSU Website, 2020, <https://www.kysu.edu/about-ksu/history.php>  
 59 "Notice to Contractors." *Courier-Journal*, May 3, 1887: 3; "Jackson Hall," Carl H. Hill, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1973  
 60 "Moses A. Davis," Clement Richardson, ed., published in *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*. Montgomery, Alabama: National Publishing Company, 1919: 152; "Robert Robinson Taylor," Ellen Weiss, *The Encyclopedia of Alabama*, last modified March 25, 2019. <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3252>  
 61 "Normal School," *Daily Leader* [Lexington, Kentucky], January 1, 1899: 13; Kentucky Department of Education. *Bulletin*, Volume 7, Issue 4, 1914: 288; "Moses A. Davis," Richardson, 1919: 152; *Robert R. Taylor and Tuskegee: An African American Architect Designs for Booker T. Washington*, Ellen Weiss. Montgomery, Alabama: New South Books, 2012: 34-42; *KSU Yearbook*, 1916-1919  
 62 "History," KSU, 2020; "William Sidney Pittman (1875-1958)," Edward L. Fly and Karen Roark, *Handbook of Texas*. Texas State Historical Association, last modified January 7, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pittman-william-sidney>; "Hume Hall," [Frankfort, Kentucky], Christina Carbone, *SAC Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed January 18, 2022, <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0047>; "Hume Hall," Robert Polsgrove. National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1983; "Pittman, William Sidney," University of Kentucky Libraries, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed January 19, 2022. <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/1536>; "Work at Negro Normal," *Courier-Journal*, April 20, 1909: 5, 9; "Try to Raise \$100,000," *Paducah-Sun*, August 25, 1909: 2. "Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute," Horace D. Slatter, *Nashville Banner* [Nashville, Tennessee], November 2, 1909: 8; "Kentucky

Pick-Ups," *The Citizen* [Berea, Kentucky], July 8, 1909: 7

63 "History," KSU, 2020; U.S. Census, Population, 1850, 1860; U.S. Slave Census, 1850, 1860; KSU, *Thorobred*, 1949: 13; *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, B.N. Griffing. D.J. Lake & Co.: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1882. Ancestry.com. *U.S., Indexed County Land Ownership Maps, 1860-1918* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original at Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

64 "History," KSU, 2020; *KSU Yearbook*, 1919: 50

65 "Suit Filed to Test Sinking Fund Right to Rebuild Dormitory. *Lexington Leader*, January 5, 1927: 10.; *Lexington-Herald*, 1928: 5; "Two Bills Signed: Sampson Ratifies Measure to Rebuild Dormitory." *Lexington-Herald*, February 25, 1928: 5

66 "Rosenwald Schools in Kentucky, 1917-1932," Alicestyne Turley-Adams, Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997: 4-8, 17-24

67 "Rosenwald Schools," Turley-Adams, 1997: 25-27; "Rosenwald School Database," Fisk University, 2001; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 42

68 "Rosenwald Schools," Turley-Adams, 1997: 28; "Rosenwald School Database," Fisk University, 2001; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 44-46, 68-69, 115, 122; Hatter, 2022

69 "Rouse, Board, Pope on Building Group to Supervise Construction of Negro Dormitory for State Institution." *Courier Journal*, May 26, 1928: 2; "Sampson Dedicates Negro Dormitory." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], July 21, 1930: 5; "Biographical Dictionary of Cincinnati Architects, 1788-1840," Walter E. Langsam, Architectural Foundation of Cincinnati, 2008. <http://oldsite.architecturecincy.org/dictionary/index.html>

70 *Colored Churches*, Underwood, 1906: 16-19

71 Hatter, 2022

72 *Colored Churches*, Underwood, 1906: 24-26; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 11-12; "History of St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church, Frankfort, Kentucky," Robert Anthony Strode, Thesis, 2004, Lexington Theological Seminary

73 Hatter, 2022; "A Nuisance at Frankfort: Negro Church Board Proceeds to Build in Spite of Protest." *Owensboro Messenger* [Owensboro, Kentucky], September 19, 1901: 1; "Called to a Halt: Negro Baptist and Contractor To Rarrested [sic] In Frankfort; Started to Build a Church Directly Opposite the Executive Mansion Without Authority from City Council," *Courier-Journal*, September 19, 1901: 5; "Negro Church Sues for Damages," *Lexington Herald*, October 29, 1901: 6; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 12; "Kentucky Building Notes." *Western Architect and Builder*, Volume 21, 1904: 9

74 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 223

75 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 216-218; "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 36

76 *Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Bogart, 2010: 4

77 *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 217; "Frankfort's Streetcars and Interurbans: The Bluegrass Route," Charles H. Bogart, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (Autumn 1997): 396-399, 403-407, 421

78 "Frankfort's Streetcars," Bogart, 1997: 400, 404

79 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor 2009: Section 8: 46-47; "Frankfort's Streetcars," Bogart, 1997: 421

80 "The Kentucky National Guard's Response to the Great Flood of 1937," Jason LeMay, Kentucky National Guard, n.d.: 2-14, 25-30; "Downtown Frankfort Cleared of Debris; Rehabilitation is Proceeding Rapidly," Eugene Smith, *Lexington Herald*, February 7, 1937: 9

81 "Great Flood, LeMay, n.d.: 25-35; "Kentucky Gains New Major Prison Result of Flood," William F. Arbogast, *Owensboro Messenger*, February 9, 1937: 2

82 "Ear to the Ground: Making the rounds with the architects, builders and brokers," Ledford H. Day, *Frankfort Roundabout*, April 16, 1939: 55

83 "Frankfort Colored Library (Franklin County, KY)," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2831>; *Library Service to African Americans in Kentucky, from the Reconstruction Era to the 1960s*, Renette F. Jones. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003: 117; City Directories, Frankfort, 1910-1942; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Frankfort, 1890-1912.

84 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 7: 6, 9, 14-15; Section 8: 36, 51; *American Architects Directory*, George S. Koyl, ed. New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1955: 278; "State Office for Capital Seen." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, December 3, 1937: 1, 19; "Kentucky Penitentiary," Sneed, 1860: 550; "Great Flood,"

- LeMay, n.d., 11-35
- 85 "Recreational Center to Open at Frankfort." *Lexington-Herald*, July 1, 1938: 6
- 86 "Frankfort Storage Building/Armory," Kate Carothers. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002
- 87 "Central Frankfort Historic District," Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 47; "War Mothers Memorial Bridge," Bridgehunter Website, 2021, <https://bridgehunter.com/ky/franklin/war-mothers-memorial/>
- 88 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 43-44
- 89 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 145; Hatter, 2022; "Blue Grass Colored Baseball League," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2627>; *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton Daniel, and John A. Hardin, eds. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015.
- 90 "All Building Records Fall at Frankfort: Subdivisions Spring Up Like Mushrooms in and Around City." *Lexington Leader*, April 28, 1940: 25, 29; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 145; Hatter, 2022
- 91 "Stagg Distillery" Pezzoni, 2002: Section 8: 2
- 92 "Great Flood," LeMay, n.d.: 13; "Swastikas in the Bluegrass State: Axis Prisoners in Kentucky, 1942-1946," Richard E. Hall, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (Spring 2002): 139-165, 2002: 143-145; "World War II Prisoner of War Camps in Kentucky and Danville," Michael J. Denis, Parksville, Kentucky, 2013, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://slideplayer.com/slide/10230208/>
- 93 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 146; U.S. Census, Population, 1940, 1950
- 94 "The Comprehensive Planning Requirement in Urban Renewal," Daniel R. Mandelker, *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol 116, No. 1 (Nov. 1967): 27
- 95 "Urban Renewal," Mandelker, 1967: 25
- 96 "Urban Renewal," Mandelker, 1967: 25, 37-38, 43-45
- 97 "Urban Renewal," Mandelker, 1967: 37-38, 44-54; "A City Swept Clean: How urban renewal, for better or worse, created the city we know today," Bill Carey, *Nashville Scene*, September 6, 2001, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.nashvillescene.com/news/a-city-swept-clean/article>
- 98 *Crawfish Bottom*, Boyd, 2011: 1, 15-26; "Tales from the Bottom," Linda Vaccariello, *Denison Magazine*, Spring 2012, accessed March 28, 2022, <https://denison.edu/magazine/spring-2012/140138>; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 1-4
- 99 *Crawfish Bottom*, Boyd, 2011: 1-2, 15, 30; "Tales," Vaccariello, 2012
- 100 *Crawfish Bottom*, Boyd, 2011: 2-5; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 5
- 101 *Crawfish Bottom*, Boyd, 2013: 3-6; "Tales," Vaccariello, 2012; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 1, 20-21
- 102 "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 5
- 103 "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 5-6, 9, 16; "'With A Piece of Red Flannel and a Bone': African-Americans Remember the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project," James E. Wallace, Unpublished Manuscript, University of Kentucky, December 17, 1992: 11-12. On file at Kentucky Historical Society.
- 104 "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 6-7; "Clearing Up 'Frankfort's Craw' Is A Slow Process," Grady Clay, *Courier-Journal*, January 30, 1960: 1-2
- 105 "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 7-8
- 106 "Clearing up," Clay, 1960: 1; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 14-20, 24
- 107 "Clearing Up," Clay, 1960: 1
- 108 "Red Flannel," Wallace, 1992: 6
- 109 "Commission Approves Purchase of Land for State Building." *Lexington Herald*, October 26, 1965: 3; "A \$49 million question," Livingston Taylor, *Courier-Journal*, March 1, 1971: 5-6.; U.S. Census, Population, 1920, 1930, 1940; "70 Per Cent Cleared: Floodwall replaces earth fill in new plan for slum section," Grady Clay, *Courier-Journal*, February 28, 1965: 69; "New Capital Plaza for Frankfort: 24-story state building in plans for Craw Complex," J. Douglas Nunn, *Courier-Journal*, July 31, 1966: 71, 74.; "Red Flannel," Wallace, 1992: 4
- 110 "Floodwall," Clay, 1965: 69; *American Architects Directory*, George S. Koyl, ed. New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1962: 738; "Red Flannel," Wallace, 1992: 4, 33-39
- 111 "Edward Durell Stone Papers." University of Arkansas Libraries, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://uark.as.atlas-sys.com/repositories/2/resources/1971>; "Commission Approves Purchase of Land for State Building." *Lexington Herald*, October 26, 1965: 3; "\$49 Million," Taylor, 1971: 5
- 112 "Edward Durell Stone Papers," 2022; "State Building," *Lexington Herald*, 1965: 3; "\$49 Million," Taylor, 1971: 5

- 113 "Edward Durell Stone Papers," 2022
- 114 "Scale Models Unveil A New Look for U.K.," Grady Clay, *Courier-Journal*, April 21, 1963: 71; "Lake Barkley Lodge, [Cadiz, Kentucky]," Daniel Vivian, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed April 3, 2022. <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-221-0043>; "Edward Durell Stone Papers," 2022
- 115 "New Capital Plaza," Nunn, 1966: 71; "Capital Plaza Going Up: \$50 million complex is due for completion in 1970," John K. Woodruff, *Courier-Journal*, November 9, 1967: 91-92; "Proposed Frankfort Plaza." *Lexington Herald*, May 3, 1966: 13
- 116 "Capital Plaza," Woodruff, 1967: 91-92; "Proposed Frankfort Plaza," *Lexington Herald*, 1966: 13; "\$49 Million," Taylor, 1971: 5
- 117 "Edward Durell Stone Papers," 2022; "Commission Approves Purchase of Land for State Building." *Lexington Herald*, October 26, 1965: 3; Koyl, 1955: 518; Koyl, 1962: 654-655; *American Architects Directory*, John F. Gane, ed. New York: R.R. Bowker, Co., 1970: 853
- 118 "Capital Plaza," Woodruff, 1967: 91-92; "New Capital Plaza," Nunn, 1966: 71, 74
- 119 "49 Million," Taylor, 1971: 5-6; "Capital Plaza Advantages Extolled; Problems Listed." *Lexington-Herald*, April 22, 1971: 44.
- 120 "49 Million," Taylor, 1971: 6; "Nearly Complete." *Courier-Journal*, October 5, 1972: 3; *Lexington Herald*, 1972: 23; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 23-24; "New Capital Plaza," Nunn, 1966: 71, 74
- 121 "Frankfort Failed: River Ousts 'Craw' Residents," Grady Clay, *Courier-Journal*, March 2, 1962: 17
- 122 *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 4, 8, 10-11; Hatter, 2022; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 20; "Red Flannel," Wallace, 1992: 22, 34
- 123 "70 Per Cent Cleared: Floodwall replaces earth fill in new plan for slum section," Grady Clay, *Courier-Journal*, February 28, 1965: 69
- 124 "Best Kentucky Architecture." *Courier-Journal*, December 10, 1967: 97; "Frankfort's Craw," Wallace, 1991: 20; "Slum Section," Clay, 1965: 69; "Red Flannel," Wallace, 1992: 33
- 125 "New Gym Being Constructed at Frankfort." *Lexington Leader*, May 9, 1955: 3; "Ex-educator Fayette Wilkinson Dies." *Courier-Journal*, September 10, 2001: 15
- 126 "KSC Dorm Building To Begin." *Lexington Leader*, March 14, 1963: 2; "KSC Dormitories to be Dedicated." *Paducah Sun*, October 21, 1964: 3
- 127 "KSC Regents Approve Plans for Larger, Modern Campus," Sy Ramsey, *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], March 25, 1965: 11; "Trustees at KSC Approve 20-Year Expansion Plan," Alan M. Trout, *Courier-Journal*, March 24, 1965: 22
- 128 "KSC Regents Slate Construction." *Lexington Leader*, February 25, 1966: 2
- 129 "Housing for K.S.C. Faculty." *Dawson Springs Progress* [Dawson Springs, Kentucky], January 27, 1966: 8
- 130 "KSC Library Addition." *Lexington Herald*, March 21, 1967: 2; "KSC Science Addition." *Lexington Leader*, March 5, 1967: 31; "KSC Library Addition." *Advocate-Messenger* [Danville, Kentucky], March 20, 1967: 3
- 131 "Industrial Arts Unit Planned at KSC." *Lexington Herald*, May 1, 1969: 11.; "Eight Kentucky Projects Receive Awards for Architectural Excellence." *The Lexington-Herald*, November 14, 1971: 20
- 132 "Classroom Building for KSC." *Lexington Herald*, May 24, 1966: 16
- 133 "8 architectural projects receive 'excellence' awards." *Courier-Journal*, October 21, 1972: 9; "Architects cite student-union design." *Courier-Journal*, November 5, 1972: 69
- 134 "Low Bid on KSC Infirmary Is \$389,900." *Advocate-Messenger*, June 3, 1970: 9; "Groundbreaking Held at KSC." *Lexington Leader*, July 23, 1970: 7
- 135 "Joe Louis Carded in Frankfort Ring." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, October 5, 1947: 16; "Joe Louis vs. Bob Garner." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, October 17, 1947: 11; Glove Program is Called Off." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, October 20, 1947: 6; "Garner, Robert Tinsley 'Bob'," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed May 8, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2056>
- 136 "Robb, Jackson," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed May 8, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2412>; "Joe Louis Carded for Exhibition Go Here on October 21." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], October 12, 1947: 11; "It Gets Manny's Nanny When Louis Exhi Blocked," Larry Boeck, *Courier-Journal*, October 21, 1947: 20; "Plans Shaping Up for Dexter's Boxing Show Here November 20." *Advocate-Messenger* [Danville, Kentucky], October 29, 1947: 2
- 137 "Frankfort Church Planned." *Lexington Herald*, July 27, 1965: 11.

- 138      ibid
- 139      “African American Schools in Frankfort and Franklin County, KY,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed May 7, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2647>; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009: Section 8: 38; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 146
- 140      Hatter, 2022; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 10
- 141      “Broke His Arm.” *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 14, 1891: 5; “Saturday Night’s Fire.” *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 4, 1905: 4; “Paragraphs.” *Lexington Herald*, October 17, 1920: 19; Hatter, 2022; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 10; “Forgotten Fruit,” Paul Aron, *Colonial Williamsburg Trend & Tradition Magazine*, March 12, 2020. <https://www.colonialwilliamsburg.org/trend-tradition-magazine/autumn-2018/forgotten-fruit/>
- 142      “Obituary: Huston M. Settles.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, December 14, 1985: 39
- 143      “Chronicles of the Old Neighborhood: Franklin County-East End,” Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, Vol. 6, No. 18 (September 1908): 60-68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23366432>
- 144      “Old Neighborhood,” Morton, 1908: 60-62; “Frankfort’s Streetcars,” Bogart, 1997: 403-421
- 145      “Colored Soldiers Monument,” Joseph E. Brent. National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1997: 1; Hatter, 2022
- 146      “Landslide at Green Hill Cemetery on Inter-Urban Line.” *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 24, 1906: 4; Hatter, 2022
- 147      Hatter, 2022; “Old Neighborhood,” Morton, 1908; U.S. Census, Population, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930; “Greenhill Church,” Martin Perry. Draft National Register of Historic Places Nomination, undated. On file at the Kentucky Heritage Council/SHPO
- 148      Hatter, 2022; “Old Neighborhood,” Morton, 1908; “Greenhill Church,” Perry, n.d.; “Fire Destroys Church: Worshipers in Panic.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, December 10, 1920: 22; “Colored Notes.” *Lexington Leader*, August 6, 1921: 2; McGraph, Elizabeth. Interview with Robbie D. Jones and Carolyn Brackett. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, March 1, 2022
- 149      Hatter, 2022; U.S. Census, Population, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940; “Old Neighborhood,” Morton, 1908: 64-67; History of Franklin County, Johnson, 1912: 117; “Stephen Black.” *Kentucky, A History of the State*, William Henry Perrin, J.H. Battle, and G.C. Kniffin. Southern Historical Press, 1887. <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kygenweb/kybiog/franklin/black.s.txt>
- 150      U.S. Census, Population, 1920, 1930, 1940; Hatter, 2022; Interview, McGraph, 2022
- 151      Hatter, 2022
- 152      *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 269-270; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Frankfort, 1886, 1890, 1896, 1901, 1907, 1912
- 153      *Railroad, Trolley, and Interurban Rail Lines of Frankfort, Kentucky: 175 Years of Rail Service*, Charles H. Bogart. Frankfort, KY: CSXT Historical Society, 2010: 108-109
- 154      U.S. Census, Population, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940; City Directories, Frankfort, 1910-1960
- 155      U.S. Census, Population, 1920, 1930, 1940
- 156      *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 3, 10-11; Hatter, 2022; *Atlas of Franklin County*, Griffing, 1882
- 157      “Preparing to Sell Lots in Henryville.” *Lexington Herald*, May 31, 1912: 4; “Lot Sale a Success.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 30, 1912: 10; “New Colored Addition.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 26, 1912: 15
- 158      “Frankfort’s Streetcars,” Bogart, 1997: 403-421; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 4, 8, 10-11; Hatter, 2022; “Oral History Interview with Clara E. Hogan,” Winona Fletcher, Kentucky Historical Society, May 2, 1996, accessed February 14, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/816/>;
- 159      *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 46; Hatter, 2022
- 160      “Mr. Taylor’s Barber Shop” Kentucky History, Andrew Patrick. *ExploreKYHistory*, accessed February 11, 2022. <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/826>
- 161      *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 83; “Hogan,” Fletcher, 1996
- 162      “Barber Shop,” Patrick, 2022
- 163      *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 4, 10-11; “Hogan,” Fletcher, 1996
- 164      Hatter, 2022; U.S. Census, Population, 1940; *U.S., World War II Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011
- 165      “Hogan,” Fletcher, 1996
- 166      “Rezoning Proposal Denied.” *Lexington Herald*, February 26, 1960: 12
- 167      Hatter, 2022; “Louis Cox, 63, advisor to state governors, dies.” *Courier-Journal*, February 3, 1971: 2

- 168 "Frankfort Plans Factory Building." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, February 15, 1955: 2; "Frankfort Plant Given Approval." *Lexington Herald-Sun*, July 31, 1955: 29
- 169 "Frankfort Due New Subdivision." *Courier-Journal*, October 31, 1958: 14; "Negro Subdivision Set for Frankfort." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], October 31, 1958: 24; "Occupational Tax on Firms Is Enacted at Frankfort." *Lexington-Herald*, July 14, 1959: 9; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 3-4, 10-11
- 170 "New Subdivision," *Courier-Journal*, 1958: 14
- 171 Hatter, 2022; "Black History Month: William Exum, 1910-1988: Left His Mark on KSU Sport." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, February 26, 2005: 13; "Retired KSU athletic director, coach William Exum dies," Jennifer Hewlett, *Lexington Herald-Leader*, August 11, 1988: 33; "William Exum: Celebrating Wisconsin's Black History," Gregory Bond, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2015, accessed February 12, 2022. [https://uwbadgers.com/sports/2015/8/21/GEN\\_20140101816.aspx](https://uwbadgers.com/sports/2015/8/21/GEN_20140101816.aspx)
- 172 *ibid*
- 173 "Gertrude Ridgel Interview," Brinson, 1999; Hatter, 2022
- 174 Hatter, 2022; "Remembering Dr. Ridgel: Dr. Gus T. Ridgel, who helped desegregate MU and was the first Black graduate, has died at 95," Ryan Gavin, University of Missouri, 2020, accessed February 12, 2022. <https://diversity.missouri.edu/2020/remembering-dr-ridgel/>; "Library Branch Dedicated to Dr. Gus T. Ridgel," Rob Duckett, *Daily American Republic* (Poplar Bluff, Missouri), August 16, 2021. <https://www.darnews.com/story/2900535.html>; "A Real Missouri 'Concerned Student 1950' Speaks, at Age 89," Michael Wines, *New York Times*, November 10, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/11/us/an-original-missouri-concerned-student-1950-speaks-at-age-89.html>
- 175 Hatter, 2022
- 176 "Oral History Interview with George W. Simmons, Jr. and Henry Sanders," James E. Wallace, Frankfort's Crow Oral History Project, Kentucky Historical Society, 1991; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 132; Hatter, 2022
- 177 Hatter, 2022; "Oral History Interview with Mary Smith," Winona Fletcher, Kentucky Historical Society, May 2, 1996, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/818>
- 178 "Smith, Carl H.," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed May 10, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2152>
- 179 "Helen Holmes Interview," Wallace, 1991; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 8, 1995: 12
- 180 *ibid*
- 181 "Helen Holmes Interview," Wallace, 1991; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 8, 1995: 12; U.S. Census, Population, 1950; City Directories, Frankfort, 1945-1954
- 182 "Helen Holmes Interview," Wallace, 1991; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 8, 1995: 12
- 183 "Gertrude Ridgel Interview," Brinson, 1999; "Direct-Action Protests in the Upper South: Kentucky Chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality," Gerald L. Smith, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 109, No. 3/4, Exploring Kentucky's African American Past (Summer/Autumn 2011): 379-380
- 184 "Helen Holmes Interview," Wallace, 1991
- 185 "Helen Holmes Interview," Wallace, 1991; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 8, 1995: 12



# SECTION III. HISTORIC RESOURCES

## Chapter Seven: Architects and Builders

The following architects, architectural firms and builders designed and constructed buildings in Frankfort that are included in the reconnaissance survey of African American resources. The biographies are listed in alphabetical order by surname. The names of architects and builders that are cross-referenced in this chapter are in bold font. The history and historic context of many of the referenced buildings are described in more detail in Chapter 6.

### **Thomas L. Brooks, Builder**

Thomas L. Brooks (1862-1923) was a prominent African American contractor in Frankfort who constructed several landmarks from 1892 until his death in 1923. A native of Charlottesville, Virginia, Brooks learned the building trade from his father, Thomas Brooks, a carpenter employed by the University of Virginia to help keep the buildings repaired. He worked with his father until 1883, when he relocated to Frankfort and worked with local contractors Rodman and Sneed and Wakefield and Choate. In 1892, he married Mary L. Hocker (1864-1954) of Frankfort. They lived in a house at 200 Blanton Street (Figure 6-78) in Craw. In 1892, he started his own construction company and built landmarks throughout the city and eastern Kentucky. In 1919, his biography and photograph were included in the *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (Figure 7-1). Brooks and his wife are buried in the Black section of Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>1</sup>

Most of Thomas Brooks' clients were white. It is said he built half of the dwellings in Frankfort's Watson Court neighborhood, developed by Charlotte Elizabeth "Lottie" Watson (1852-1924). She developed Watson Court with Craftsman and Colonial Revival-style homes, including her own Dutch Colonial Revival-style home at 103 Watson Court. She began developing Watson Court after the death of her husband Henry H. Watson in 1897. Located on the riverfront, these homes were constructed at the site of eight former houses for enslaved persons located at the rear of the Carneal-Watson House at 407 Wapping Street and the Bibb House, known as Gray Gables, at 414 Wapping Street (both NRHP, 1971, 2009). Constructed around 1855, the Carneal-Watson House was owned by Thomas Davis Carneal (1786-1860), who enslaved 10 African Americans occupying three houses. In 1863, John Watson (1817-1882) acquired the house, which his son Henry Howe Watson (1853-1897) inherited. The adjacent Gothic Revival-style Gray Gables house was built around 1857 for John B. Bibb (1789-1884), an attorney and politician who enslaved 48 African Americans in 1860. Bibb's property featured five houses for enslaved persons lining the alley leading to a wharf on the Kentucky River. In the 1860s, Bibb developed a new type of lettuce that became known as Bibb lettuce in his garden behind the house where Watson Court is now located.<sup>2</sup>

Some of Thomas Brooks' notable commissions include the Columbia Theater at 217 West Main Street; Odd Fellows Hall (1908); First Baptist Church (1907-1908), designed by



Figure 7-1. Thomas L. Brooks, circa 1919  
Source: *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, 1919: 160

**Leo L. Oberwarth**; and the Grace Methodist Episcopal Community Church (1923) at 315 East 3rd Street. In 1909, KSU awarded him the nearly \$30,000 contract to construct Hume Hall and Hathaway Hall, a trade school building; both were designed by noted Black architect **William Sidney Pittman** of Washington, D.C.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the buildings constructed by Thomas L. Brooks have been demolished as part of urban renewal or redevelopment projects. However, the First Baptist Church at 100 West Clinton Street and Hume Hall at KSU are both extant and listed in the NRHP. Additionally, six dwellings located along Watson Court in downtown Frankfort are extant and listed in the NRHP.



Figure 7-2. Monument for James C. Brown, Frankfort Cemetery  
Source: Karen V., "Find A Grave," 2011.

### ***James C. Brown, Builder***

James Calman Brown (1875-1949) was an African American stonemason and building contractor in Frankfort. A native of Harrisonville in Shelby County, Kentucky, Brown's father, Squire "Little" Brown (1852-1929), was a farmer and a stonemason. James C. Brown married Ella E. McDade (1886-1963) in 1901. They moved to Frankfort, her hometown, around 1904 and raised two children at 613 High Street, located near the Kentucky State Prison. Their son, James Blackburn Brown (1905-1971), became principal and basketball coach at the Mayo-Underwood Rosenwald School. James C. Brown may have served in the military during World War I. A large hewn stone monument marks his gravesite in Black section of the Frankfort Cemetery (Figure 72).<sup>4</sup>

In the NRHP nomination for Jackson Hall (NRHP, 1973), James C. Brown

is listed as the stonemason who constructed the landmark at KSU; however, Jackson Hall was completed in 1887, when Brown was only 12 years old and according to census records, he was then living in Harrisonville, Kentucky. So, it is unlikely that he built Jackson Hall.

### ***Michael Buckley, Builder***

Michael "Mike" Buckley (1845-1903) was a prominent building contractor in Frankfort. A native of Ireland, Buckley's family relocated to Frankfort in the late 1840s. In 1887, he and six business partners, including his brother John T. Buckley, a local merchant, incorporated the Frankfort Brick Company. In the 1880s, he lived on Ann Street; by 1900 he had moved to 333 Wilkinson Street, just south of Broadway Street. Buckley was active in the local Irish Catholic community. In 1901, the Irish newspaper in Louisville claimed he was "one of the best-known contractors in Central Kentucky." Buckley died in 1903 was buried in the Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>5</sup>

Buckley constructed many buildings in Frankfort, including dwellings, commercial buildings, schools, the Chapel at the Frankfort Cemetery (NRHP, 1974), and the main building on the campus of the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded, designed by the **McDonald Brothers** in 1889. He is credited with the construction of at least one African American landmark. From 1882 to 1884, Buckley built the Clinton Street School (Figure 6-22), designed by **Monroe Quarrier**

**Wilson.** Costing \$9,500, the three-story brick school featured four rooms per floor and a stone basement. The segregated school operated until 1928 and was demolished by the mid-1940s.<sup>6</sup>

In 1901, Buckley was the original contractor for the First Baptist Church, one of the city's most prominent African American landmarks. On September 18, 1901, Buckley along with three Black members of the congregation's board of directors were arrested by the city marshal for initiating construction of the church on a lot the congregation had previously purchased for \$4,000 and cleared of a building. Buckley had just begun work on the church foundation located at 100 West Clinton Street. The members of the board who were arrested included **Thomas L. Brooks** (1862-1923), a local Black contractor.<sup>7</sup>

The Frankfort City Council had previously refused to issue a building permit for the church due to its location across the street from the Kentucky Governor's Mansion (NRHP, 1972). The governor and adjacent property owners had opposed construction of the Black church, which they claimed was a public nuisance. Buckley and the board members were charged with "unlawfully erecting a nuisance by proceeding to construct a colored Baptist church on the corner of Clinton and High streets in Frankfort, Ky., without permission of adjacent property owners and without consent of the board of council, and contrary to the city ordinance and contrary to the express objection of the city council by written notice." The congregation hired local attorneys Judge James Hervey Hazelrigg and James Andrew Scott and sued the city. Newspapers across the state published articles about the arrests and ensuing legal battle.<sup>8</sup>

In October 1901, Special Judge Edelen refused to grant an injunction. The city's attorney stated if "further attempt is made to build the church" that he would "have warrants of arrest issued daily for the contractor and the church directors and will have the mayor issue orders to the police department to tear down the work as fast as it is built." In response, the congregation and its attorneys threatened to file a lawsuit in U.S. Court against the property owners for damages covering the value of the lot purchased for construction of the church as well as for false arrest.<sup>9</sup> After a years-long contested legal challenge, the congregation and their attorneys were eventually able to overturn the ordinance in 1904. Thomas L. Brooks constructed the NRHP-listed First Baptist Church from 1907 to 1908, after Buckley had passed away in 1903.<sup>10</sup>

#### ***Lawrence Dow Cammack, Architect***

Lawrence Dow Cammack (1907-1989) was an architect in Lexington. A native of Owenton, Cammack attended the University of Kentucky from 1925 to 1927, the Art Institute of Chicago in 1926, and the Cincinnati Art Academy from 1927 to 1928. He worked as an architectural designer for the Kentucky Department of Highways in Frankfort from 1931 to 1936 and as a structural designer for the Tennessee Valley Authority at Chattanooga from 1936 to 1945. He joined the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1945 and opened his own firm in 1950 in Lexington, which became known as Cammack & Scott after Francis J. Scott joined in 1953. He designed schools, courthouses, educational buildings, hospitals, dormitories and public housing projects in Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. Cammack retired in 1975 and moved to Hawaii.<sup>11</sup>

In 1960, Cammack designed the Bell Gymnasium at KSU, which replaced the original 1931 gymnasium that was destroyed by arson earlier that same year. Completed from 1961 to 1962, the new gymnasium featured a basketball arena and indoor swimming pool (Figure 6-96). Bell Gymnasium was later renamed the Bell Health and Physical Education Building.

#### ***William Granville Coblin, Sr., Architect***

William Granville Coblin, Sr. (1918-2002) was a partner in the architectural firm of Gray, Coblin & Porter, established in Frankfort in 1954. A native of Frankfort and veteran of World War II, Coblin earned a B.S. in Civil Engineering at the University of Kentucky in 1941 and a B.S. in Architecture from the University of Michigan in 1948. He joined the AIA in 1950. Coblin designed churches,

schools and residences throughout the state, including the Franklin County High School in 1957. From 1948 to 1954, he worked in Lexington for the Meriwether & Mayre architectural firm and taught architecture at the University of Kentucky.<sup>12</sup>

After relocating to Frankfort in 1954, Coblin served as chairman of the Frankfort Planning Commission from 1960 to 1970. With offices at 115 Shelby Street in South Frankfort and later at 211 Wilkinson Street in North Frankfort (across from Liberty Hall), partners in his firm included William Arthur Gray (1918-2005), a graduate of the University of Kentucky and University of Pennsylvania, and Charles Marcum Porter (b.1935), a graduate of the University of Kentucky.<sup>13</sup> At Frankfort, Coblin designed the Betty White Health Center (Figure 6-105), a \$400,000, two-story Modernist-style infirmary completed from 1970 to 1971 on the KSU campus.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Moses Alexander Davis, Architect***

Moses Alexander Davis (1870-1941) was an African American professor of mechanical engineering at KSU from 1891 to around 1904. A native of Savannah, Georgia, and son of a barber, Davis attended the Knox Institute and Industrial School, a private African American school founded in 1868 by the Freedman's Bureau at Athens, Georgia. The Knox Institute offered industrial classes in carpentry, painting and other skills. The prestigious institute also prepared students for enrolling in historically Black colleges and universities before closing in 1928.<sup>15</sup>

In 1891, Davis earned a degree from the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, later renamed Hampton University, in Virginia. According to a biography published in 1919, he also took summer classes at the Stout Institute at Menomonie, Wisconsin, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) at Boston, Chicago University, and the Greer's Automobile College at Chicago, as well as classes through the International Correspondence School at Scranton, Pennsylvania. Davis may have been inspired to study at MIT due to Robert R. Taylor (1868-1942), who attended architecture school from 1888 to 1892. Taylor was the first known Black student to attend and graduate from MIT and later worked as an architect and professor at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama from 1892 to 1932.<sup>16</sup>

At Hampton, Davis studied under General Samuel C. Armstrong (1839-1893), a former Union military leader, who founded the agricultural and industrial school for African Americans in 1868 through the Freedmen's Bureau. Perhaps the best-known student at Hampton was Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), who attended from 1872 to 1875 and later became a professor at Hampton in 1879 before taking charge of Tuskegee in 1881.<sup>17</sup>

At Hampton, General Armstrong commissioned famous architects, including Richard Morris Hunt and John Cleveland Cady, both of New York City, to design the original Victorian Gothic and Romanesque Revival-style campus buildings in the 1870s and 1880s (NHL, 1969). Davis was undoubtedly inspired by these buildings while attending Hampton.

Upon graduating from Hampton in 1891, General Armstrong recommended that KSU hire Davis to take charge of the technical courses and manual training work. As principal of the Mechanical Department, Davis made \$750 per year. At KSU, Davis was a popular teacher of architecture and woodworking as well as a practical builder. Davis is said to have designed and constructed many buildings in Frankfort. At KSU, he also designed several frame academic buildings, which were constructed by his students, including a two-story women's dormitory (1894), the mechanical shop (1895), and a chapel (1897) (Figures 6-34, 6-35, 6-36). Other early academic buildings at KSU include a president's cottage, dean's cottage, two-story frame men's dormitory, facing a linear interior road on a north-south axis culminating at Jackson Hall (Figure 7-3); these were possibly designed by Davis. A concrete springhouse constructed around 1900 on the KSU Farm was most likely designed by Davis (Figure 6-40).<sup>18</sup>

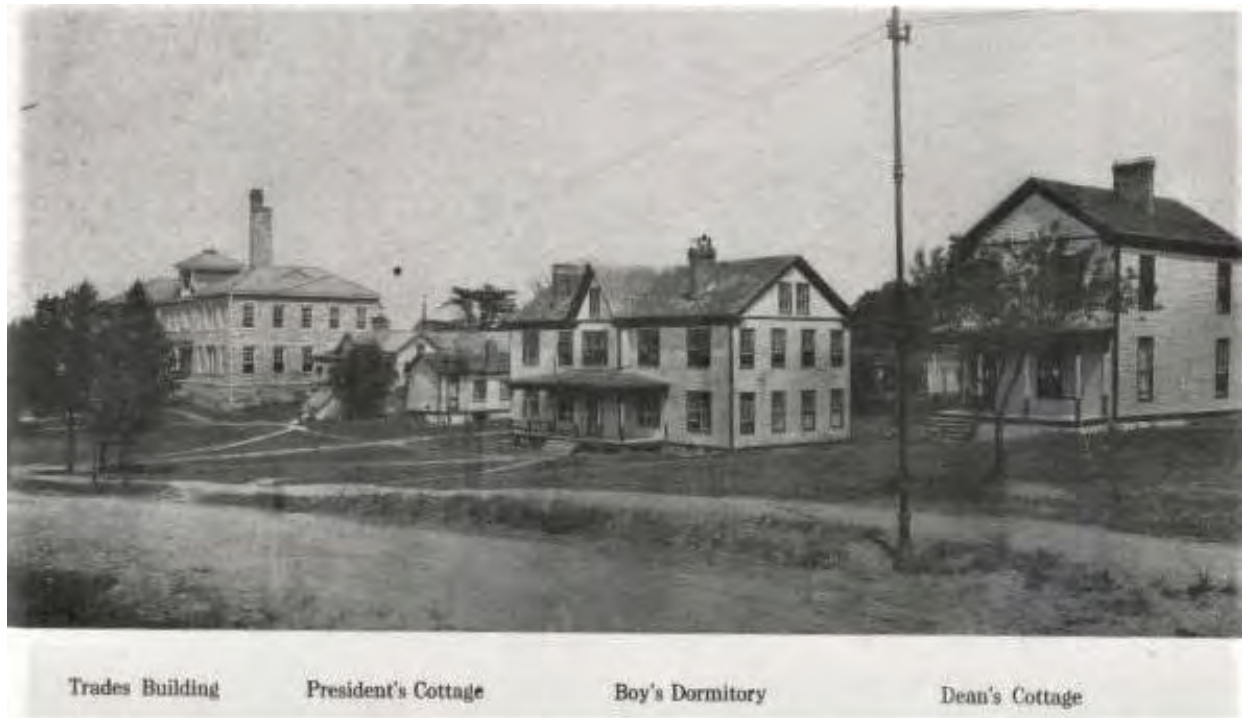


Figure 7-3. Buildings at KSU, circa 1916  
 Source: KSU Yearbook, 1917

Davis's best-known commission in Frankfort is the St. John AME Church (NRHP, 1980, 2009), a church constructed from 1892 to 1893 at 208-210 Clinton Street. The Victorian Gothic Revival-style church is a prominent architectural landmark in Frankfort (Figures 6-47 and 6-112).

According to the *National Cyclopaedia of the Colored Race*, published in 1919 at Montgomery, Alabama, Davis designed the residence of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute while he was completing post-graduate work at Hampton. The biography noted that this building was the "most agreeable to him...of all his constructive endeavors." This record indicates that Davis designed the original two-story frame residence for Washington (Figure 7-4). According to architectural historian Ellen Weiss, the residence was constructed in 1890 by John W. Carter, the former head of carpentry at Hampton who later taught drawing at Tuskegee Institute, and his students. Apparently, Davis was one of Carter's students at Hampton who helped design and build Washington's house.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 7-4. Booker T. Washington's Residence, Tuskegee Institute, circa 1895  
 Source: Washington, *An Autobiography*, 1901.

In December 1895, Davis married Beulah Thompson (1870-1946) in Atlanta. A native of Vicksburg, Mississippi, she graduated from Hampton in

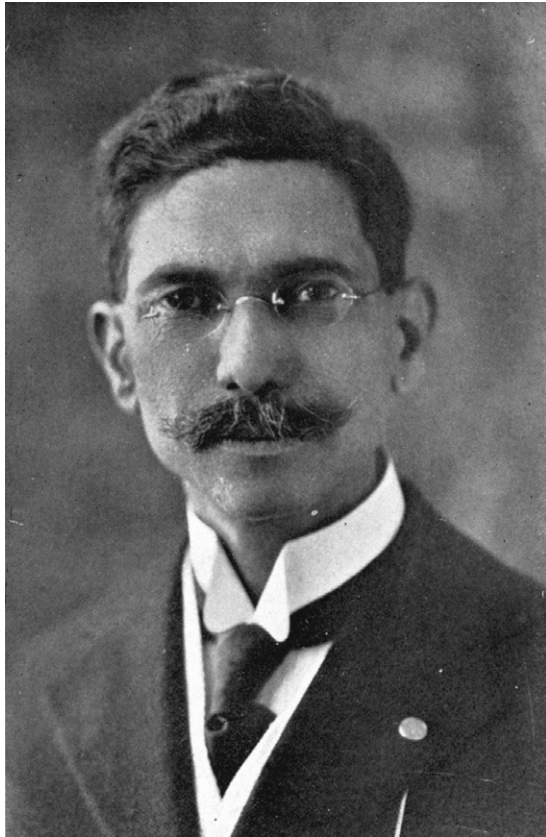


Figure 7-5. Moses A. Davis, circa 1918  
Source: *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, 1919

1889 and was later a teacher at Tuskegee. Davis may have met Thompson at Tuskegee while he was helping design and build Booker T. Washington's residence there in 1890. After their marriage, she became a teacher at KSU. In 1900, they lived in a rental house on East Main Street near the KSU campus.<sup>20</sup>

Davis left KSU in 1904 and taught for one year in Savannah, Georgia, before relocating to Evansville, Indiana, where he became the director of the Manual Training and Vocational Education department for the Clark High School, a segregated school for Black students. His wife taught home economics at Clark High School, which was renamed Frederick Douglass High School in 1919. The school was demolished in 1937. He also founded the "Negro Branch" of the local YMCA. They lived in a modern residence at 1101 Chestnut Street, which is no longer standing. In 1918, Davis and his students constructed the Industrial Arts Building at Clark High School. He took a leave of absence in March 1918 so that he could travel to Great Britain and France and assist the YMCA war work under General John J. Pershing. The *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* included a photograph of Davis (Figure 7-5).<sup>21</sup>

After World War I ended, Davis and his wife relocated to Gary, Indiana, where they continued to teach in the segregated schools for Black students for several years. By 1930, they had retired to

Golden, Michigan, where they remained for the remainder of their lives. They are buried at the Hart Cemetery in Oceana County, Michigan. Records indicated that they did not have children.<sup>22</sup>

### **Frankel & Curtis, Architects**

Frankel & Curtis was an architecture and engineering firm based in Lexington, Kentucky. The firm designed numerous buildings in Frankfort, including the Frankfort High School (1924), Kentucky Hall at KSU (1928), Old Kentucky State Capitol restoration (1930), renovation of the Frankfort Opera House into the Capitol Theater (1928-1936), McClure Building renovation (1941), Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded Dormitory (1945), Maurice S. Davis House (1953), and the Traction Terminal Building (undated).<sup>23</sup>

The Frankel & Curtis architecture firm was founded in 1919 by Leon Kaufman Frankel (1878-1949), a native of Louisville who earned a Bachelor of Engineering in 1900 and a Master of Engineering in 1902, both at the University of Kentucky. Frankel was a professor of design at the University of Kentucky for 13 years. He also taught at the Michigan College of Mines in the summers of 1902 and 1903. In 1919, he founded Frankel & Curtis with John J. Curtis (1888-1970), an engineering professor at the University of Kentucky who had earned a Bachelor of Engineering in 1910 and a master's degree in 1912, both from the University of Kentucky. Frankel became a member of the AIA in 1926 and the Kentucky Society of Professional Engineers in 1939. Both Frankel and Curtis were licensed as architects in Kentucky in 1930. Frankel's son, James Slaughter Frankel (1910-1982), joined the firm in 1935 after graduating from the University of Michigan.<sup>24</sup>

During a long and successful career, Frankel designed numerous public and private buildings, including churches, hospitals, schools and colleges, theaters, hotels, commercial buildings, military buildings and private residences throughout Kentucky, surrounding states and the Midwest. He designed many buildings on the campus of the University of Kentucky. Frankel was also a leader in several civic, social, and professional organizations, including the Temple Adath Israel, University of Kentucky alumni executive committee, and AIA. His papers, drawings and photographs are housed at the University of Kentucky.<sup>25</sup>

In 1928, the firm designed Kentucky Hall, a two-story Colonial Revival-style women's dormitory completed in 1929 at KSU (Figure 6-24). Kentucky Hall replaced a three-story women's dormitory, completed in 1906 and destroyed by a fire in December 1926. The nighttime fire resulted in the deaths of four students and significant injuries to 15 others. Female students resided temporarily in Hume Hall until the new dormitory was completed.<sup>26</sup>

### ***Guy Family, Stonemasons***

Five generations of the Guy family were African American stonemasons in central Kentucky. After the turn-of-the-20th century, several members of the family lived in Frankfort. John Henry Guy, Sr. (1888-1943) and his son John Henry Guy, Jr. (b.1917) lived in the Normal Heights neighborhood adjacent to KSU. The elder learned the skill of stonemasonry in Woodford County from his father, and then taught the stonemasonry trade to his sons, nephew Frank Edward Guy, Jr. (1910-1987), and William Clinton Jacobs, Sr. (1914-1997), who in turn taught the trade to other Black men such as Robert Esprit "Bob" Hogan (1933-1999), Amos Black (1884-1963), Pete Marshall, and William Jack Gaines (1904-1995) of Green Hill (Figures 6-126 and 6-127). In a 1941 interview, John Henry Guy, Sr. stated that he taught the trade to scores of Black men throughout the region. Based on oral histories and newspaper articles, historians of Kentucky's stone fences have documented some 30 extended members of the Guy family who were Black stonemasons in Fayette, Woodford, Bourbon, Shelby, Scott, and Franklin counties. Besides stone fences, they built stone houses, churches, barns, dams, bridges, culverts, foundations and other structures.<sup>27</sup>

From around 1905 until his death in 1943, John H. Guy, Sr. constructed masonry houses, churches, barns, and fences throughout Frankfort, Lexington and the surrounding region. In 1941, he led a team of Black stonemasons who dismantled and reconstructed a mid-19th century stone fence along U.S. 60 between Shelbyville and Frankfort as part of a state highway widening project. His grandfather is said to have built the original stone fence as an enslaved stonemason.<sup>28</sup>

According to a 1941 interview and census records, John Henry Guy's grandparents were a mix of white, Black and American Indian ancestry. His father was Louis Guy (1865-1931), a stonemason from Woodford County, Kentucky, who was listed as white in the 1880 census, Black in the 1900 census and "colored" on his death certificate. John Henry Guy's paternal grandfather was Clydus A. Guy (1828-1880), a white carpenter from Tennessee who moved to Clinton County, Kentucky by 1850 and married Catherine Hickman (1826-1880), a white woman also from Tennessee. His mother, Louisa Rogers Guy (1869-1931), was listed as Black in the 1900 census and mulatto in the 1910 census. According to John Henry Guy, his mother was half Black and half American Indian.<sup>29</sup>

Between 1900 and 1910, John Henry Guy, Sr. relocated from Woodford County to the Normal Heights neighborhood in Frankfort. City directories indicate that he built a two-story Queen Anne-style house on Versailles Pike, which later became designated as 531 East Main Street (U.S. 60). His household included his wife, Louisa, and seven children. His son John Henry Guy, Jr. attended KSU and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and became a stonemason. In the 1930s, John Henry Guy, Jr. built a house next door, where he lived with his wife, Ella, and two children, including John Henry Guy III (1940-1995), who also worked as a stonemason in Frankfort.<sup>30</sup>

John Henry Guy, Sr. built the stone fence along East Main Street (U.S. 60) at the KSU campus – the fence has been demolished. In the late 1920s, he also built the Clark Chapel AME Church in Winchester and the St. Paul AME Church in Richmond; both are modest brick Gothic Revival-style buildings. The Guy family also built the three-story stone Keeneland Racetrack Clubhouse and stone horse barns, stone fences along Paris Pike and Leestown Pike, Lexington architect Hugh Meriwether’s house, the Cane Ridge Meetinghouse near Paris and other stone landmarks.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Hugg, Carter & Blakeman, Architects***

Hugg, Carter & Blakeman was an architectural firm established in 1965 at 314 Wilkinson Street in Frankfort by Louis Ryan Hugg, Jr. (b.1934). A native of Paducah, Kentucky, Hugg earned a Bachelor of Science in Architecture from the University of Cincinnati in 1959 and worked with Lee Potter Smith in Hopkinsville and Paducah before he opened this firm at Frankfort. Potter and Hugg designed commercial and educational buildings, including several Modernist academic buildings on the campuses of Morehead State University and Western Kentucky University (WKU). Two of their buildings at WKU won awards from the Kentucky Society of Architects.<sup>32</sup>

Lee Potter Smith (1919-2011) followed Hugg to Frankfort and was a founding partner in the firm. However, by 1971 Smith had left the firm and two new partners had joined, including George Maurice Blakeman who retired in 1996. The firm evolved into G. Scott & Associates, founded by Gary R. Scott, who had joined the firm in 1984. The firm still operates from 314 Wilkinson Street.<sup>33</sup>

At Frankfort, the Hugg, Carter & Blakeman firm designed the Human Resources Building on the former campus of the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded. The six-story office building was completed from 1974 to 1977. Prior to the departure of Lee Potter Smith, one of the firm’s most notable buildings was the Capital Plaza Office Tower, a 28-story International-style skyscraper built at 500 Mero Street from 1969 to 1972 as part of the North Frankfort Urban Redevelopment Project. The skyscraper was designed by Edward Durrell Stone (1902-1978) with Smith, Hugg, and Carter serving as associated architects. The skyscraper was demolished in 2018. Smith and Hugg had previously partnered with Stone in the design of the International-style Paducah City Hall (1962-1963) and the Modernist-style Lake Barkley Lodge, completed from 1967 to 1970 in Cadiz, Kentucky. More information on Edward Durrell Stone can be found in Chapter 6.<sup>34</sup>

In 1969, Hugg, Carter & Blakeman designed the Carl M. Hill Student Center at KSU (Figure 6-104). Costing \$1.3 million, the four-story Modernist-style building was completed in 1971 and won an award in 1972 from the Kentucky Society of Architects.<sup>35</sup>

### ***Lonnie Johnson, Builder***

Lonnie Karrey Johnson (1885-1967) was an African American builder who lived at 301 East 2nd Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort with his wife Maggie (1883-1945) and four children. A native of Frankfort, Johnson held various jobs, including a fireman, before getting involved in the concrete and construction industry in the early 20th century. By 1930, he operated his own concrete contracting business. He built houses in South Frankfort. By 1944, he had moved to Terre Haute, Indiana to live with his daughter. Johnson is buried at Green Hill Cemetery.<sup>36</sup>

### ***McDonald Brothers, Architects***

The McDonald Brothers architectural firm of Louisville, Kentucky, designed at least three buildings in Frankfort, including Jackson Hall, the first academic building on the campus of KSU, founded in 1886. Costing approximately \$7,000, the Gothic Revival-style brick and stone building was constructed in 1887 on a bluff along the Versailles Turnpike, now East Main Street (U.S. 60) (Figure 6-32). Advertisements for a contractor were published in early May 1887. Constructed with the assistance of students enrolled at the school, the building was completed during the summer and fall of 1887. In 1885, the firm designed the Franklin County Jail, and in 1889, the firm also designed the main building for the Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded (Figure 76), which replaced the original building destroyed by a fire in 1888.<sup>37</sup>





Figure 7-6. Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded at Frankfort, 1889  
Source: *The Courier-Journal*, October 18, 1889

The McDonald Brothers architectural firm was founded in 1878 by Kenneth McDonald (1852-1940), Harry Peake McDonald (1848-1904), Donald McDonald (1858-1924), and Roy McDonald. Natives of Winchester, Virginia, the McDonald family relocated to Louisville in the early 1870s, which was one of the fastest growing cities in the U.S. after the Civil War. Kenneth McDonald earned a degree in civil engineering the Virginia Military Institute. Harry and Donald McDonald graduated from Washington & Lee University with engineering degrees. Kenneth and Harry McDonald were the principal design partners; Donald McDonald was the contract negotiator; and Roy McDonald was a construction superintendent. Donald McDonald left the firm in 1892 and Harry McDonald left in 1897. Kenneth McDonald practiced solo until 1910 when he formed a practice with John F. Sheblessy (1873-1938) of Chicago. The firm dissolved when Kenneth McDonald retired in 1913.<sup>38</sup>

At the turn-of-the-20th century, the McDonald Brothers firm was one of the most prolific in the South. The firm designed bridges, churches, city halls, banks, tobacco warehouses, factories, residences, asylums, railroad depots, and apartments in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Texas, and Georgia. The firm specialized in courthouses and jails and designed over 100 fortress-like jails in seven states. In the 1880s, their buildings tended to exhibit Romanesque Revival-style architecture. Many of their commissions are listed in the NRHP, including Hume Hall at KSU.<sup>39</sup>

#### ***Will Mason, Stonemason***

Will Mason (1873-1939) was an African American stonemason in Frankfort. A native of Lancaster, Kentucky, in the early 20th century Mason built houses and stone fences in South Frankfort. In 1910, he worked at a slaughterhouse in Bridgeport. By 1930, he lived at 304 Elm Street, later renamed Briar Cliff Street, in Pawpaw Chute, with his wife Nannie and three children.<sup>40</sup>

#### ***Harry Mordecai, Builder***

Harry Mordecai (1784-1853) was an African American brick mason and plasterer in Frankfort. A native of Virginia, Mordecai was enslaved by Francis Ratliff (1755-1814), a master builder and Revolutionary War veteran from Chesterfield County, Virginia. In November 1796, U.S. Senator John Brown contracted with Ratliff and George Rowland to complete the brickwork for Liberty

Hall, most likely modeled on pattern books obtained in Philadelphia. (In 1797, Thomas Jefferson sent Senator Brown, his former law student, plans and architectural suggestions for a one-story Parisian-style dwelling that were not utilized.) A teenager at the time, Mordecai assisted with the brickwork and interior plaster work a Liberty Hall, which was completed by 1801. Liberty Hall (NHL, 1971; NRHP, 1971, 2009) has been described as one of the finest examples of Federal-style architecture in Kentucky (Figure 7-7).<sup>41</sup>

After Francis Ratliff died in 1814, Mordecai was enslaved by his son George Ratliff. On March 20, 1817, George Ratliff emancipated Harry Mordecai. Some historians believe Mordecai purchased his freedom through his work as a plasterer and brick mason. Several documents state that Mordecai was mulatto. Some historians suspect that he was the son of a Jewish enslaver since Mordecai is a prominent Jewish surname; others suspect he may have been a son of Ratliff. (The Ratliff surname has also been spelled Ratliffe, Ratcliffe, and Radcliffe.)<sup>42</sup>



Figure 7-7. Liberty Hall, 1986  
Source: William Gus Johnson, HABS, Library of Congress

Mordecai became a prominent builder in Frankfort, well known for plastering, whitewashing, and brick masonry work for private homes and public buildings. For example, in 1815, he was paid \$61.42 by the Commonwealth of Kentucky for plastering the Senate offices of the Kentucky State House. Mordecai was hired to complete some of the ornate plasterwork for the third Kentucky State Capitol (NHL, 1971, NRHP, 2009), designed by Gideon Shryock (1802-1880), Kentucky's first professional architect, and constructed from 1827 to 1830. At the Greek Revival-style capitol,

Mordecai and other plasterers most likely adapted the plasterwork motifs from *The Builders' Assistant*, published in 1818 in Philadelphia by John Haviland (Figure 7-8). In 1833, Mordecai assisted in construction of the Stedmantown Mill Dam on Elkhorn Creek northeast of Green Hill. In the 1830s, he also completed plasterwork at Liberty Hall and the adjoining Orlando Brown House (Figure 6-59), also designed by Gideon Shryock.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 7-8. Ornamental Plasterwork, “Old” Kentucky State Capitol  
Source: Sharon Cox, 2021

In 1830, Mordecai was an enslaver of four Black people and there were eight free persons of color in his household. Historian Sharon Cox believes that Mordecai created a path to the freedom of fellow Black men and women. By 1833, Mordecai had saved enough money to purchase the freedom of his wife Patsey (1806-1840) and five children from their enslaver Mildred Todd Tunstall. Later, his son, Samuel Mordecai (1822-1901), became one of the wealthiest African Americans at St. Louis, Missouri. In 1839, Harry Mordecai and George Harlan, the first pastor of the St. John AME Church, were deeded in trust the land occupied by church. In 1842, Mordecai married his second wife, Rachel Lewis (b.1807). In 1850, Mordecai was the enslaver of five Black men. His son Charles Henry Mordecai (1827-1904), who also went by Harry, was a well-known plasterer at Frankfort. And his grandson Rushell Mordecai (1877-1923) worked as a plasterer as well.<sup>44</sup>

The Mordecai family lived in South Frankfort before moving to a two-story frame house at 414 Washington Street in North Frankfort, where the next several generations of the Mordecai family also lived. (This house was demolished in the 1920s for a commercial business.) Mordecai also owned property on Clinton Street and Third Street in South Frankfort. He died on January 3, 1853, in Frankfort. His burial place is unknown.<sup>45</sup>

### **William Curtis Livingston, Jr., Architect**

William Curtis Livingston, Jr. (1915-1997) was an architect in Frankfort who designed several Modernist civic landmarks as well as two academic buildings at KSU. In 1945, he partnered with **Clarence Julian Oberwarth** in the Oberwarth & Livingston firm with studios located at 323 Shelby Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort. A native of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Livingston earned a Bachelor of Architecture in 1938 and a Master of Architecture in 1939 from the Carnegie Institute of Technology, later renamed Carnegie Mellon University. In 1938, the AIA presented him with the Henry Adams Award. After graduation, he was a draftsman-designer for Prack & Prack at Pittsburgh. From 1939 to 1942, he worked for Frampton & Bowers in Huntington, West Virginia; George Foxworth in Burlington, North Carolina; and W.G. Eckles of New Castle, Pennsylvania; and C. Julian Oberwarth at Frankfort. After returning from service during World War II, he became a partner in Oberwarth & Livingston at Frankfort. Livingston was licensed to practice architecture in Kentucky in 1941.<sup>46</sup>

Along with C. Julian Oberwarth, Livingston designed several Modernist landmarks in Frankfort, including the First Church of Christ Scientist (1952), Frankfort Elementary School Addition (1954), Crutcher House (1954), F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium (1955-1956), Crestwood Baptist Church (1957), Frankfort Municipal Building (1958), King's Daughters Hospital Addition (1959-1960), and the Floral Clock Monument (1961) at the Kentucky State Capitol Annex (1950). He also assisted with restoration of the Kentucky State Capitol from 1952 to 1955. At KSU, Livingston assisted Oberwarth in the design of the Carver Hall Science Building (1952-1953) (Figure 6-92); Rosenwald Laboratory School (1953-1954) (Figure 6-93); and the Paul G. Blazer Library (1958-1961) (Figure 6-94), all Modernist landmarks. In Frankfort, Livingston was instrumental in establishing the Architectural Design Review Board.<sup>47</sup>

In 1941, Livingston married Genevieve Posey Montgomery (1916-1993) of Frankfort and raised two children. By 1954, they lived in a Modernist-style Ranch house at 121 Tanglewood Drive. Livingston is buried in the Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>48</sup>

### **Leo L. Oberwarth, Architect**

Leo L. Oberwarth (1873-1939) was a prominent local architect who designed several African American landmarks in Frankfort. A native of Fordham, New York, Oberwarth relocated to Frankfort with his family in 1889. He studied architecture in Germany and initially worked for firms in New York City, including S.P. Saxe and Palliser, Palliser & Company from 1891 to 1893. Founded in Bridgeport, Connecticut, by George Palliser (1849-1903) in 1873, Palliser, Palliser & Company was known for publishing nearly 20 architectural pattern books from 1876 to 1908. Palliser designs were built throughout the U.S. and Canada. The firm specialized in residences in Queen Anne, Eastlake, and Shingle styles.<sup>49</sup>

In 1894, Oberwarth opened his own architectural studio in Frankfort; he was joined by W.J. Wade in Oberwarth & Wade for a short time after 1895. In 1916, he was elected to the Kentucky Chapter of the AIA. In 1923, Oberwarth was granted a U.S. Patent on a collapsible drawing board. During his long professional career, Oberwarth operated a large and successful practice. Some of his important local commissions include Church of the Ascension Chapel (1899), Southern Presbyterian Church (1900), King's Daughters Hospital (1904), Franklin County Courthouse Addition (1909), YMCA (1910-1911), Elks Club, and First Christian Church, as well as buildings at Kentucky Institute for the Feeble Minded, George T. Stagg Distillery, Buffalo Trace Distillery, and Stewart Home Training School. From 1921 to 1923, Oberwarth partnered with noted architect Frank L. Packard (1860-1923) of Columbus, Ohio, in the design of the \$350,000 Capitol Hotel, an extravagant Colonial Revival-style hotel featured in a special issue of *Architectural Forum* on luxury hotels in North America.<sup>50</sup>

Oberwarth's commissions for African American buildings in Frankfort include the First Baptist Church (1907-1908), and Mayo-Underwood Rosenwald School (1928-1929) (Figure 6-44), as well as several buildings at KSU, including the President's House (1918) (Figure 6-41), Russell

Memorial Hall Men's Dormitory (1920) (Figure 7-9), Atwood Hall Men's Dormitory (1933-1934) (Figure 6-56), James A. Jordan Heating Plant (1939-1940), and E.E. Underwood Student Union (1939-1940). The heating plant and refectory at KSU were designed in association with his son Clarence Julian Oberwarth and **Ossian P. Ward** and funded by the Public Works Administration (PWA). Oberwarth designed the First Baptist Church in 1904; however, construction was delayed until 1907 due a controversial ordinance passed by the local mayor to prohibit the Black church from being built so close to the State Capitol; after a lawsuit, the ordinance was overturned.<sup>51</sup>

In 1897, Oberwarth married Ruth Buckner Hawkins (1877-1951) of Frankfort. They raised two sons. In the 1910s, the family lived at 515 Ann Street (NRHP, 1974, 2009) in North Frankfort. By the 1920s, the family had moved to 301 West 2nd Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort. Leo L. Oberwarth died in 1939 and is buried at the Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>52</sup>

In 1924, Oberwarth's son Clarence Julian Oberwarth (1900-1983), a World War I veteran who held degrees from the University of Kentucky and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, joined the firm, which was renamed Leo L. Oberwarth & Son. The firm operated from 301 West 2nd Street. In 1965, K. Norman Berry (1933-2021) joined the firm, which he later purchased with partners Jim Burris and Milton Thompson and renamed **Oberwarth Associates**. In 1971, the firm reorganized as K. Norman Berry Associates (KNBA) and relocated to Louisville.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 7-9. Russell Memorial Hall at KSU, 1921  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society

### ***Clarence Julian Oberwarth, Architect***

Clarence Julian Oberwarth (1900-1983) was a prominent architect in Frankfort who designed several African American landmarks. He most often went by C. Julian Oberwarth. A native of Frankfort, he attended the University of Kentucky from 1919 to 1920, after serving in the U.S. Navy during World War I, and school of architecture at MIT at Cambridge from 1920-1924. In 1924, he joined the firm of his father, **Leo L. Oberwarth** (1873-1939), which was renamed Leo L. Oberwarth & Son. The firm operated from 301 West 2nd Street. In 1965, K. Norman Berry (1933-2021) joined the firm, which he later purchased with partners Jim Burris and Milton D. Thompson, Jr., and renamed **Oberwarth Associates**. In 1971, the firm reorganized as K. Norman Berry Associates (KNBA) and relocated to Louisville.<sup>54</sup>

In 1935, Oberwarth married Lillian Murray Wiard (1904-1991). They raised three children at 730 Shelby Street (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort. He became a member of the AIA in 1927 and was instrumental in winning passage of the 1930 state law that required the registration of architects. In 1930, Oberwarth became the first architect in Kentucky to be registered. Under this law, anyone using the title “architect” must be sufficiently trained to protect the public safety. He also an early advocate for city planning and zoning laws, beginning in 1926. After his father died in 1939, Oberwarth operated his own firm until 1946, when he partnered with architect **William Curtis Livingston, Jr.** (1915-1997) and renamed the firm Oberwarth & Livingston. In 1942, he was elected as a Fellow in the AIA, its highest honor.<sup>55</sup>

According to city directories, in the late 1940s, Oberwarth and his family moved to 316 West 4th Street, adjacent to the Oberwarth & Livingston architectural studios at 323 Shelby Street. Both buildings are listed in the NRHP as part of the South Frankfort Historic District. After Oberwarth retired from Oberwarth & Livingston in 1965, he served as the executive director of the State Board of Examiners and Registration of Architects from 1966 to 1974. He later moved to Alabama where he died in 1983. Oberwarth is buried in the Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>56</sup>

C. Julian Oberwarth designed many civic and educational landmarks in Frankfort, including the Frankfort Elementary School (1936), Frankfort Elementary School Addition (1954), F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium (1955-1956), Crestwood Baptist Church (1957), Frankfort Municipal Building (1958), State Police Barracks and Training Center (1959), King’s Daughters Hospital Addition (1959-1960), Floral Clock Monument (1961) at the Kentucky State Capitol Annex (1950), and State National Bank (1963), as well as academic buildings on the campuses of Georgetown College, Kentucky School for the Deaf at Danville, and KSU. He was also in charge of restoration of the Kentucky State Capitol from 1952 to 1955. After 1945, these commissions were designed in conjunction with his partner **William C. Livingston, Jr.**, and most were Modernist designs. Oberwarth coauthored *The History of the Profession of Architecture in Kentucky*, published posthumously in 1987.<sup>57</sup> African American landmarks at Frankfort that Oberwarth designed include Mildred Chandler Hall (1938-1939), a \$100,000 women’s dormitory at KSU (Figure 7-10). Oberwarth & Livingston designed the Rosenwald Laboratory School (1953-1954) (Figure 6-93) and the Paul G. Blazer Library (1958-1961) (Figure 6-94), both Modernist academic buildings at KSU. The two KSU commissions totaled \$300,000. In 1965, he completed the 20-year KSU master plan, which called for the campus to expand to the south side of East Main Street. See Chapter 6 for more information on these buildings and the KSU master plan.<sup>58</sup>

### ***Oberwarth Associates, Architects***

Oberwarth Associates was an architectural studio founded in Frankfort in 1965 by architect Kenneth Norman Berry. The firm evolved from Oberwarth & Livingston, established in 1946 by **Clarence Julian Oberwarth** (1900-1983) and **William Curtis Livingston, Jr.** (1915-1997). Upon the retirement in 1965 of Oberwarth, Berry purchased the firm. Other partners in the Oberwarth Associates firm included Jim Burris and Milton Thompson. In 1971, the partners reorganized as Berry, Burris & Thompson and relocated to Louisville; however, Burris and Thompson left the firm to establish their own practice in Frankfort. The firm was later renamed K. Norman Berry Associates.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 7-10. Mildred Chandler Hall, circa 1970  
Source: KSU *Thorobred*, 1971

A native of Corbin, Kentucky, Kenneth Norman Berry (1933-2021) attended the University of Kentucky where he earned a Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineer in 1955 and a Bachelor of Architecture in 1965. Berry oversaw the design of several academic buildings at KSU, including G.P. Russell Court (1966-1967), J.S. Hathaway Hall (1967-1968), Paul G. Blazer Library Addition (1969), and the Carver Hall Annex (1968-1969). See Chapter 6 for more information.<sup>60</sup>

A native of Williamson, Kentucky, James Earl “Jim” Burris (b.1937) earned a Bachelor of Science in Architectural Engineering in 1963 from the University of Kentucky. Upon graduation, he moved to Frankfort to work with Oberwarth & Livingston. In 1966, Burris designed a Modernist cantilevered hillside home at 117 Crescent Avenue overlooking the Kentucky State Capitol for his family. He married Mary Carol Glunt in 1960 (1938-2006).<sup>61</sup>

A native of Owensboro, Kentucky, Milton Doak Thompson, Jr. (b.1938) earned a Bachelor of Science in Engineering at the University of Kentucky and a Bachelor of Architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1961. At MIT, Thompson was exposed to cutting-

edge Modernist and Brutalist landmarks designed by renowned architects such as Eero Saarinen, Alvar Aalto, I.M. Pei, and Professor Eduardo F. Catalano. Soon after graduation from MIT, he moved to Frankfort to work with architect C. Julian Oberwarth. When the firm relocated to Louisville in 1971, Thompson remained in Frankfort with his wife, Anne Armstrong Thompson, who had worked for the CIA in Washington, D.C., prior to their marriage. While living in Frankfort, she published popular suspense novels. In the 1970s, Milton Thompson chaired the Kentucky Heritage Commission.<sup>62</sup>

While operating in Frankfort from 1965 to 1971, Oberwarth Associates designed Modernist landmarks with cutting edge architectural design, including several associated with the city’s African American history. In 1965, the firm designed the First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church at 214 Murray Street in South Frankfort to replace the 1887 church on 324 Mero Street (Figure 6-46) that was demolished as part of the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. Completed in two phases from 1966 to 1975, the Modernist sanctuary and educational wing (Figures 6-107 and 6-108) is an anchor in the historic African American neighborhood.<sup>63</sup>

In 1966, the firm designed Riverview Terrace, a 30-unit public housing project for African American residents, on Wilkinson Street in North Frankfort as part of the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project. In 1967, the International-style complex won an Honorable Mention award from the Kentucky Society of Architects.<sup>64</sup>

In 1967, Milton Thompson of Oberwarth Associates designed J.S. Hathaway Hall, a Brutalist-style academic building overlooking East Main Street on the KSU campus. Costing \$1.8 million, the Modernist landmark won an award in 1967 from the Kentucky Society of Architects. In 1968, the firm won an AIA national award, the first in Kentucky's history, for the design of J.S. Hathaway Hall. Named for the university's third president, James S. Hathaway, the building is considered one of the best examples of Brutalist architecture in Kentucky (Figures 6-102 and 6-103).<sup>65</sup>

Completed from 1966 to 1967, the G.P. Russell Court at KSU was a 20-unit faculty-staff apartment building costing \$445,000. The Brutalist-style, four-story building (Figures 6-99 and 6-100) was named in 1971 for Green P. Russell, KSU's fourth president (*Dawson Springs Progress*, 1966: 8). In 1967, the firm also designed a three-story Brutalist-style annex to the Carver Hall science building at KSU and a three-story, Brutalist-style addition to the Paul G. Blazer Library (Figure 6-101).<sup>66</sup>

In 1970, the firm designed the Modernist Shauntee Hall, a \$1 million industrial arts building at KSU, which won a design award from the Kentucky Society of Architects in 1971.<sup>67</sup>

### **William Sidney Pittman, Architect**

William Sidney Pittman (1875-1958) was a prominent African American architect who designed two buildings at KSU in 1908. A native of Montgomery, Alabama, Pittman attended Tuskegee Institute, where he completed programs in architectural and mechanical drawing in 1897, and Drexel Institute, an all-white college in Philadelphia, where he completed the five-year program in architecture and mechanical drawing in three years. After graduating from Drexel Institute in 1900, Pittman returned to teach architectural drawing at Tuskegee Institute until 1905. He designed several buildings at Tuskegee Institute before relocating to Washington, D.C., to operate his own architectural practice. In 1907, he married Portia M. Washington, daughter of Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee.<sup>68</sup>

Some of Pittman's important commissions include the Negro Building at the Tercentennial Exposition at Jamestown, Virginia (1906-1907); the all-Black Fairmount Heights subdivision in the Washington, D.C., suburbs of Maryland (1907-1911), where he lived in a house of his own design; and the Twelfth Street YMCA for Blacks in Washington, DC (1907). In 1912, he moved to Dallas, Texas, where he designed important African American landmarks throughout Texas such as the Colored Carnegie Library at Houston (1913); Pythian Temple (1915) and St. James AME Church (1918) at Dallas; Allen Chapel AME Church (1912) at Fort Worth; Joshua Chapel AME Church (1917) at Waxahachie; and the Grand United Order of Oddfellows Negro Lodge (1924) and Wesley Chapel AME Church (1926) at Houston. He ceased practicing architecture in 1928. Around 1908, he also designed the Carnegie Library at Alabama State University in Montgomery, Alabama, as well as the White Rock Baptist Church and National Religious Training School in Durham, North Carolina.<sup>69</sup>

In 1908, Pittman was commissioned the design of Hume Hall at KSU in Frankfort. Constructed of roughhewn limestone and completed in 1910, the two-and-half-story Collegiate Gothic-style administration building originally housed the library, auditorium and chapel (Figure 7-11). In 1908, Pittman also designed the limestone trade school building at KSU, which was later renamed Hathaway Hall and demolished in 1967. Costing nearly \$30,000, both buildings were built with assistance from KSU students under the direction of **Thomas L. Brooks** (1862-1923), a Black contractor in Frankfort. Hume Hall was listed in the NRHP in 1983.<sup>70</sup>

### Ossian P. Ward, Architect

Ossian Peay Ward (1875-1966) was an architect and engineer who assisted **Leo L. Oberwarth** and his son **Clarence Julian Oberwarth** in the design of two buildings at KSU. A native of Louisville, Ward earned a bachelor's degree in engineering from Cornell University in 1896 and a master's in engineering from Cornell University in 1897. From 1901 to 1905, he worked in Chicago for





Figure 7-11. Hume Hall (r) at KSU, circa 1912  
Source: *KSU Yearbook*, 1913

various firms, including Daniel H. Burnham (1846-1912), a nationally prominent architect best known for designing early skyscrapers. Ward then worked as an independent structural engineer until he established his own firm in 1913 in Louisville. Ward became a member of the AIA in 1921 and was elected a Fellow of the AIA (FAIA) in 1956. He was the first president of the Kentucky State Board of Examiners from 1930 to 1941. Ward retired in 1961.<sup>71</sup>

Ward designed commercial buildings, residences, public housing projects, libraries and academic buildings, including several at the University of Louisville. He also designed several buildings for the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Company and a lodge at the General Butler State Park.<sup>72</sup>

Funded by the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1939, the two buildings that Ward assisted in designing at KSU were the E.E. Underwood Student Union and the James A. Jordan Heating Plant, both completed in 1940.<sup>73</sup>

### ***Anthony Williams, Builder***

Anthony Williams (1835-1900) was an African American carpenter in Frankfort in the late 19th century. A native of Kentucky, Williams fought during the Civil War as a soldier in the U.S. Colored Troops infantry. He had most likely been enslaved. An 1859 slave certificate documented an Anthony Williams born in 1835 in Fayette County, Kentucky, being sold in Natchez in Adams County, Mississippi. After being freed, he worked in Frankfort as a carpenter. In 1880, he was appointed a trustee of the Colored Grade School, a forerunner of the Clinton Street School. In 1886, he was chosen as a representative of the Black residents in South Frankfort to oversee

construction of a macadam road leading to the new State Normal College for Colored Persons, now KSU.<sup>74</sup>

By 1870, Williams had moved to South Frankfort with his wife Mary (b.1839) and three children, as well as Fortune Williams (b.1815), who was most likely his mother. In 1880, he lived on Steele Street with Mary and two children, Martha Eleanor “Nellie” (1873-1949) and John (b.1876). In 1892, a fire destroyed two frame cottages in the “colored settlement on Elm Street,” including a rental house owned by Anthony Williams. By 1900, he was a widower living with his daughter Martha, a schoolteacher, at 226 East 3rd Street in a two-story side hall house (NRHP, 1983, 2008) in South Frankfort. After Anthony Williams died in August 1900, his daughter Martha inherited the house where she continued to live. Anthony Williams is buried in the Frankfort Cemetery.<sup>75</sup>  
Monroe Quarrier Wilson, Architect

Monroe Quarrier Wilson (1848-1907) was an architect in Louisville, Kentucky. A native of Logan County, Kentucky, Wilson attended architecture school in Boston, undoubtedly MIT, which was founded in 1865 as the first architecture school in the U.S. By 1870, he had established a practice in Louisville and specialized in the design of civic buildings, such as schools and firehalls as well as hotels, factories and dwellings. In 1874, Wilson designed the Renaissance Revival-style Oldham County Courthouse in La Grange, Kentucky. The courthouse is listed in the NRHP.<sup>76</sup>

In 1884, Wilson designed the Clinton Street School (Figure 6-22) for African Americans in Frankfort. Constructed by local contractor **Michael Buckley**, an Irish Catholic immigrant, and costing \$9,500, the three-story brick school featured four rooms per floor and a stone basement. Completed in 1884, the segregated school for African Americans operated until 1928 and was demolished by the mid-1940s. In 1886, Wilson also designed the three-story public school for white students on East 2nd Street in South Frankfort. Costing \$22,500 and completed in 1887, the 16-room school featured a cupola and an exhibition hall. It was replaced in 1936.<sup>77</sup>

## Endnotes

- 1 "Thomas L. Brooks," *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, Clement Richardson, editor, Montgomery, Alabama: National Publishing Company, 1919: 160; "Thomas L. Brooks," Kate Jacques, Find A Grave Memorial; Ancestry.com. *Kentucky, U.S., Death Records, 1852-1965*, 2007; City Directories, Frankfort, 1910-1921; U.S. Census, Population, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930.
- 2 "Brooks," Richardson, 1919: 160; Russ Hatter, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal Communication, 2022; "Central Frankfort Historic District," David Taylor, Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2009: 15, 21; *A Walking Tour of Historic Frankfort*, Russ Hatter. Frankfort: Self-published, 2002: 12-15.
- 3 "Brooks," Richardson, 1919: 160; Hatter, 2022; "Kentucky Pick-Ups," *The Citizen* [Berea, Kentucky], July 8, 1909: 7; "Local News Notes." *Frankfort Roundabout*, March 14, 1908: 5.
- 4 Hatter, 2022; U.S. Census, Population, 1880, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940; *Kentucky, U.S., Death Records, 1852-1965* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007; *Kentucky, U.S., Marriage Records, 1852-1914* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007; "James C. Brown," Karen V., Find A Grave Memorial, 2011
- 5 U.S. Census, Population, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900; "Frankfort: Nowhere in the Grand Old Commonwealth of Kentucky is the Irish Race More Ably Represented in All Walks of Life than at the Capital of the State." *Kentucky Irish American* [Louisville, Kentucky], June 1901: 29
- 6 Hatter, 2022; "Feeble-Minded Institute: The New Building That Will Rise on the Site of the One Burned," *The Courier-Journal*, October 18, 1889: 5
- 7 "Negro Baptists at Frankfort Allowed Time to Apply for an Injunction." *Owensboro Messenger* [Owensboro, Kentucky], September 21, 1901: 7; "A Nuisance at Frankfort: Negro Church Board Proceeds to Build in Spite of Protest." *Owensboro Messenger* [Owensboro, Kentucky], September 19, 1901: 1; "May Ask Injunction," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, September 21, 1901: 6; Hatter, 2022
- 8 "Negro Baptists," *Owensboro Messenger*, September 21, 1901: 1, 7; Called to a Halt: Negro Baptist and Contractor To Rarrested [sic] In Frankfort; Started to Build a Church Directly Opposite the Executive Mansion Without Authority from City Council," *Courier-Journal*, September 19, 1901: 5; "Injunction," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, September 21, 1901: 6; Hatter, 2022
- 9 "The Negro Church: It Can Not Be Built Just Opposite the State Executive Mansion at Frankfort, Ky." *Hickman Courier* [Hickman, Kentucky], October 4, 1901: 6; "Negro Church Sues for Damages," *Lexington Herald*, October 29, 1901: 6
- 10 Hatter, 2022.
- 11 *American Architects Directory*, George S. Koyl, ed. New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1955: 80; *American Architects Directory*. New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1962: 101; "Obituary, Lawrence Dow Cammack." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, December 22, 1989: 30
- 12 *American Architects Directory*, John F. Gane, ed. New York: R.R. Bowker, Co., 1970: 164, 344-345, 728, 1061; "Obituary: Architect, Leader William Coblin, Sr." *Lexington Herald*, April 16, 2002: 16; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 125, 262
- 13 *Architects*, Gane, 1970: 164, 344-345, 728; "Coblin," *Lexington Herald*, April 16, 2002: 16; *Architects*, Koyl, 1955, 100; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 125
- 14 Low Bid on KSC Infirmary Is \$389,900." *Advocate-Messenger*, June 3, 1970: 9; "Groundbreaking Held at KSC." *Lexington Leader*, July 23, 1970: 7
- 15 "Moses A. Davis," Clement Richardson, ed., published in *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*. Montgomery, Alabama: National Publishing Company, 1919: 152; U.S. Census, Population, 1870, 1880; *Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015; "Athens," Thomas France Taliaferro, *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified July 27, 2017. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/athens/>
- 16 "Davids," Richardson, 1919: 152; "Robert Robinson Taylor," Ellen Weiss, *The Encyclopedia of Alabama*, last modified March 25, 2019. <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3252>
- 17 "Davis," Richardson 1919: 152
- 18 "Normal School," *Daily Leader* [Lexington, Kentucky], January 1, 1899: 13; Kentucky Department of Education. *Bulletin*, Volume 7, Issue 4, 1914: 288; "Changes at the Colored Normal," *Frankfort Roundabout*, June 13, 1891: 15; "Davis," Richardson, 1919: 152
- 19 "Davis," Richardson, 1919: 152; *Robert R. Taylor and Tuskegee: An African American Architect Designs for Booker T. Washington*, Ellen Weiss. Montgomery, Alabama: New South Books, 2012: 34-42

20 "Davis," Richardson, 1919: 152; U.S. Census, Population, 1900

21 "Davis," Richardson, 1919: 152; U.S. Census, Population, 1910

22 "Moses A. Davis," Diana M. Cole, Find a Grave Memorial 66671028, 2011. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/66671028/moses-a.-davis>; U.S. Census, Population, 1930, 1940; *Michigan Death Records*, 2016; "One of Local Negro 'Y' Founders Dies," *Evansville Press* [Evansville, Indiana], March 27, 1941: 8

23 "Leon Kaufman Frankel," Prabook, *World Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2021, accessed April 15, 022. <https://prabook.com/web/leon.frankel/1345997>; "Frankel and Curtis architectural records, 1897-1974," University of Kentucky Libraries, accessed January 23, 2022. <https://exploreuk.uky.edu/fa/findingaid/?id=xt7pk06x0q3x>

24 "Death Claims L.K. Frankel in Cincinnati." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, November 28, 1949: 1, 8; "Leon Kaufman Frankel," Prabook, 2021; "Frankel and Curtis Architectural Records," University of Kentucky Libraries, 2022; "Frankel and Curtis," AIA *Questionnaire for Architects' Roster and/or Register of Architects Qualified for Federal Public Works*, 1946. [https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/FrankelCurtis\\_roster.pdf](https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/FrankelCurtis_roster.pdf)

25 "Leon Kaufman Frankel," Prabook, 2021; "Death," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, August 19, 1949: 1, 8; "Frankel and Curtis Architectural Records," University of Kentucky Libraries, 2022; "Frankel and Curtis" AIA Questionnaire, 1946

26 "Suit Filed to Test Sinking Fund Right to Rebuild Dormitory. *Lexington Leader*, January 5, 1927: 10; "Two Bills Signed: Sampson Ratifies Measure to Rebuild Dormitory." *Lexington-Herald*, February 25, 1928: 5; "Rouse, Board, Pope on Building Group to Supervise Construction of Negro Dormitory for State Institution." *Courier Journal*, May 26, 1928: 2

27 "Old Rock Fences Make New Ones on U.S. 60," Mildred Landau and Joseph Landau, *Courier-Journal*, February 23, 1941: 66; "Oral History Interview with Clara E. Hogan," Winona Fletcher, Kentucky Historical Society, May 2, 1996, accessed February 14, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/816/>; *Rock Fences of the Bluegrass*, Carolyn Murray-Wooley and Karl Raitz. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992: 42, 62, 95-97, 155, 207; "Good Guys: Many stone fences and houses are the Bluegrass handiwork of five generations of Guys," Sue McClelland Thierman, *Courier-Journal*, November 22, 1959: 46-49: 161, 163-164; Elizabeth McGraph, Interview with Robbie D. Jones and Carolyn Brackett. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, March 1, 2022

28 "Old Rock Fences," Landau and Landau, 1941: 66; *Rock Fences*, Murray-Wooley and Raitz, 1992: 95-97

29 U.S. Census, Population, 1850-1940; "Old Rock Fences," Landau and Landau, 1941: 66; *Kentucky Death Records*, 2007

30 U.S. Census, Population, 1900-1940; "Old Rock Fences," Landau and Landau, 1941: 66; *Rock Fences*, Murray-Wooley and Raitz, 1992: 96-97, 201

31 "Hogan," Fletcher, 1996; "Richmond Colored Notes." *Lexington Herald*, November 20, 1927: 9; "Longtime stone-fence builder Frank E. Guy Sr., 77, dies." *Lexington Herald-Leader*, July 17, 1987: 12; "Good Guys," Thierman, 1959: 46-49

32 Architects, Gane, 1970: 429, 1061

33 "G. Scott & Associates Architects, Inc." GSA Website, accessed January 30, 2022, <http://www.gscottarch.com/contact.asp>

34 "Lake Barkley Lodge," [Cadiz, Kentucky], Daniel Vivan, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed April 3, 2022. <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-221-0043>; "Human Resources Building, Frankfort, Kentucky." Emporis.com, accessed January 30, 2022. <https://www.emporis.com/buildings/1493064/human-resources-building-frankfort-ky-usa>; "Capital Plaza Office Tower, Frankfort, Kentucky." Emporis.com, accessed January 30, 2022. <https://www.emporis.com/buildings/128347/capital-plaza-office-tower-frankfort-ky-usa>

35 "8 architectural projects receive 'excellence' awards." *Courier-Journal*, October 21, 1972: 9, 69

36 Community Memories, Fletcher, 2003: 68; U.S. Census, Population, 1900-1950; . U.S., *World War II Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011; U.S., *Find a Grave Index*, 2012

37 "Notice to Contractors." *Courier-Journal*, May 3, 1887: 3; "Jackson Hall," Carl H. Hill, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1973; "To Builders and Contractors," *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 16, 1885: 2; "Feeble-Minded Institute: The New Building That Will Rise on the Site of the One Burned," *The Courier-Journal*, October 18, 1889: 5

38 "Library Adds Rare Architecture Book to Collection," Jonathan Jeffrey, Blog, Western Kentucky University, September 27, 2016. <https://library.blog.wku.edu/tag/kenneth-mcdonald/>; *History of Franklin County*, Johnson, 1912: 1479-1480; *The Historic Architecture of Sevier County, Tennessee*, Robbie D. Jones. Sevierville, TN: Smoky Mountain Historical Society, 1997: 58-61; *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 599.

- 39        ibid
- 40        U.S. Census, Population, 1880-1930; *Community Memories*, Fletcher, 2003: 68; *Kentucky Death Records*, 2007
- 41        “Old Capitol [Frankfort, Kentucky],” Christina Carbone, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed March 11, 2022. <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0062>; “Harry Mordecai: Ancestor and Artisan,” Jacqueline Ridley, *Kentucky Historical Society*, 2022, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://history.ky.gov/news/harry-mordecai-ancestor-and-artisan>; “Harry Mordecai,” Reinette Jones, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, 2018, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/3164>; “Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort, Kentucky,” Sharon Cox, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Volume 41, 2020, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://www.mesdajournal.org/2020/harry-mordecai-plasterer-and-bricklayer-of-frankfort-kentucky/>; “Uncovering the story of Harry Mordecai, Bricklayer and Plasterer at Liberty Hall Historic Site,” Sharon Cox, Liberty Hall Historic Site, August 26, 2020, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://www.libertyhall.org/blog/76-uncovering-the-story-of-harry-mordecai-bricklayer-and-plasterer-at-liberty-hall-historic-site>; *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, The Nation of Islam, Vol. 1. Boston: Latimer Associates, 1991, republished, AAARGH Publishing House, Internet, 2006: 142; *Jews and the Civil War: A Reader*, Jonathan D. Sarna and Adam Mendelsohn, eds. New York: New York University Press, 2010: 104; *Architecture of the Old South: Kentucky & Tennessee*, Mills Lane. Savannah, Georgia: Beehive Press, 1993: 51-56
- 42        ibid
- 43        “Mordecai,” Ridley, 2022; “Mordecai,” Jones, 2018; “Mordecai,” Cox, 2020, “Uncovering,” 2020; *Old South*, Lane, 1993: 107-112.
- 44        “Mordecai,” Ridley, 2022; “Samuel Mordecai,” Reinette Jones, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, 2017, accessed March 5, 2022. <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/3163>; “Mordecai,” Jones, 2018; Johnson, 1912: 263; “Mordecai,” Cox, 2020; “Uncovering,” Cox, 2020; U.S. Census, Population, 1820-1900; “Well Known Colored Man Dies.” *Frankfort Roundabout*, October 8, 1904: 4
- 45        “Mordecai,” Ridley, 2022; U.S. Census, Population, 1820-1930
- 46        *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 337; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 426; “William Curtis Livingston, Jr. Obituary.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 10, 1997: 30; “Oberwarth and Livingston,” *AIA Questionnaire for Architects’ Roster and/or Register of Architects Qualified for Federal Public Works*, 1946. [https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/OberwarthLivingston\\_roster.pdf](https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/OberwarthLivingston_roster.pdf)
- 47        *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 337; *Architects* Koyl, 1962: 427; “New Gym Being Constructed at Frankfort.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, May 9, 1955: 3; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 9, 1997: 18, 30.
- 48        Koyl, 1955: 337; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, August 19, 1941: 12; “Architect William Livingston Dies.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 9, 1997: 18; William Curtis Livingston, Jr. Obituary.” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, April 10, 1997: 30
- 49        “Leo L. Oberwarth,” Prabook, 2022; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009; “Leo L. Oberwarth,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1939
- 50        “A Firm of Architects,” *Frankfort Roundabout*, January 26, 1895: 1; “Leo L. Oberwarth,” Prabook, 2022; “History,” K. Norman Berry Associates (KNBA) Website, accessed January 21, 2022. <https://knbarch.com/history/>; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009; “New Capitol Hotel, Frankfort, Kentucky.” *Architectural Forum*, November 1923: 109-110. <https://usmodernist.org/AF/AF-1923-11.pdf>
- 51        “Notice to Contractors,” Leo Oberwarth, *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 9, 1920: 9; *Frankfort Roundabout*, November 22, 1933: 15; “Ear to the Ground: Making the rounds with the architects, builders and brokers,” Ledford H. Day, *Frankfort Roundabout*, April 16, 1939: 55; *Western Architect and Builder*, “Kentucky Building Notes,” Volume 21, 1904: 9
- 52        U.S. Census, Population, 1900, 1910, 1930; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009
- 53        “History,” KNBA, 2022; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 520
- 54        “History,” KNBA, 2022; “Central Frankfort Historic District,” Taylor, 2009; *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 409; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 520; “Oberwarth & Livingston” AIA Questionnaire, 1946
- 55        U.S. Census, Population, 1940; “Noted Kentucky architect dies,” *Courier-Journal*, May 6, 1983: 9; *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 688; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 427; “Oberwarth & Livingston,” AIA Questionnaire, 1946
- 56        U.S. Census, Population, 1940; “Architect dies,” *Courier-Journal*, May 6, 1983: 9; *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 688

- 57 *Architects*, Gane, 1970: 674-675; *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 688; *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 409; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 427, 520; "New Gym," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, May 9, 1955:3
- 58 *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 409; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962, 427, 520; "Oberwarth & Livingston," AIA Questionnaire, 1946; Trustees at KSC Approve 20-Year Expansion Plan." *Courier-Journal*, March 24, 1965: 22; "KSC Regents Approve Plans for Larger, Modern Campus," Sy Ramsey, *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], March 25, 1965: 11
- 59 *Architects*, Gane, 1970: 68; "History," KNBA, 2022; *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, Kleber, 1992: 486-487
- 60 *Architects*, Gane, 1970: 68
- 61 "Architect's Home Has View of State Capitol," Bettye Lee Mastin, *Lexington Herald-Leader*, March 23, 1969: 58
- 62 "Armstrong-Thompson Wedding in Lexington." *Messenger-Inquirer* [Owensboro, Kentucky], December 27, 1964: 24; "Novels of romantic suspense based on working experience." *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), September 28, 1975: 58
- 63 "Frankfort Church Planned." *Lexington Herald*, July 27, 1965: 11
- 64 "Best Kentucky Architecture." *Courier-Journal*, December 10, 1967: 97
- 65 "History," KNBA, 2022; "Kentucky State College Building Wins the Commonwealth's First AIA Award." *The Courier-Journal*, May 26, 1968: 87-80; "Young Architects Win AIA Award for State Building," *Franklin Favorite* [Frankfort, Kentucky], June 6, 1968: 18; "An Honor for Kentucky." *Lexington Herald*, May 31, 1968: 4
- 66 "KSC Regents Slate Construction." *Lexington Leader*, February 25, 1966: 2
- 67 "Eight Kentucky Projects Receive Awards for Architectural Excellence." *The Lexington-Herald*, November 14, 1971: 20
- 68 "William Sidney Pittman (1875-1958)," Everett L. Fly and Carol Roark, *Handbook of Texas*. Texas State Historical Association, last modified January 7, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pittman-william-sidney>
- 69 "Pittman," Fly and Roark, 2021
- 70 Hume Hall, [Frankfort, Kentucky], Christian Carbone, SAH *Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012, accessed January 18, 2022, <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0047>; "Hume Hall," Robert Polsgrove, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1983; "Pittman, William Sidney," University of Kentucky Libraries, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed January 19, 2022. <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/1536>; "Work at Negro Normal," *Courier-Journal*, April 20, 1909: 5; Try to Raise \$100,000," *Paducah-Sun*, August 25, 1909: 2; "Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute," Horace D. Slatter, *Nashville Banner* [Nashville, Tennessee], November 2, 1909: 8; "Claims Humiliation." *The Citizen* [Berea, Kentucky], March 25, 1909: 7; U.S. Census, Population, 1900, 1910, 1920
- 71 "Ossian P. Ward," AIA Questionnaire, 1946; *Architects*, Koyl, 1955: 585; *Architects*, Koyl, 1962: 738; "Ossian Ward, Architect, Dies at 90." *Courier-Journal*, February 3, 1966: 47
- 72 "Ossian P. Ward," AIA Questionnaire, 1946; "Ossian Ward, Architect, Dies at 90." *Courier-Journal*, February 3, 1966: 47
- 73 "Ear to the Ground," Day, April 16, 1939: 55
- 74 Legislative News," *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 15, 1880: 1; "Among the Colored Citizens," *Frankfort Roundabout*, December 26, 1886: 1; U.S., *Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007; *Adams County, Mississippi, U.S., Slave Certificates, 1858-1861* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010
- 75 *Frankfort Roundabout*, 1892: 4; U.S. Census, Population, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; "Anthony Williams: Find A Grave Memorial 60325255," Tina Toles Wingate, Find A Grave, Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, Kentucky, 2010; accessed February 7, 2022. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/60325255/anthony-williams>
- 76 "Monroe Q. Wilson Dies of Pleurisy: Was Well-Known Architect of Louisville, Built Many of the Modern Schoolhouses," *Courier-Journal*, March 4, 1907: 3; U.S. Census, Population, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900
- 77 Hatter, 2022; "Notice to Contractors," *Frankfort Roundabout*, June 21, 1884: 2; "Notes," *Frankfort Roundabout*, May 8, 1886: 2; Jennie C. Morton. "Second Street, South Frankfort: Chapter First, May 1899," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 11, No. 33 (September 1913): 32

# SECTION IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PUBLICATIONS

- A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*, Gerald L. Smith, University Press of Kentucky, 1994
- A Brief History of the Colored Churches of Frankfort, Kentucky*, Edward Ellsworth Underwood, Frankfort, Kentucky, 1906.
- A Corner in Celebrities*, Alice Elizabeth Trabue, George G. Fetter Compass, Louisville, 1923.
- A History of Baptists in Kentucky*, Frank M. Masters, Kentucky Historical Society, Louisville, 1953
- A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, Marion B. Lucas, Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003.
- A History of the First Presbyterian Church, Frankfort, Kentucky, Together with the Churches in Franklin County in Connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, W. H. Averill, Clerk of the Session of the First Presbyterian Church, Monfort and Co. Print, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1902
- A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians: The Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities*, E. Polk John, Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, Vol. 3, 1912.
- A map of the State of Kentucky: from actual survey; also part of Indiana and Illinois*, Luke Munsell and Hugh Anderson, Frankfort, Publisher not identified, 1818. On file at the Library of Congress.
- A New History of Kentucky*, Lowell Hayes Harrison, University Press of Kentucky, 1997
- "A Proclamation," President Abraham Lincoln and William Seward, Secretary of State, January 1, 1863
- "A Report on the History and Mode of Management of the Kentucky Penitentiary from its Origin, in 1798, to March 1, 1860," William C. Sneed, Frankfort, State of Kentucky, 1860.
- "A Strange Conclusion to a Triumphant War: Memory Identity and the Creation of a Confederate Kentucky," Anne Elizabeth Marshall, dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Georgia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree: Doctor of Philosophy, Athens, Georgia, 2004
- A Walking Tour of Historic Frankfort*, Russell Hatter, Frankfort: Self-published, 2002
- Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Volume 1*, 1867
- Aftermath: Part Second of a Kentucky Cardinal*, James Lane Allen, Macmillan Co., 1911
- American Architects Directory*, George S. Koyl, editor, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1955 and 1962
- American Architects Directory*, John F. Gane, editor, New York: R.R. Bowker, Co., 1970

- American Institute of Architects (AIA). "Frankel and Curtis," *Questionnaire for Architects' Roster and/or Register of Architects Qualified for Federal Public Works*, 1946 [https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/FrankelCurtis\\_roster.pdf](https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/FrankelCurtis_roster.pdf)
- American Institute of Architects (AIA). "Oberwarth and Livingston," *Questionnaire for Architects' Roster and/or Register of Architects Qualified for Federal Public Works*, 1946 [https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/OberwarthLivingston\\_roster.pdf](https://content.aia.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/OberwarthLivingston_roster.pdf)
- American Institute of Architects (AIA). "Ossian P. Ward," *Questionnaire for Architects' Roster and/or Register of Architects Qualified for Federal Public Works*, 1946
- An address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky: proposing a plan for the instruction and emancipation of their slaves*, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Synod of Kentucky., Young, J. Clarke, 1836, Newburyport, Kentucky
- An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Democracy*, Gunnar Myrdal, Harper & Brothers, United States of America, 1944, <http://runeberg.org/adilemma/>, accessed April 21, 2022
- An Autobiography: The Story of My Life and Work*, Booker T. Washington, J.L. Nichols & Company, Toronto, Ontario, 1901; digitized by the University of North Carolina, 1999, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/washstory/washin.html>
- Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*, Clay Lancaster, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991
- Architecture of the Old South: Kentucky & Tennessee*, Mills Lane, Beehive Press, Savannah, Georgia, 1993
- "Athens," France Taliaferro Thomas, *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified July 27, 2017, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/athens/>
- Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, B.N. Griffing, D.J. Lake & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1882, Ancestry.com. *U.S., Indexed County Land Ownership Maps, 1860-1918*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original at Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Bluegrass Craftsman: Being the Reminiscences of Ebenezer Hiram Stedman, Papermaker, 1808-1885*, edited by Frances L.S. Duger and Jacqueline P Bull, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1959
- Bird's eye view of the city of Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky 1871*, A. Ruger, Ehrgott & Krebs Lith., Cincinnati, 1871.
- Bulletin*, Kentucky Department of Education, Volume 7, Issue 4, 1914
- "Central Frankfort Historic District," David L. Taylor, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington D.C., 2009.
- "Charles W. Anderson, Jr.," *The K.N.E.A. Journal, Official Organ of the Kentucky Negro Education Association*, Louisville, February-March 1944
- Charter Ordinances and Resolutions for the Government of the City of Frankfort, Kentucky*, July 1, 1913, Mayor James H. Polsgrove
- "Chronicles of the Old Neighborhood: Franklin County-East End," Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, Vol. 6, No. 18, September 1908, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23366432>
- Civil Rights Act, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/civil-rights-act>, accessed April 27, 2022



- Claim for Relocation Payment, Urban Renewal and Development Agency, Frankfort, July 1966, on file at Capital City Museum, Frankfort
- “Colored Soldiers Monument,” Joseph E. Brent, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1997
- Community Memories: A Glimpse of African American Life in Frankfort, Kentucky*, Winona L. Fletcher, Sheila Mason Burton, James E. Wallace, Mary E. Winter, Douglas A. Boyd, 2003, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, 2003
- Crawfish Bottom: Recovering a Lost Kentucky Community*, Doug Boyd, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 2011
- “Desegregation of the Public Schools in Kentucky--The Second Year After the Supreme Court’s Decision.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, Lee A. Coleman, 1956, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2293434>, accessed April 23, 2022
- “Direct-Action Protests in The Upper South: Kentucky Chapters of the Congress Of Racial Equality,” Gerald L. Smith, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 109, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23388025>, accessed April 26, 2022
- “Ebenezer Stedman’s Mills: A Nineteenth Century Paper, Grist, and Lumber Milling Complex Near Frankfort, Kentucky,” Charles D. Hockensmith, Kentucky Heritage Council, Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology, 1998
- First Constitution of Kentucky, Article IX, 1792
- “Financing Schools for Negro Children from State School Funds in Kentucky.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 4, R B. Atwood, 1939, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2292906>, accessed April 2, 2022
- “Flight to Freedom,” Teacher’s Guide, Mission US, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 2022
- Frankfort and Its Railroad Heritage*, Charles H. Bogart, Frankfort: Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society, Volume 2, March 2010
- Frankfort: A Pictorial History*, Stuart Sprague and Elizabeth Perkins, Donning Company Publishers, Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1980
- “Frankfort Barracks District,” Louise Combs, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington D.C., 1975
- “Frankfort Commercial District,” Lee Walker and Kenneth Gibbs, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington D.C., 1979
- “Frankfort’s Forgotten Cemetery,” David A. Pollack, Gwynn Henderson and Peter E. Killoran, Kentucky Archaeology Survey Education Series 10, Kentucky Heritage Council and University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology, Lexington, 2009
- “Frankfort, Kentucky, Census of Free Blacks, 1842,” Lewis J. Bellardo Jr., *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December 1975
- Frankfort, Kentucky, City Directory, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1917, 1921, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1932, 1942, 1945, 1948, 1951, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, digitized at Ancestry.com. *U.S., City Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011

- "Frankfort: Nowhere in the Grand Old Commonwealth of Kentucky is the Irish Race More Ably Represented in All Walks of Life than at the Capital of the State," *Kentucky Irish American*, Louisville, Kentucky, June 1901
- "Frankfort's Streetcars and Interurbans: The Bluegrass Route," Charles H. Bogart, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 4, Autumn 1997
- "Frankfort Storage Building/Armory," Kate Carothers, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington, D.C., 2002
- "Franklin County: Early Settlements on the South Side of the Kentucky River," Lewis Franklin Johnson, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 6, No. 17, May 1908
- "George T. Stagg Distillery," Daniel J. Pezzoni, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington, D.C., 2001
- "Greenhill Church," Marty Perry, draft National Register of Historic Places Nomination, undated, on file at the Kentucky Heritage Council offices
- "'Heads of Family' in Franklin County: Census of 1810," A.C. Quisenberry, *Register of Kentucky Historical Society*, September 1915, Vol. 13, No. 39: 77, 79-95
- History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*, Rev. S.E. Smith, editor, National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Company, Evansville, Indiana (publication date not given)
- "Hume Hall," Robert Polsgrove, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington, D.C., 1983
- I Shared the Dream*, Georgia Davis Powers, New Horizon Press, 1995
- "Jackson Hall," Carl H. Hill, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington, D.C., 1973
- Jews and the Civil War: A Reader*, Jonathan D. Sarna and Adam Mendelsohn, editors, New York University Press, New York, 2010
- Journal of the House of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1866-1867*
- "Kentucky Building Notes," *Western Architect and Builder*, Volume 21, 1904
- Kentucky Death Records, 1852-1965
- Kentucky Encyclopedia*, John E. Kebler, editor, University Press of Kentucky, 1992
- "Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves," Edward M. Post, B.A. LL.B., Taustine, Post, Sotsky, Berman, Fineman and Kohn law firm, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3, July 1985
- Kentucky Rising: Democracy, Slavery, and Culture from the Early Republic to the Civil War*, James A. Ramage and Andrea S. Watkins, University of Kentucky Press and the Kentucky Historical Society, Lexington, 2011
- "Kentucky's Separate Coach Law and the African American Response, 1892-1900," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Summer 2000, Vol. 98, No. 3, Kentucky Historical Society

- Kentucky State Colored Educational Convention, Daniel Murray Collection, and Joseph Meredith Toner Collection, *Kentucky State Colored Educational Convention, held at Benson's Theater, Louisville, Kentucky*, 1869, <https://www.loc.gov/item/72219224/>, accessed April 2, 2022
- "Kentucky's United States Colored Troops," Kentucky National Guard, John Trowbridge, February 23, 2022
- "Letter to Albert G. Hodges," *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler, editor
- Library Service to African Americans in Kentucky, from the Reconstruction Era to the 1960s*, Reinette F. Jones, McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina, 2003
- "Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women In Kentucky Before The "Modern Civil Rights Movement." Karen Cotton McDaniel, 2013, [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history\\_etds/22](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22), accessed April 4, 2022
- "Memorial of committee appointed at a meeting of colored citizens of Frankfort, Kentucky, and vicinity, praying enactment of laws for better protection of life," U.S. Congressional Serial Set, 1871, 1-4
- Military History of Kentucky*, The Military Department of Kentucky, G. Lee McClain, Adjutant General, Federal Writers Projects of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Kentucky, *The State Journal*, printer, Frankfort, 1939
- Military map of the vicinity of Frankfort, Kentucky*, J.H. Brooks and Orlando Metcalfe Poe, 1863, On file at the Library of Congress
- "Moments in Kentucky Legislative History," Kentucky Historical Society
- "Mosaic Templars of America," Blake Wintory and Ashan R. Hampton, *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*, Little Rock, Arkansas, 2019
- "Moses A. Davis," Clement Richardson, editor, *The National Cyclopaedia of the Colored Race*, National Publishing Company, Montgomery, Alabama, 1919
- "*Negroes for Sale: The Slave Trade in Antebellum Kentucky*," Benjamin Lewis Fitzpatrick, dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History, Notre Dame, Indiana, December 2008
- "Negro Politics and the Suffrage Question in Kentucky, 1866-1872," Victor B. Howard, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 72, no. 2, 1974), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23378302>, accessed March 28, 2022
- "New Capitol Hotel, Frankfort, Kentucky." *Architectural Forum*, November 1923: 109-110. <https://usmodernist.org/AF/AF-1923-11.pdf>
- New map of Kentucky and Tennessee from authentic reports of county surveyors throughout the states of Kentucky and Tennessee with a new key for measuring distances and specifying localities (which key is secured by copyright.)*, Louisville: Campbell and Barlow, c.1861, on file at the Library of Congress
- "No Easy Course to Equality," *Civil Rights Digest*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968
- Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities*, Monroe Alphus Majors, Donohue & Henneberry, 1893

- Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson, 1781
- “Old Statehouse Historic District,” Martha Hubbard, Walter Langsam, William Broberg, Carolyn Torma and Calvin P. Jones, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Washington, D.C., 1980
- Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1913*, Kentucky State University Archives; Kentucky Department of Education. *Biennial Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*, Frankfort, 1893
- Proceedings of the State Colored Educational Convention Held at Frankfort, Kentucky*, Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office, S.I.M. Major, Public Printer, August 22, 1877
- Railroad, Trolley, and Interurban Rail Lines of Frankfort, Kentucky: 175 Years of Rail Service*, Charles H. Bogart, CSXT Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, 2010
- Reports of Civil and Criminal Cases Decided by the Court of Appeals of Kentucky*, Robert G. Higdon, *Kentucky Reports*, Vol. 152, January 31, 1913, to March 19, 1913: 764-769, The State Journal Company, Frankfort, 1913
- “Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Superintend Erection of Buildings in the Kentucky Penitentiary: Law Authorizing Erection of Buildings,” P. Swigert and J.B. Temple, State Printing Office, Frankfort, 1866
- “Research Data for African American Resources, Frankfort, Kentucky,” Russell Hatter, Personal Communication, 2022
- Reverend David Barrow’s Petition of the Kentucky Abolition Society, Oct. 18-19, 1815, Ohio Archives
- Robert R. Taylor and Tuskegee: An African American Architect Designs for Booker T. Washington*, Ellen Weiss, Montgomery, Alabama: New South Books, 2012
- “Robert Robinson Taylor,” Ellen Weiss, *The Encyclopedia of Alabama*, last modified March 25, 2019. <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3252>
- Rock Fences of the Bluegrass*, Carolyn Murray-Wooley and Karl Raitz, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992
- Rosenwald Schools in Kentucky, 1917-1932*, Alicestyne Turley-Adams, prepared for the Kentucky Heritage Council, State Historic Preservation Office and the Kentucky African American Heritage Commission, 1997
- Sanborn Map Company, “Frankfort, Franklin County, Kentucky,” New York City, New York, June 1886, November 1890, September 1896, November 1901, September 1907, August 1912
- “Second Street, South Frankfort: Chapter First, May 1899,” Jennie C. Morton, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 11, No. 33, September 1913
- Senate Resolution, Kentucky General Assembly, April 17, 2022
- “Some Kentucky Men Who Served in the 369<sup>th</sup> US Infantry, the ‘Harlem Hellfighters,’” Michael J. Denis, Parksville, Kentucky, 2017
- “Swastikas in the Bluegrass State: Axis Prisoners in Kentucky, 1942-1946,” Richard E. Hall, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 100, No. 2, Spring 2002

- The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History, The Pennsylvania State College, 1918, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, Kessinger Publishing
- “The Civil War in Kentucky: The Slave Claims His Freedom,” *Journal of Negro History*, Victor B. Howard, Fall, 1982
- The Colored Baptists of Kentucky: 1865-1943*, Frank M. Masters, 1953
- “The Comprehensive Planning Requirement in Urban Renewal,” Daniel R. Mandelker, *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol 116, No. 1, November 1967
- “The Defeat of Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 1, No. 4, William T. McKinney, October 1916, Association for the Study of African American Life and History and the University of Chicago Press
- “The first annual report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States: and the proceedings of the Society at their annual meeting in the city of Washington, on the first day of January,” American Society for Colonizing The Free People Of Colour Of The United States, and Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection. Washington: Printed by D. Rapine, 1819, <https://www.loc.gov/item/91898198/>, accessed March 18, 2022
- The Historic Architecture of Sevier County, Tennessee*, Robbie D. Jones, Smoky Mountain Historical Society, Sevierville, Tennessee, 1997
- The History of Franklin County, Kentucky*, John Lewis Franklin, Roberts Printing Co., Franklin, Kentucky, 1912
- The History of Good Shepherd School*, Greg Meyer, editor, 2005
- “The issues in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention 1849-1850,” Gertrude Pettus, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations, Paper 1846, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1846>, accessed March 18, 2022
- The Louisville & Nashville Railroad in Kentucky, As Seen Through Postcards*, Charles H. Bogart, CSXT Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, 2018
- The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, John A. Hardin, editors, University Press of Kentucky, 2015
- The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, John E. Kleber, editor, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1992.
- “The Kentucky Civil Rights Act: Explanation, the Act, Regulations,” Kentucky State Commission on Human Rights, Frankfort, March 20, 1974
- The Kentucky School-Lawyer: Or a Commentary on the Kentucky School Laws and the Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Education*,” Howard A.M. Henderson, Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office, Frankfort, 1876
- “The Kentucky National Guard’s Response to the Great Flood of 1937,” Jason LeMay, Kentucky National Guard, undated
- “The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization,” Jim Williams, director, Political Education Project, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, New York, 1965

- The Nation of Islam. *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews, Vol. 1*, Latimer Associates, Boston, 1991, republished, AAARGH Publishing House, Internet, 2006.
- The Negro's Civil War*, James M. McPherson, New York, Pantheon Books, 1965
- "The Negro Colonization Movement in Kentucky," Mary Kaltenbrun, 1941, Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1821., <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1821>, accessed March 18, 2022
- "The Proceedings of the Colonization Society of Kentucky," annual meeting, Frankfort, December 1, 1831, Printed at the *Commentator* Office, Frankfort
- "The Race to Educate: African American Resistance to Educational Segregation in Kentucky, 1865-1910," Tashia Levanga Bradley, Florida State University College of Education, 2010
- The Story of a Rising Race: The Negro in Revelation, In History and in Citizenship, What the Race Has Done and Is Doing*, James J. Pipkin and John H. Gordon. 1902; Legacy Reprint Series by Kessinger's Legacy Reprints
- "'The Weeds and The Flowers Are Closely Mixed': Allegiance, Law, And White Supremacy In Kentucky's Bluegrass Region, 1861-1865." Stephen Rockenbach, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 111, no. 4, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24641053>, accessed March 11, 2022
- "This 'Sodom Land'?: Urban Renewal and Frankfort's Crow," James E. Wallace, unpublished manuscript, University of Kentucky, April 23, 1991, on file at Kentucky Historical Society
- "Thomas L. Brooks," Clement Richardson, editor, published in *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, National Publishing Company, Montgomery, Alabama, 1919
- "Tuskegee: Landscape in Black and White," Ellen Weiss, *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Spring, 2001
- Voting Rights Act, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act>, accessed April 27, 2022
- Who's Who of the Colored Race, Volume 1*, Frank Lincoln Mather, 1915
- "William Sidney Pittman, 1875-1958," Everett L. Fly and Carol Roark, *Handbook of Texas*, Texas State Historical Association, last modified January 7, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pittman-william-sidney>
- "'With A Piece of Red Flannel and a Bone': African-Americans Remember the North Frankfort Urban Renewal Project," James E. Wallace, unpublished manuscript, University of Kentucky, December 17, 1992, on file at Kentucky Historical Society
- "Urban Renewal--Essentials of the Federal Program," Robert E. Adams, *Kentucky Law Journal: Vol. 48 : Issue 2*, Article 6, 1959, <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/klj/vol48/iss2/6>, accessed April 28, 2022
- U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Federal Population, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Slave Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1850, 1860
- U.S. WWI Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918; U.S. Navy Casualties Books, 1776-1941

## NEWSPAPERS

### *Advocate-Messenger*, Danville, Kentucky

- "Plans Shaping Up for Dexter's Boxing Show Here November 20," October 29, 1947
- "Two Teachers, 12 Students Dismissed for Starting State College Trouble," May 2, 1960
- "Ky. State Gym Is Destroyed by Fire as Students Demonstrate," May 2, 1960
- "Wyatt and Kennedy to Talk on Civil Rights," June 20, 1963
- "24 Courtesy Houses Put Up Along Route of March," March 3, 1964
- "Barry Moore Only White Player at Kentucky State," November 2, 1964
- "KSC Library Addition," March 20, 1967
- "Low Bid on KSC Infirmary Is \$389,900," June 3, 1970
- "Kentucky Ratifies 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment on Slavery," March 19, 1976

"African Colonization," *Lancaster Intelligencer and Journal*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, December 13, 1816

"A Hero in Need," *Boston Evening Transcript*, William Lloyd Garrison, September 9, 1897

### Chicago Tribune

- "The Mob Rule and Reign of Blood at Frankfort," August 12, 1871
- "The Ceremony of Assassination," August 12, 1871

"Circular: To the Auxiliary Branches Composing the Kentucky Abolition Society," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Greeneville, Tennessee, October 1, 1822

"Claims Humiliation," *The Citizen*, Berea, Kentucky, March 25, 1909

"Colonization Society: Henry Clay's Speech," *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, March 2, 1827

"Colonization Society," *Kentucky Reporter*, Lexington, Kentucky, January 27, 1827

"Colored Convention," *The Evansville Daily Journal*, Evansville, Indiana, February 28, 1870

"Dixie College Fires Phila. Teacher," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 2, 1960

"Ear to the Ground: Making the rounds with the architects, builders and brokers," April 16, 1939

Editorial Correspondence: Frankfort, Wednesday Morning, April 25, 1849," *Louisville Daily Courier*, April 26, 1849

"Estimated 10,000 in Frankfort Rights March," *The Park City Daily News*, Bowling Green, Kentucky, March 5, 1964

"50 Louisville Negroes Arrested." *Messenger*, Madisonville, Kentucky, February 25, 1961

"For Sale," *The Frankfort Argus*, April 23, 1834

"For Sale: The Franklin Paper, Saw, and Grist Mills," *The Argus of Western America*, Frankfort, September 23, 1829

"Frankfort Plant Given Approval," *Lexington Herald-Sun*, July 31, 1955  
*Frankfort Roundabout*, Frankfort, Kentucky

- "Legislative News," May 15, 1880
- "The Flood, The Like Never See in this City Before," February 17, 1884
- "Notice to Contractors," June 21, 1884
- "To Builders and Contractors," May 16, 1885
- "Notes," May 8, 1886
- "Among the Colored Citizens," December 26, 1886
- "Personals," March 26, 1887
- "Personals," March 26, 1887
- "Notice of Incorporation," April 23, 1887
- "Decoration Day," June 4, 1887
- "Among the Colored Citizens," November 8, 1890
- "Among the Colored Citizens," May 9, 1891
- "Changes at the Colored Normal," June 13, 1891
- "Our Educational Progress," September 12, 1891
- "Broke His Arm," November 14, 1891
- "Separate Coaches," February 27, 1892
- "Improvements," September 24, 1892
- "Church Dedication," November 19, 1892
- "Change of Name," January 14, 1893
- "Court Day," September 9, 1893
- "A Firm of Architects," January 26, 1895
- "Wins Out," December 26, 1903
- "Well Known Colored Man Dies," October 8, 1904
- "Decoration Day," June 3, 1905
- "Honorable and Upright Colored Man Passes Away," June 3, 1906



- “The Colored People’s Fair,” September 1, 1906
- “Colored Fair,” September 15, 1906
- “After Many Years,” July 20, 1907
- “Heavy Rains, Recall Flood of Twenty-five Years Ago.” February 15, 1908
- “Give Heed to This Call,” April 4, 1908
- “Warned Not to Work Negroes on Roads,” May 23, 1908
- “Colored Fair Will Be a Big Success,” August 15, 1908
- “Dr. Booker T. Washington,” October 20, 1908
- “Notice to Contractors,” May 9, 1920

“Garrard County News,” *Kentucky Advocate* Danville, Kentucky, September 30, 1870

“Governor Cox Offered Reward for Men Who Sowed Seed,” *The Bee*, Earlinton, Kentucky, April 14, 1910

“Housing for K.S.C. Faculty,” *Dawson Springs Progress*, Dawson Springs, Kentucky, January 27, 1966

“Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute,” *Nashville Banner*, Nashville, Tennessee, November 2, 1909

“Kentucky Pick-Ups,” *The Citizen*, Berea, Kentucky, July 8, 1909

“Ike Murphy’s Real Name,” *The Kentucky Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, July 29, 1891

“Kentucky Abolition Society,” *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Greeneville, Tennessee, April 1, 1822

“Kentucky’s Capital,” *Freeman*, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 6, 1914

“Kentucky Consistency,” *The Tipton Advertiser*, Tipton, Iowa, April 28, 1864

“Kentucky Gains New Major Prison Result of Flood,” *Owensboro Messenger*, February 9, 1937

*Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Kentucky

- “Negro Church Sues for Damages,” October 29, 1901
- “New Colored Addition,” April 26, 1912
- “Preparing to Sell Lots in Henryville,” May 31, 1912
- “Lot Sale a Success,” June 30, 1912
- “Paragraphs,” October 17, 1920
- “Fire Destroys Church: Worshipers in Panic,” December 10, 1920
- “Colored Notes,” June 14, 1921
- “Colored Notes,” December 6, 1922
- “Richmond Colored Notes,” November 20, 1927

- “Two Bills Signed: Sampson Ratifies Measure to Rebuild Dormitory,” February 25, 1928
- “Damage Set at \$45,000,” February 3, 1937
- “Downtown Frankfort Cleared of Debris; Rehabilitation is Proceeding Rapidly,” February 7, 1937
- “State Office for Capital Seen,” December 3, 1937
- “Recreational Center to Open at Frankfort,” July 1, 1938
- “UK Graduate Work Asked for Negroes,” February 6, 1948
- “Frankfort Plans Factory Building,” February 15, 1955
- “Occupational Tax on Firms Is Enacted at Frankfort,” July 14, 1959
- “Rezoning Proposal Denied,” February 26, 1960
- “150 Negroes March for Integration,” December 8, 1961
- “U.S. Court Is Asked to Accept Frankfort’s Integration Plan,” November 7, 1962
- “KSC Officials Exonerated in Suit Filed By Ousted Students, Faculty,” September 11, 1963
- “Frankfort Church Planned,” July 27, 1965
- “Commission Approves Purchase of Land for State Building,” October 26, 1965
- “Proposed Frankfort Plaza,” May 3, 1966
- “Classroom Building for KSC,” May 24, 1966
- “KSC Library Addition,” March 21, 1967
- “An Honor for Kentucky,” May 31, 1968
- “Industrial Arts Unit Planned at KSC,” May 1, 1969
- “Capital Plaza Advantages Extolled; Problems Listed,” April 22, 1971
- “Eight Kentucky Projects Receive Awards for Architectural Excellence,” November 14, 1971
- “Obituary: Huston M. Settles,” December 14, 1985
- “Obituary: Architect, Leader William Coblin, Sr,” April 16, 2002
- “Black History Month: William Exum, 1910-1988: Left His Mark on KSU Sport,” February 26, 2005
- “Re-enactment Becomes Rally for Voting Rights,” March 6, 2014

*Lexington Herald-Leader*

- “May Ask Injunction,” September 21, 1901

- "State Office for Capital Seen," December 3, 1937
- "Montgomery-Livingston Wedding Plans," August 19, 1941
- "Joe Louis Carded in Frankfort Ring," October 5, 1947
- "Joe Louis vs. Bob Garner," October 17, 1947
- "Glove Program is Called Off," October 20, 1947
- "Death Claims L.K. Frankel in Cincinnati," November 28, 1949
- "New Gym Being Constructed at Frankfort," May 9, 1955
- "Longtime stone-fence builder Frank E. Guy Sr., 77, dies," July 17, 1987
- "Obituary, Lawrence Dow Cammack," December 22, 1989
- "Architect William Livingston Dies," April 9, 1997
- "William Curtis Livingston, Jr. Obituary," April 10, 1997
- "Architect's Home Has View of State Capitol," March 23, 1969

*Lexington Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky

- "Normal School," January 1, 1899
- "Goebel and the Separate Coach Law," September 11, 1899
- "Colored Odd Fellows," May 17, 1903
- "Eli Jordan Who Trained Aristides," September 25, 1908
- "Night Riders Cost," October 4, 1908
- "Colored Patron," March 14, 1913
- "Colored Notes," August 6, 1921, June 14, 1921
- "Colored Notes," August 6, 1921
- "Suit Filed to Test Sinking Fund Right to Rebuild Dormitory," January 5, 1927
- "All Building Records Fall at Frankfort: Subdivisions Spring Up Like Mushrooms in and Around City," April 28, 1940
- "State to Adjust System to Comply with Ruling," May 17, 1954
- "New Gym Being Constructed at Frankfort," May 9, 1955
- "Negroes Hold Sitdowns at Frankfort," April 3, 1960
- "Sit-In Training Being Conducted at Negro School," April 8, 1960
- "Kentucky State College Bars CORE on Campus," April 30, 1960

- “Peaceful’ Methods of Core Lead Inevitably to Violence,” May 9, 1960
- “Answers Editorial,” May 13, 1960
- “Illogical Editorial,” May 24, 1960
- “KSC Dorm Building to Begin,” March 14, 1963
- “Frankfort Integration Plan Okayed,” July 3, 1963
- “Citizens Committee Formed for Accommodations Laws,” November 15, 1963
- “KSC Regents Slate Construction,” February 25, 1966
- “KSC Science Addition,” March 5, 1967
- “Groundbreaking Held at KSC,” July 23, 1970
- “Retired KSU athletic director, coach William Exum dies,” August 11, 1988

“Library Branch Dedicated to Dr. Gus T. Ridgel,” Rob Duckett, *Daily American Republic*, Poplar Bluff, Missouri, August 16, 2021.

*Louisville Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky

- “Colonization,” Kentucky, June 21, 1862
- “Miscellaneous: State Normal School for Colored People,” August 18, 1886
- “The Colored Teachers: Their State Educational Association Annual Convention at Frankfort,” July 12, 1883
- “Notice to Contractors,” May 3, 1887
- “Baptists Adopt Some Significant Resolutions,” August 24, 1899
- “Feeble-Minded Institute: The New Building That Will Rise on the Site of the One Burned,” October 18, 1889
- “The Fifteenth Amendment,” February 2, 1870
- “Called to a Halt: Negro Baptist and Contractor Arrested in Frankfort; Started to Build a Church Directly Opposite the Executive Mansion Without Authority from City Council,” September 19, 1901
- “False Arrest Charged,” October 29, 1901
- “Negroes Protest,” January 21, 1904
- “Monroe Q. Wilson Dies of Pleurisy: Was Well-Known Architect of Louisville, Built Many of the Modern Schoolhouses,” March 4, 1907
- “Work at Negro Normal,” April 20, 1909
- “Cutting Down Cost,” June 27, 1909
- “Five Thousand Pounds of Tobacco Burned,” and “Pooled Crop Is Confiscated,” March 15, 1910

- “Court of Appeals Sustains Lower Tribunal in Giving Railroad New Trial,” March 14, 1913
- “No Frills at all about this “Frock”—It’s Made to Work in,” April 22, 1918
- “New Plans for Dormitory Pend,” May 11, 1928
- “Rouse, Board, Pope on Building Group to Supervise Construction of Negro Dormitory for State Institution,” May 26, 1928
- “State School’s Debt Increased: Negro Trustees Let Contract for Building to Frankfort Firm,” June 17, 1928
- “Negroes Oppose Merger of Two Kentucky Colleges,” January 3, 1938
- “Old Rock Fences Make New Ones on U.S. 60,” February 23, 1941
- “Legislator Praised,” April 14, 1950
- “Text Says Racial Segregation Deprives Minorities of Equal Educational Opportunities,” May 18, 1954
- “Separate Schools Are Not Equal Schools,” May 18, 1954
- “Frankfort Due New Subdivision,” October 31, 1958
- “It Gets Manny’s Nanny When Louis Exhi Blocked,” October 21, 1947
- “The Legislature Chalks Up an Impressive Achievement Record,” March 21, 1954
- “Good Guys: Many stone fences and houses are the Bluegrass handiwork of five generations of Guys,” November 22, 1959
- “Clearing Up ‘Frankfort’s Craw’ Is A Slow Process,” January 30, 1960
- “Kentucky State Group Trains for Sit-Ins,” April 8, 1960
- “Frankfort Failed: River Ousts ‘Craw’ Residents,” March 2, 1962
- “Theaters Are New Targets of Stand-In: Negroes Open Phase of Integration Fight,” February 2, 1961
- “Frankfort Integrates First Grade, But Turns Away 20 of 24 Children,” September 6, 1962
- “Scale Models Unveil A New Look for U.K.,” April 21, 1963
- “Committee Will Study the Teaching of Negro History,” December 19, 1963
- “Breathitt Bill On Rights Held ‘Legalized Jim Crow,’” February 29, 1964
- March on Frankfort advertisement, March 4, 1964
- “Security Tightened for March,” March 5, 1964
- “Daughter Joins March on Dad,” March 6, 1964

- “Lawmakers Little Affected by Civil Rights March,” March 6, 1964
- “Ineptness, Political Cowardice Bury Civil Rights in Frankfort,” March 14, 1964
- “70 Per Cent Cleared: Floodwall replaces earth fill in new plan for slum section,” February 28, 1965
- “Trustees at KSC Approve 20-Year Expansion Plan,” March 24, 1965
- “Trustees at KSC Approve 20-Year Expansion Plan,” March 24, 1965
- “Strong Civil Rights Bill Is Offered in Legislature,” January 6, 1966
- “Ossian Ward, Architect, Dies at 90,” February 3, 1966
- “New Capital Plaza for Frankfort,” July 31, 1966
- “New Capital Plaza for Frankfort: 24-story state building in plans for Craw Complex,” July 31, 1966
- “Capital Plaza Going Up: \$50 million complex is due for completion in 1970,” November 9, 1967
- “Best Kentucky Architecture,” December 10, 1967
- “Kentucky State College Building Wins the Commonwealth’s First AIA Award,” May 26, 1968
- “Louis Cox, 63, advisor to state governors, dies,” February 3, 1971
- “A \$49 million question,” March 1, 1971
- “State signs its first contract for Capital Plaza store space,” September 23, 1972
- “Nearly Complete,” October 5, 1972
- “8 architectural projects receive ‘excellence’ awards,” October 21, 1972
- “Architects cite student-union design,” November 5, 1972
- “Noted Kentucky architect dies,” May 6, 1983
- “Ex-educator Fayette Wilkinson Dies,” September 10, 2001

*Louisville Daily Courier*

- “Letter from Frankfort: The Emancipation Convention,” April 26, 1849
- “Border State Convention,” Louisville, May 28, 1861
- “A New Argument,” February 8, 1867

*Messenger-Inquirer, Owensboro, Kentucky*

- “The Colored Schools, State Board of Education, Frankfort, Ky.,” October 17, 1882
- “Negroes to Start a Paper,” September 30, 1898

- "A Nuisance at Frankfort: Negro Church Board Proceeds to Build in Spite of Protest," September 19, 1901
- "Negro Baptists at Frankfort Allowed Time to Apply for an Injunction," September 21, 1901
- "Sampson Dedicates Negro Dormitory," July 21, 1930
- "Resources Mobilized as State is Stricken with Its Worst Catastrophe," January 23, 1937
- "New Plan to Boost State Salary Limit Looms in Legislature," February 13, 1948
- "Negro Subdivision Set for Frankfort," October 31, 1958
- "Theater Owners File Suit Against CORE Stand-Ins," February 21, 1961
- "Frankfort Offers to Speed Integration; City's Plan Rejected," February 12, 1963
- "Total Integration Program Offered by Capitol School Board," June 25, 1963
- "Kennedy's Civil Rights Message Proposes Sweeping Changes," June 26, 1963
- "State Legislators Not Expected to Pass Accommodations Bill," December 22, 1963
- "Breathitt to Meet with Clergymen," February 26, 1964
- "KSC Regents Approve Plans for Larger, Modern Campus," March 25, 1965
- "Armstrong-Thompson Wedding in Lexington," December 27, 1964

"One of Local Negro 'Y' Founders Dies," *Evansville Press*, Evansville, Indiana, March 27, 1941

*The Louisville Daily Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky

- "Secretary of War Report," December 10, 1862
- "Resolutions," February 2, 1863
- "Hon. James C. Conklin," September 9, 1863
- "The End," April 11, 1865
- "Negroes Enlisted in Kentucky," April 30, 1865
- "Proclamation of the Governor of Kentucky," April 30, 1865

"Prominent Business Man," *Cleveland Gazette*, December 26, 1914

"Republican State Convention," *The Bourbon News*, Paris, Kentucky, May 6, 1904

"Reward for Night Riders," *The Winchester News*, Winchester, Kentucky, October 13, 1908

"Road Building Bill Squeaks By," *The Park City Daily News*, Bowling Green, Kentucky, February 21, 1958

"Rode with Whites," *The Paducah Sun-Democrat*, Paducah, Kentucky, April 9, 1912

"Separate Coach Law. The Court of Appeals Decides That It Is Constitutional," *The Evening Bulletin*, Maysville, Kentucky, October 8, 1898

"Social Equality," *The Evansville Daily Journal*, Evansville, Indiana, March 4, 1870

*Southern School News*, Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tennessee

- "Reporting Service to Tell School Story," September 3, 1954
- "Kentucky," September 3, 1954
- "Kentucky," November 4, 1954
- "Kentucky," May 1955
- "Kentucky," August 1955
- "What They Say," October 1955
- "11 More Kentucky Districts Announce Plans to Desegregate," April 1956
- "Two Kentucky Colleges Join to Plan Extension Courses for Frankfort," July 1957
- "Negro Accomplishments Urged in Textbooks," December 1963
- "Biracial Enrollment Up in Eight State Colleges," December 1963

*State Journal, Frankfort, Kentucky*

- "Coal Fund of Colored Hospital Receives \$150," *State Journal*, Frankfort, February 27, 1923
- "Start of New Church Building," *The State Journal*, Frankfort, July 25, 1966
- "Kentucky State University," *The State Journal, Franklin County Bicentennial Extra*, May 4, 1995

"The Border State Convention," *Daily Nashville Patriot*, Nashville, June 15, 1861

"The Border State Convention," *Brooklyn Evening Star*, Brooklyn, New York, June 13, 1861

"The Case of Mr. Fairbanks," *The Liberator*, Boston, Massachusetts, March 7, 1845

"The Legislature," *Kentucky Advocate*, Danville, May 14, 1886

"The Negro Church: It Can Not Be Built Just Opposite the State Executive Mansion at Frankfort, Ky.,"  
*Hickman Courier*, Hickman, Kentucky, October 4, 1901

The New York Times

- "The Border State Convention: Addresses to the People of the United States and to the Citizens of Kentucky," June 9, 1861
- "Fatal Riot in Frankfort," November 1897
- "Leo L. Oberwarth," May 25, 1939
- "Race Practices Protested: Withholding Negroes' Civil Rights Held Damaging to Our Prestige," Arthur Norman, March 18, 1960
- "10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital," March 6, 1964



- Kentucky Rights Advocates End Capitol Hunger Strike,” March 21, 1964
- “A Real Missouri ‘Concerned Student 1950’ Speaks, at Age 89,” November 10, 2015

*The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky

- “Try to Raise \$100,000,” August 25, 1909
- “Negroes Stage Frankfort March,” Paducah, Kentucky, December 7, 1961
- “Governor Calls Schools, Rights Urgent Needs,” January 8, 1964
- “KSC Dormitories to be Dedicated,” October 21, 1964
- “Outlook for the Civil Rights Bill,” Paducah, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1966
- “Welcome,” *The Paducah Sun*, Paducah, Kentucky, July 29, 1966

“The Separate Coach Bill,” *The Twice-A-Week Messenger*, Owensboro, Kentucky, May 26, 1892

“Underwood and Armistead,” *The Daily Leader*, Lexington, Kentucky, October 28, 1900

*United States Gazette for the Country*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 13, 1817

“William Lawless Jones, 85, lieutenant colonel in Army,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 15, 2000

“Young Architects Win AIA Award for State Building,” *Franklin Favorite*, Frankfort, Kentucky, June 6, 1968

#### ORAL HISTORIES AND INTERVIEWS

Oral History Interview with Clara E. Hogan, Winona Fletcher, Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, May 2, 1996, accessed February 14, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/816/>

Oral History Interview with Gertrude Ridgel, Betsy Brinson, Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, April 27, 1999, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/3198/>

Oral History Interview with Mary Smith, Winona Fletcher, Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, May 2, 1996, accessed February 22, 2022. <https://kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/818>

Oral history interview with Jimmy Johnson Jr. and Freddie Johnson, Bourbon Trail Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, Thomas Troland, interviewer, and <https://www.abvnetwork.com/whiskey-corner/2018/2/22/qnekyl013gwxvrs6ykajt4zothvtf>, accessed April 15, 2022

Frankfort’s Craw Oral History Project: Interview with Helen Homes, James Wallace, Kentucky Oral History Commission, Kentucky Historical Society, July 21, 1991

Oral History Interview with John Sykes, Doug Boyd, Community Memories Oral History Project, Frankfort, Kentucky: Kentucky Historical Society, June 13, 2002, <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Ohist/id/840>.

Interview with Elizabeth McGraph, Robbie D. Jones and Carolyn Brackett, Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, March 1, 2022.

Interview with Sarah Elliot, Executive Director, and Jesse Williams, Curator of Collections, Liberty Hall, Carolyn Brackett, March 2, 2022

#### ONLINE RESOURCES

Abigail Adams to Cotton Tufts, March 11, 1791, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-09-02-0107>, accessed March 7, 2022 [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 9, *January 1790–December 1793*, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Karen N. Barzilay, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary T. Claffey, Robert F. Karachuk, and Sara B. Sikes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 196–200.

“Aboard the Underground Railroad: Madison Historic District,” National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/madison.html>, accessed March 11, 2022

“Abraham Lincoln and the Recruitment of Black Soldiers,” <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jala/2629860.0002.103/--abraham-lincoln-and-the-recruitment-of-black-soldiers?rgn=main;view=fulltext>, accessed March 14, 2022

“Act Concerning Statehood for the Kentucky District, 22 December 1785,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-08-02-0236>, accessed March 7, 2022 [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 8, *10 March 1784–28 March 1786*, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973, pp. 450–453.]

“A City Swept Clean: How urban renewal, for better or worse, created the city we know today,” Bill Carey, *Nashville Scene*, September 6, 2001, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.nashvillescene.com/news/a-city-swept-clean/article>

“A House Divided: Civil War Kentucky,” Garry Adelman and Mary Bays Woodside, *American Battlefield Trust*, 2019, accessed March 15, 2022. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/house-divided-civil-war-kentucky>

“African Americans During the Civil War,” <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/civil-war-and-reconstruction-1861-1877/african-american-soldiers-during-the-civil-war/#:~:text=African%2DAmerican%20soldiers%20were%20paid,than%20did%20their%20white%20counterparts>, accessed April 6, 2022

“African American Reformers,” <https://www.womenshistory.org/resources/general/african-american-reformers>, accessed April 4, 2022

“African American Schools in Frankfort and Franklin County, KY,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2647>, accessed May 7, 2022

“AME Church,” <https://www.ame-church.com/our-church/our-name/>, accessed March 17, 2022

Ancestry.com:

- *U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current*, Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012
- *U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2005

- *U.S., World War II Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947*, Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011
- *U.S., Lists of Men Ordered to Report to Local Board for Military Duty, 1917–1918*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013
- *Adams County, Mississippi, U.S., Slave Certificates, 1858-1861*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010
- *Kentucky, U.S., Birth Records, 1847-1911*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007
- *U.S., Marriage Records, 1852-1914*, Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007
- *Kentucky, U.S., Death Records, 1852-1965*, Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007
- *Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015
- *U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007. Ancestry.com
- *U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current*, Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012

“Anthony Williams: Find A Grave Memorial 60325255,” Tina Toles Wingate, Find A Grave, Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, Kentucky, 2010, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/60325255/anthony-williams>, accessed February 7, 2022

Berea College and the Day Law, <https://www.berea.edu/news/berea-college-and-the-day-law/>, accessed April 18, 2022

“Biographical Dictionary of Cincinnati Architects, 1788-1840,” Walter E. Langsam, Architectural Foundation of Cincinnati, 2008. <http://oldsite.architecturecincy.org/dictionary/index.html>

Biography of Ida Joyce Jackson, 1863-1927, Noah Lopez, Alexandria, Virginia, 2020, [https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic\\_entity%7Cbibliographic\\_details%7C4744423/biographical-sketch-ida-joyce-jackson](https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C4744423/biographical-sketch-ida-joyce-jackson), accessed April 3, 2022

“Booker T. Washington,” <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/booker-t-washington>, accessed April 17, 2022

“Blue Grass Colored Baseball League,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2627>

“Capital Plaza – Frankfort, KY,” Bill Slone, Personal Collection, 2018, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/10520947@N08/43921468535>

“Capital Plaza Office Tower, Frankfort, Kentucky.” Emporis.com, <https://www.emporis.com/buildings/128347/capital-plaza-office-tower-frankfort-ky-usa>, accessed January 30, 2022

“Capital Question: Efforts to Relocate Kentucky’s Seat of Government” Robert M. Ireland, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 104, no. 2 (2006): 249–83 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23386673>, accessed March 7, 2022

“Capitol Theater,” Craig Escherich, Cinema Treasures, accessed March 22, 2022. <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/16914>

- “Chronology & Geography of Civil Rights Lunch Counter Sit-ins.” Blog, November 19, 2019, <https://panethos.wordpress.com/2019/11/12/chronology-geography-of-civil-rights-lunch-counter-sit-ins/>, accessed May 8, 2022
- “Civil Rights Era Timeline,” <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/civil-rights-era-timeline.html>, accessed April 26, 2022
- “Civil War Governors,” <http://discovery.civilwargovernors.org/thomas-e-bramlette-1863-1867>, accessed March 25, 2022
- “Congressional Overview,” [https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/42nd/#:~:text=The%2042nd%20Congress%20\(1871%E2%80%931873,investigate%20conditions%20in%20Southern%20states](https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/42nd/#:~:text=The%2042nd%20Congress%20(1871%E2%80%931873,investigate%20conditions%20in%20Southern%20states), accessed March 29, 2022
- Constitution Center, <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendment/amendment-xviii>, accessed April 15, 2022
- “Dr. Charles Anderson,” <https://friendsofeasterncemetery.com/dr-charles-w-anderson-sr/>, accessed April 13, 2022
- “Drs. Parrish and Jordan at Rev. Lisle’s Grave, Kingston, Jamaica, March, 1915; Residence of Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Parrish, 847 Sixth Street, Louisville, Ky.; First Baptist Church, Frankfort, Ky.; Virginia Avenue Baptist Church, Louisville, Ky,” Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed March 22, 2022, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ee4cd680-15a6-0132-0775-58d385a7bbd0>
- “Edward Durell Stone Papers,” University of Arkansas Libraries, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://uark.as.atlas-sys.com/repositories/2/resources/1971>.
- “1864 Attack on Frankfort,” Tim Talbott, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/497>, accessed March 27, 2022
- “Eli Jordan,” Chronicle of African Americans in the Horse Industry. n.d. International Museum of the Horse. [https://africanamericanhorsestories.org/research/people/eli-jordan#footnote4\\_hd5lg96](https://africanamericanhorsestories.org/research/people/eli-jordan#footnote4_hd5lg96), accessed April 16, 2022
- “Enforcement Acts,” <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm>, accessed March 29, 2022
- “Forgotten Fruit,” Paul Aron, *Colonial Williamsburg Trend & Tradition Magazine*, March 12, 2020. <https://www.colonialwilliamsburg.org/trend-tradition-magazine/autumn-2018/forgotten-fruit/>
- “14<sup>th</sup> Amendment,” <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/14th-amendment>, accessed March 28, 2022
- “Frankel and Curtis architectural records, 1897-1974,” University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://exploreuk.uky.edu/fa/findingaid/?id=xt7pk06x0q3x>, accessed January 23, 2022
- “Frankfort Barracks,” Tim Talbott, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/277>, accessed March 30, 2022
- “Frankfort Colored Library (Franklin County, KY),” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2831>

- “Frankfort Faces,” <https://frankfortfaces.com/The-Faces/Underwood/underwood.html>, accessed April 4, 2022
- “Frankfort: The Old Arsenal and the Kentucky Military Museum,” Trevor Jones, American History TV, C-SPAN, August 11, 2011, accessed March 27, 2022, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_12o15GAG-U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_12o15GAG-U)
- “Friday Night Lights in Kentucky: Forever Changed by a ‘Reluctant Hero’ Kermit E. Williams,” William “Duke” Smithers, Blog, October 26, 2021, <https://authorwilliamsmitter.com/friday-night-lights-in-kentucky-forever-changed-by-a-reluctant-hero-kermit-e-williams/>, accessed May 7, 2022
- “Geraldine Cox Ogden,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2728>, accessed May 7, 2022
- “Governor’s Mansion - Frankfort, Kentucky,” Christina Carbone, SAH Archipedia, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0044>, accessed March 11, 2022
- G. Scott & Associates Architects, Inc., <http://www.gscottarch.com/contact.asp>, accessed January 30, 2022
- “Harlem Hellfighters Bravely Led Us in WWI,” <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/one-hundred-years-ago-harlem-hellfighters-bravely-led-us-wwi-180968977/>, accessed April 14, 2022
- “Harry Mordecai,” Reinette Jones, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, 2018, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/3164>, accessed March 5, 2022
- “Harry Mordecai, Plasterer and Bricklayer of Frankfort, Kentucky,” Sharon Cox, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Volume 41, 2020, <https://www.mesdajournal.org/2020/harry-mordecai-plasterer-and-bricklayer-of-frankfort-kentucky/>, accessed March 5, 2022
- “Harry Mordecai: Ancestor and Artisan,” Jacqueline Ridley, *Kentucky Historical Society*, 2022, <https://history.ky.gov/news/harry-mordecai-ancestor-and-artisan>, accessed March 5, 2022
- “Historic Properties: The Capitol of Kentucky: A Brief Introduction,” Commonwealth of Kentucky, <https://historicproperties.ky.gov/hp/ncs/Pages/ch.aspx>, accessed March 21, 2022
- “History,” Norman K. Berry Associates, <https://knbarch.com/history/>, accessed January 21, 2022
- “History Engine,” <https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/1421>, accessed March 28, 2022
- “History Overview,” [https://www.va.gov/HISTORY/VA\\_History/Overview.asp](https://www.va.gov/HISTORY/VA_History/Overview.asp), accessed April 18, 2022
- “How Did Kentucky Become Horse Country?,” <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2010/04/how-did-central-kentucky-become-horse-country.html#:~:text=Wealthy%20racing%20enthusiast%20R.A.%20Alexander,sired%20a%20number%20of%20champions>, accessed April 16, 2022
- “Hometown Hero Levi Berry,” [http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/10/hometown-hero-levi-berry-co-i-107th-usci\\_5.html](http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/10/hometown-hero-levi-berry-co-i-107th-usci_5.html), accessed March 28, 2022
- “Human Resources Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.” Emporis.com, accessed January 30, 2022. <https://www.emporis.com/buildings/1493064/human-resources-building-frankfort-ky-usa>, accessed January 30, 2022

- “Hume Hall, Frankfort, Kentucky” Christinia Carbone, *Society of Architectural Historians Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0047>, accessed January 18, 2022
- “I Have a Dream,” <https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety>, accessed April 20, 2022
- Isaac Shelby, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/isaac-shelby>, accessed March 7, 2022
- “Jackson Robb,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2412>, accessed May 8, 2022
- “James C. Brown,” Find A Grave Memorial 76716088, 2011, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/76716088/james-c-brown>, accessed January 25, 2022
- “JFK in History – Civil Rights Movement,” <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/civil-rights-movement>, accessed April 27, 2022
- “Jim Crow Educational Resource,” [https://www.gcsu.edu/sites/files/page-assets/node-2213/attachments/jim\\_crow\\_educational\\_resource.pdf](https://www.gcsu.edu/sites/files/page-assets/node-2213/attachments/jim_crow_educational_resource.pdf), accessed April 11, 2022
- “Jim Crow Laws,” <https://mchekc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/jim-crow-laws.pdf>, accessed April 11, 2022
- “John Marshall Harlan,” <https://library.cqpress.com/scc/document.php?id=bioenc-427-18167-979265&v=33b34079535700c3>, accessed April 18, 2022
- “Kentucky and the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment,” <http://usslave.blogspot.com/2013/02/kentucky-and-13th-amendment.html>, accessed March 27, 2022
- “Kentucky State College, Integration of Football [Barry Coleman Moore],” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2938>, accessed May 8, 2022
- Kentucky Streetcar Historical Society, <http://www.kystreetcarhistoricalsociety.com/publications.html>, accessed April 12, 2022
- “Kentucky’s Underground Railroad: Passage to Freedom,” <https://education.ket.org/resources/kentuckys-underground-railroad-passage-freedom/>
- “Kentucky State Reformatory,” Phil Tkacz and Shawn Logan, Kentucky Historic Institutions, <https://kyhi.org/kentucky-state-reformatory/>, accessed March 25, 2022
- “KSU Timeline,” <https://www.kysu.edu/about-ksu/timeline-of-ksu-history.php>, accessed April 18, 2022
- “Lake Barkley Lodge,” Cadiz, Kentucky, Vivian Daniel, *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, <http://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-221-0043>, accessed April 3, 2022
- “Learn Religions – African Methodist Episcopal Church,” <https://www.learnreligions.com/african-methodist-episcopal-church-699933>, accessed March 17, 2022
- “Leo L. Oberwarth.” *World Biographical Encyclopedia*, Prabook, 2022, <https://prabook.com/web/leo.oberwarth/1716883>, accessed April 13, 2022

- “Leon Kaufman Frankel,” *World Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://prabook.com/web/leon.frankel/1345997>
- Lest We Forget,” <http://lestweforget.hamptonu.edu/page.cfm?uuid=9FEC3269-053B-031B-62012CC699FF9302>, accessed April 6, 2022
- Liberty Hall, <https://www.libertyhall.org/learn/slavery>, accessed March 13, 2022
- “Liberty Hall - Frankfort, Kentucky,” Christina Carbone, SAH Archipedia, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0045>, accessed March 11, 2022
- “Library Adds Rare Architecture Book to Collection,” Jonathan Jeffrey, Blog, Western Kentucky University, September 27, 2016. <https://library.blog.wku.edu/tag/kenneth-mcdonald/>
- Lincoln Collection, <https://www.lincolncollection.org/collection/categories/item/?cat=14&item=52522&page=68>, accessed March 14, 2022
- “Lost Colleges,” <https://www.lostcolleges.com/330-west-kentucky-industrial-college>, accessed April 20, 2022
- Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*. Equal Justice Initiative, 2017, <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/>, accessed March 16, 2022
- “Mae Street Kidd,” <https://kcaah.org/women-in-history/mae-street-kidd/>, accessed April 27, 2022
- Miller Center, <https://millercenter.org/president/fillmore/essays/crittenden-1850-attorney-general>, accessed March 10, 2022
- “Moses A. Davis,” Diana M. Cole, Find a Grave Memorial 66671028, 2011. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/66671028/moses-a.-davis>
- “Mr. Lincoln and Freedom,” <http://www.mrlincolnanandfreedom.org/civil-war/military-initiatives/john-c-fremont-missouri/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- “Mr. Taylor’s Barber Shop,” Andrew Patrick, *ExploreKYHistory*, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/826>, accessed February 11, 2022
- “Old Capitol [Frankfort, Kentucky],” Christina Carbone, SAH Archipedia, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, <https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/KY-01-073-0062>, accessed March 11, 2022
- “On This Day the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment is Ratified,” <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-the-15th-amendment-is-ratified>, accessed March 28, 2022
- “Plessy vs. Ferguson,” <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson>, accessed April 11, 2022
- President Harry S. Truman – Calendar, [https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/calendar/search?body\\_value\\_op=word&comment\\_keywords=&page=50](https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/calendar/search?body_value_op=word&comment_keywords=&page=50), accessed April 18, 2022
- “Proceedings of the Colored State Convention assembled in St. Paul’s A. M. E. Church, Lexington, Ky., November 26.,” *Colored Conventions Project Digital Records*, <https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/1100>, accessed April 3, 2022

- “Railroads,” [https://railroads.unl.edu/documents/view\\_document.php?id=rail.gen.0048](https://railroads.unl.edu/documents/view_document.php?id=rail.gen.0048), accessed April 11, 2022
- “Remembering Dr. Ridgel: Dr. Gus T. Ridgel, who helped desegregate MU and was the first Black graduate, has died at 95,” Ryan Gavin, University of Missouri, 2020, <https://diversity.missouri.edu/2020/remembering-dr-ridgel/>, accessed February 12, 2022
- “Robert Tinsley “Bob” Garner,” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2056>, accessed May 8, 2022
- “Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection,” Ronald Morgan, Kentucky Historical Society, found at <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Morgan>.
- “Kentucky Slave Laws in Brief,” <https://shacklesandchains.wordpress.com/kentucky-slave-laws-in-brief/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- “Samuel Mordecai,” Reinette Jones, *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, 2017, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/3163>, accessed March 5, 2022
- “Site of Winnie A. Scott Hospital,” Kate Sowada, *ExploreKYHistory*, <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/555>, accessed March 24, 2022
- “Uncovering the story of Harry Mordecai, Bricklayer and Plasterer at Liberty Hall Historic Site,” Sharon Cox, Liberty Hall Historic Site, August 26, 2020, <https://www.libertyhall.org/blog/76-uncovering-the-story-of-harry-mordecai-bricklayer-and-plasterer-at-liberty-hall-historic-site>, accessed March 5, 2022
- “Sites, Slaves and Soldiers: The Terraces,” Tim Talbott, *Random Thoughts on History*, 2013, <http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/12/sites-slaves-and-soldiers-terraces.html>, accessed March 8, 2022
- “Stephen Black.” *Kentucky, A History of the State*, William Henry Perrin, J.H. Battle and G.C. Kniffin, Southern Historical Press, 1887. <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kygenweb/kybiog/franklin/black.s.txt>
- “Tales from the Bottom,” Linda Vaccariello, *Denison Magazine*, Spring 2012, <https://denison.edu/magazine/spring-2012/140138>, accessed March 28, 2022
- “The African-American Heritage Guide.” July 10, 2020, <https://www.visitlex.com/guides/post/the-african-american-heritage-guide/>, accessed May 8, 2022
- “The Civil Rights Bill of 1866,” <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-Civil-Rights-Bill-of-1866/>, accessed March 28, 2022
- “The Freedmen’s Bureau in Kentucky,” Diane Perrine Coon, Kentucky Humanities Council, 2008, <http://www.historybyperrine.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/The-Freedmens-Bureau-ppt.pdf>, accessed April 1, 2022
- “The Great Dissenter and His Half Brother,” <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-great-dissenter-and-his-half-brother-10214325/>, accessed April 11, 2022
- “The Malicious Stabbing of George Mukes,” <http://randomthoughtsonhistory.blogspot.com/2013/03/>, accessed April 1, 2022
- “Thomas L. Brook,” Kate Jacques, Find A Grave Memorial 23929017, 2008, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/23929017/thomas-l.-brooks>



- “Thoughts on Juneteenth,” <https://pa.cair.com/blog/thoughts-juneteenth/>, accessed March 10, 2022
- “United States Colored Troops,” <https://www.nps.gov/cane/united-states-colored-troops.htm>, accessed March 25, 2022
- “W.E.B. DuBois and the Concepts of Race and Class,” Dan S. Green, Earl Smith, *Phylon* (1960-) 44, no. 4, 1983 <https://doi.org/10.2307/274576>, accessed April 11, 2022
- “William Exum: Celebrating Wisconsin’s Black History,” Gregory Bond, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2015, [https://uwbadgers.com/sports/2015/8/21/GEN\\_20140101816.aspx](https://uwbadgers.com/sports/2015/8/21/GEN_20140101816.aspx), accessed February 12, 2022
- “William Sidney Pittman” *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/1536>, accessed January 19, 2022
- “World War II Prisoner of War Camps in Kentucky and Danville,” Michael J. Denis, Parksville, Kentucky, 2013, <https://slideplayer.com/slide/10230208/>, accessed March 27, 2022

# SECTION V. HISTORIC RESOURCES SURVEY

## Chapter Eight: Historic Resources Survey

This section provides a summary of the historic resources survey and recommendations. This section is intended to serve as a preservation planning tool by providing information on the identification, evaluation and designation of historic resources associated with African American history in Frankfort.

### **Surveyed Resources**

As part of the scope of work for the creation of an African American Historic Context for the City of Frankfort, a reconnaissance level historic resources survey was undertaken for properties within Frankfort's current city limits. A reconnaissance level survey provides an in-person review of extant resources – those that are still standing. Reconnaissance level surveys are sometimes referred to as windshield surveys since they are high-level, exterior surveys which provide baseline information and guide areas of focus for future intensive surveys.

Unlike reconnaissance surveys, intensive surveys result in the creation of detailed survey site forms maintained by the Kentucky State Historic Preservation Office (KY-SHPO), National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility evaluations, exterior and interior photography, resource location maps, and property information such as comprehensive property histories and detailed architectural descriptions.

As part of the reconnaissance level survey, the following tasks were completed:

- Review of 75 KY-SHPO survey site files provided by the City of Frankfort
- Review of NRHP nominations for properties in Frankfort
- Review of Historic American Building Survey (HABS) documentation for properties in Frankfort
- Review of local preservation plans and district zoning overlays
- In-person surveys from public right-of-way completed by walking along streets of urban neighborhoods, driving along streets and roads in suburban neighborhoods, and walking the public areas of the campus of Kentucky State University (KSU). The surveys were undertaken on December 16, 2021; March 1-3, 2022; and April 7, 2022.

The reconnaissance level historic resource survey for the Historic African American Context of the City of Frankfort included additional survey information that is typically reserved for intensive surveys and NRHP nominations, including:

- Review of city directories and U.S. Census records
- Archival research for architects and builders, including a review of records maintained by the American Institute of Architects and individual architectural firms
- Genealogical research for property owners and occupants
- Review of newspapers, journal articles and other publications

- Study of Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, historic maps and aerial photographs
- Review of online historic photograph collections such as the Library of Congress, National Park Service, Kentucky Historical Society and University of Kentucky
- Interior documentation of resources such as the Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church and First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church
- Utilization of deeds and property records meticulously compiled by Angela Fitzpatrick for specific resources such as the First Baptist Church, Professor William H. Mayo House, Winnie A Scott House, Conley-Holmes House and State Stadium
- Comparative studies of NRHP/NHL nominations and historic context reports of African American resources in other cities and states across the U.S.

Detailed information on all surveyed resources is available in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort's Preservation Officer. This database focuses on extant resources but also includes information on resources that have been demolished. The database of demolished resources provides additional context for evaluating those that are still standing. Since the scope of work for this project included a reconnaissance level survey, this database is not all-inclusive.

The historic resources survey resulted in the documentation of approximately **320 resources**, including **140** extant individual resources, **10** extant districts, and **72** individual demolished resources. Additional documentation was compiled for over **100** individual resources in the South Frankfort Historic District. These resources included the following property types:

- Churches
- Schools
- Cemeteries
- Monuments
- Residential Housing (dwellings, duplexes, boarding houses, apartments, parsonages etc.)
- Domestic Outbuildings (enslaved person's quarters, springhouses, smokehouses, carriage houses, etc.)
- Athletic Facilities (stadiums, gymnasiums, etc.)
- Recreational Facilities (parks, swimming pools, fairgrounds, etc.)
- Civic Facilities (courthouses, capitols, offices, libraries, etc.)
- Medical Facilities (hospitals, doctor's offices, institutions, etc.)
- Transportation Facilities (bridges, streets, depots, march routes, street signs, etc.)
- Academic Facilities (classrooms, dormitories, libraries, support buildings, etc.)
- Commercial Buildings (restaurants, drugstores, variety stores, theaters, etc.)
- Industrial Facilities (distilleries, lumber mills, chair factories, etc.)

- Military Facilities (barracks, armories, etc.)
- Public Housing
- Residential Subdivisions
- Archaeological sites

The survey focused on resources more than 50 years of age, the standard threshold for evaluating resources for NRHP eligibility. However, the survey also included resources less than 50 years of age of exceptional significance, such as the First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church (Figure 8-1), which was designed in 1965 and built in two phases from 1966 to 1976, and the Delores “Dolly” Graham Park, constructed in 1979 in South Frankfort. Documented extant resources were built between 1796 and 1982, covering a 186-year period. Documented resources that had been demolished were built between 1798 and circa 1960, covering a 162-year period. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A.

The survey included resources located in the following areas and neighborhoods:

- North Frankfort
- South Frankfort
- Glenss Creek
- Normal Heights Neighborhood
- Kentucky State University Campus
- College Park Subdivision
- Cherokee Subdivision/Langford Avenue
- Green Hill Neighborhood

Surveyed resources represented a variety of architectural styles including:

- Federal
- Greek Revival
- Second Empire
- Italianate
- Richardsonian Romanesque
- Queen Anne
- Victorian Gothic
- Gothic Revival
- Neoclassical Revival
- Colonial Revival

- Rustic Revival
- Craftsman
- Art Deco
- Modernist
- International
- Brutalist

Surveyed resources also represented a variety of vernacular building types and forms including:

- American Foursquare (two-story)
- Duplex (one and two-story)
- Shotgun (one-story)
- Side-Hall (one and two-story)
- Center-Hall (two-story)
- Ranch (one-story)
- Split-Level (two-story)
- Split-Foyer (two-story)
- Commercial/Multi-Use (one and two-story)

Many surveyed resources were designed by architects, both white and Black. (See Chapter 7 for more information.) These architects included:

- Kenneth Norman Berry, Frankfort
- George Maurice Blakeman, Frankfort
- James Earl “Jim” Burrus, Frankfort
- Lawrence Dow Cammack, Lexington
- William Granville Coblin, Sr., Frankfort
- John J. Curtis, Frankfort
- Moses Alexander Davis, Frankfort (Black)
- Leon Kaufman Frankel, Lexington
- Louis Ryan Hugg, Jr., Frankfort
- Harry Peake McDonald, Louisville
- Kenneth McDonald, Louisville

- William Curtis Livingston, Jr., Frankfort
- Leo L. Oberwarth, Frankfort
- Clarence Julian Oberwarth, Frankfort
- William Sidney Pittman, Washington, D.C. (Black)
- Gideon Shryock, Frankfort
- Lee Potter Smith, Frankfort
- Edward Durrell Stone, New York City
- Milton Doak Thompson, Jr., Frankfort
- Ossian Peay Ward, Louisville
- Monroe Quarrier Wilson, Louisville

Many surveyed resources were constructed by local contractors, builders, stonemasons, brick masons, carpenters, and plasterers. (See Chapter 7 for more information.) These vernacular builders, both white and Black, included:

- Amos Black, stonemason (Black)
- Thomas L. Brooks, contractor (Black)
- James Calman Brown, contractor/stonemason (Black)
- Michael Buckley, contractor (white)
- William Jack Gaines, stonemason (Black)
- Frank Edward Guy, Jr., stonemason (Black)
- John Henry Guy, Sr., stonemason (Black)
- John Henry Guy, Jr., stonemason (Black)
- Robert L. Hall, carpenter/contractor (Black)
- Robert Esprit “Bob” Hogan, stonemason (Black)
- William Clinton Jacobs, Sr., stonemason (Black)
- Lonnie Karrey Johnson, concrete contractor/builder (Black)
- Pete Marshall, stonemason (Black)
- Will Mason, stonemason (Black)
- Harry Mordecai, brick mason and plasterer (Black)
- Anthony Williams, carpenter (Black)



Figure 8-1. First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

Finally, several surveyed resources had been documented for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), including:

- Liberty Hall (1934-1937)
- Old State Capitol (1934-1937)
- Orlando Brown House (1940)
- Church of the Good Shepherd (1940)

#### ***NRHP Review and Recommendations***

This section includes a review of the surveyed resources that are already listed in the NRHP and recommendations for surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP for African American history.

#### **NRHP-Listed Resources**

Surveyed resources that had been previously listed in the NRHP, either individually or as part of a Historic District (HD), include:

- Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- South Frankfort HD (1983, revised and expanded 2008)
- Old Statehouse HD (1980), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- Corner in Celebrities HD (1971), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)

- Frankfort Commercial HD (1979), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- Frankfort Barracks HD (1979), merged with South Frankfort HD (2008)
- U.S. Post Office and Courthouse (1974), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- Liberty Hall (1971), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- Kentucky State Capitol (1973), merged with South Frankfort HD (2008)
- Old Kentucky State Capitol (1971), merged with Central Frankfort HD (2009)
- Frankfort Armory near KSU (2002)
- Frankfort Cemetery and Chapel (1974)
- George T. Stagg Distillery (2001)
- Colored Soldiers Monument at Green Hill Cemetery (1997)
- Jackson Hall at KSU (1973)
- E.E. Hume Hall at KSU (1983)

Three surveyed resources were also designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL):

- Old Kentucky State Capitol (1971)
- Liberty Hall (1971)
- George T. Stagg Distillery (2013)

Of the surveyed resources that were previously listed in the NRHP, only three were listed specifically for African American historical significance. None of the NHLs were designated for African American history. The resources listed in the NRHP for African American historical significance are:

- Jackson Hall at KSU (1973) (Figure 8-2)
- E.E. Hume Hall at KSU (1983) (Figure 8-3)
- Colored Soldiers Monument at Green Hill Cemetery (1997)





Figure 8-2. Jackson Hall at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-3. E.E. Hume Hall at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

### **NRHP-Eligible Resources**

The reconnaissance survey evaluated over 320 resources for potential eligibility for listing in the NRHP, either individually or as part of historic districts. Surveyed resources were evaluated for listing in the NRHP based on eligibility criteria specified in the U.S. Department of Interior Regulations 36 CFR Part 60: National Register of Historic Places. Cultural properties can be defined as significant if they “possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association,” and if they are 50 years of age or older and:

**Criterion A** - are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history (**history**); or

**Criterion B** - are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (**person**); or

**Criterion C** - embody the distinctive characteristic of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or whose components may lack individual distinction (**architecture**); or

**Criterion D** - have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (**archaeology**).

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not considered eligible for listing in the NRHP. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of historic districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- **Criterion Consideration A** - a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance
- **Criterion Consideration B** - a building or structure removed from its original location, but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event
- **Criterion Consideration C** - a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with the person’s productive life
- **Criterion Consideration D** - a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves or persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events
- **Criterion Consideration E** - a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived
- **Criterion Consideration F** - a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance

- **Criterion Consideration G** - a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance

Based on these criteria, Table 1 contains a list of surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP. The table below includes the resource name, address, construction date(s), KY-SHPO survey site number, and criteria for eligibility. More information about these resources can be found in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort's Preservation Officer. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A. An intensive resources survey will determine specific periods of significance and boundaries. Photographs of representative resources can be found in Figures 8-4 and 8-5.

*Table 1. NRHP-Eligible Resources*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Survey #</b>	<b>Criteria</b>
First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church	214 Murray Street	1966-1976	N/A	A, C, CCA, CCG
Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church	127 Greenhill Avenue	1921	FRFO-545	A, CCA
Green Hill Cemetery	E. Main St & US 60	1865-1972	N/A	A, CCD
F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium	315-317 Ewing Street	1955-1956	FRFO-826	A, C
Dormitory at KY Institute for Feeble Minded	120 Glenss Creek Road	1928-1930	N/A	A, C
State Stadium	106 Regan Street	c.1946	N/A	A, C
McChesney Stadium	715 Dabney Street	1934	N/A	A, C
Freedom March Route (8 blocks)	East 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street & Capital Avenue	March 5, 1964	N/A	A, B
College Park Subdivision (22 resources)	Cold Harbor Drive, College Park Drive, Wellington Court, Exum Drive	1958-1972	N/A	A, B, C
Kentucky State University (KSU) (29 resources)	Jackson Dr, College St, University Drive, Sillway Street, Cold Harbor Dr, Douglas Ave, Young Dr	1886-1972	N/A	A, B, C
G.P. Russell Court at KSU	200 Cold Harbor Dr	1966-1967	N/A	C
J.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU	400 East Main St	1966-1968	N/A	C
St. John AME Church & Parsonage Site (vacant lots)	512-514 Lewis St (c) 516 Lewis St (p)	c.1839 (c) c.1877 (p)	N/A	D



Figure 8-4. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, Interior, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

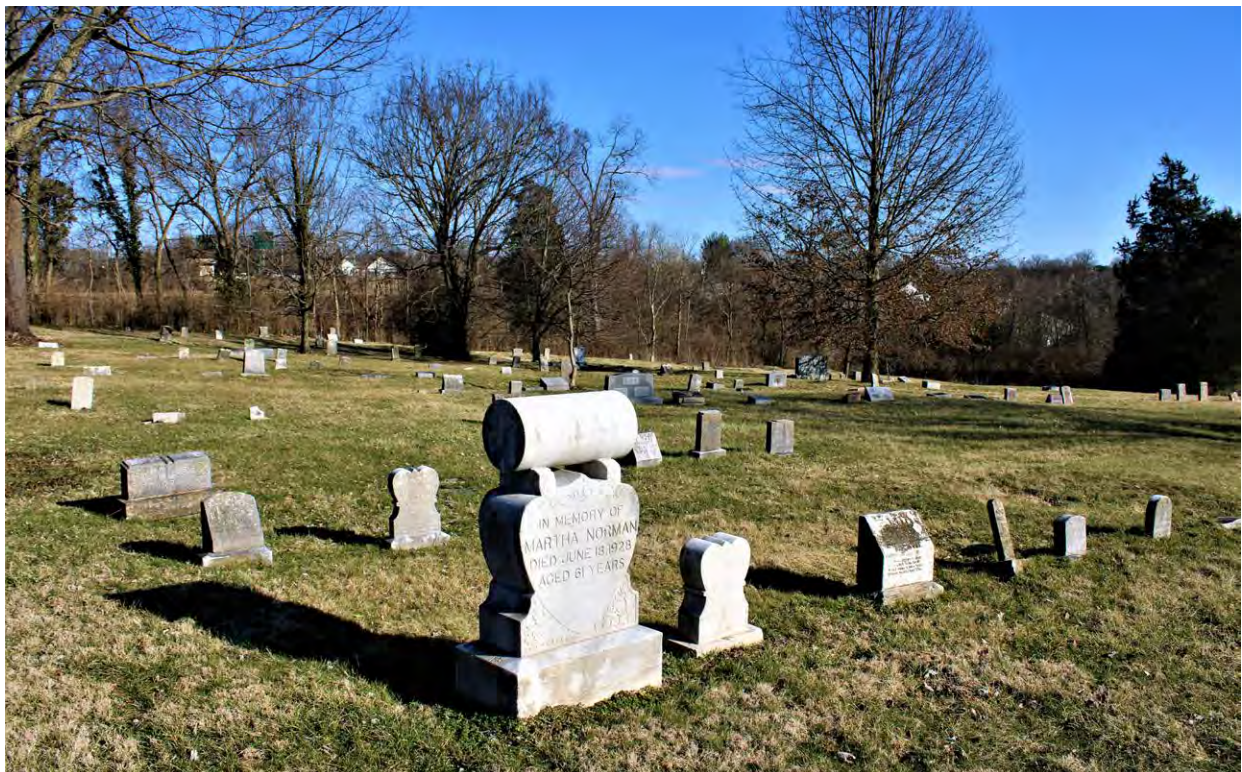


Figure 8-5. Green Hill Cemetery, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

Based on the previously listed criteria, Table 2 contains a list of 29 surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP as part of the Kentucky State University Historic District. The table below includes the resource name, address, construction date(s), KY-SHPO survey site number, and criteria for eligibility. More information about these resources can be found in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort’s Preservation Officer. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A. The recommended period of significance is 1886 to 1972. This table does not include buildings less than 50 years of age, most of which would be excluded from the proposed district. An intensive survey will determine NRHP boundaries and a definitive list of contributing and non-contributing resources. Photographs of representative resources can be found in Figures 8-6 through 8-11.

*Table 2. NRHP-Eligible Resources for KSU Historic District*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Survey #</b>	<b>Criteria</b>
Jackson Hall (NRHP-Listed)	Jackson Drive	1887	FRF-6?	A, C
E.E. Hume Hall (NRHP-Listed)	University Drive	1908-1910	FRF-26	A, C
KSU Farm Springhouse	Cold Harbor Dr	c.1900	N/A	A, C
Old Athletic Field	S. University Dr	1909	N/A	A
Kentucky Hall	University Dr	1928-1929	N/A	A, C
Mildred Chandler Hall	University Dr	1938-1939	N/A	A, C
E.E. Underwood Student Union	Jackson Dr	1939-1940	N/A	A, C
James A. Jordan Heating Bldg.	Jackson Dr	1939-1940	N/A	A, C
James L. McCullin Hall	409 University Dr	1948-1949	N/A	A, C
G.W. Carver Hall	405 University Dr	1952-1953	N/A	A, C
Rosenwald Laboratory School	S. University Dr	1953-1954	N/A	A, C
Paul G. Blazer Library	Jackson Dr	1958-1961	N/A	A, C
Alumni House	118 Douglas Ave	1960-1961	N/A	A, C
Bell Gymnasium	501 College Street	1961-1962	N/A	A, C
Bert Combs Hall	411 University Dr	1963-1964	N/A	A, C
Ann J. Hunter Hall	106 Jackson Dr	1963-1964	N/A	A, C
David H. Bradford Hall	100 Silway Street	1964-1966	N/A	A, C
J.S. Hathaway Hall	University Dr	1966-1968	N/A	A, C
Whitney M. Young Jr. Hall	Young Dr	1966-1967	N/A	A, C
G.P. Russell Court	Cold Harbor Dr	1966-1967	N/A	A, C
R.H. Jordan Maintenance Bldg.	Jackson Dr	1967	N/A	A, C
Paul G. Blazer Library Annex	Jackson Dr	1967-1968	N/A	A, C
G.W. Carver Hall Annex	405 University Dr	1967-1969	N/A	A, C
Memorial Athletic Complex	S. University Dr	1969-1970	N/A	A, C
P.W.L. Jones Field House	S. University Dr	1970	N/A	A, C
Shauntee Hall	S. University Dr	1969-1971	N/A	A, C
Carl M. Hill Student Center	University Dr	1969-1971	N/A	A, C
Betty White Health Center	304 University Dr	1970-1971	N/A	A, C
“Hillcrest” President’s House	Cold Harbor Dr	1972	N/A	A, C
Wesley Foundation Bldg.	102 S. University Dr	c.1972	N/A	A, C



Figure 8-6. Springhouse at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-7. Mildred Chandler Hall (l) and Kentucky Hall (r) at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-8. Paul G. Blazer Library at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-9. J.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-10. G.P. Russell Court at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-11. G.W. Carver Hall at KSU, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Based on the previously listed criteria, Table 3 contains a list of 22 surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP as part of the College Park Subdivision Historic District. The table below includes the resource name, address, construction date(s), KY-SHPO survey site number, and criteria for eligibility. More information about these resources can be found in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort’s Preservation Officer. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A. The recommended period of significance is 1958 to 1972. This subdivision contains 40 residences, so this table is not all-inclusive. An intensive survey and additional research will determine NRHP boundaries and a definitive list of contributing and non-contributing resources. Photographs of representative resources can be found in Figures 8-12 through 8-14.

*Table 3. NRHP-Eligible Resources for College Park Subdivision Historic District*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Survey #</b>	<b>Criteria</b>
Dr. William Exum House	315 Cold Harbor Dr	1965	N/A	A, B, C
Drs. Gus & Gertrude Ridgel House	312 Cold Harbor Dr	c.1966	N/A	A, B, C
Henry & Odessa Green House	303 Cold Harbor Dr	c.1966	N/A	A, C
George W. Simmons House	401 College Park Dr	1964	N/A	A, C
Drs. LeRoy & Mary Smith House	410 College Park Dr	c.1969	N/A	A, C
Henry & Margaret Baker House	300 Cold Harbor Dr	1964	N/A	A, C
Henry & Ora-Mae Cheaney House	309 Cold Harbor Dr	1969	N/A	A, C
William and Ruby Dixon House	307 Cold Harbor Dr	1966	N/A	A, C
Dr. Carl Harold & Clara Smith House	305 Cold Harbor Dr	1966	N/A	A, C
Dr. Carl Harold & Clara Smith House	314 Cold Harbor Dr	1963	N/A	A, C
Archie L. & Ann Surratt House	412 College Park Dr	1964	N/A	A, C
Arnold & Lilian Wright House	311 Cold Harbor Dr	1967	N/A	A, C
Joe & Winona Fletcher House	317 Cold Harbor Dr	1966	N/A	A, C
Bradley & Frances Berryman House	301 Cold Harbor Dr	1966	N/A	A, C
Dr. Alexis J. & Allie Richards House	400 Wellington Ct	1966	N/A	A, C
P.B. Russell House	403 College Park Dr.	1967	N/A	A, C
Everette Dolores Whittaker House	406 College Park Dr	1965	N/A	A, C
Stephen & Marianne Hanley House	407 College Park Dr	1968	N/A	A, C
Willie & Mageline Watkins House	409 College Park Dr	1967	N/A	A, C
Kristol D. Simon House	410 College Park Dr	1966	N/A	A, C
Brooks & Gloria Giles House	411 College Park Dr	1964	N/A	A, C
Ralona & Andella White House	415 College Park Dr	1967	N/A	A, C



Figure 8-12. Dr. William Exum House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-13. Drs. Gus and Gertrude Ridgel House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-14. Dixon House (l) and Smith House (r), 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

Based on the previously listed criteria, Table 4 contains a list of 28 surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP as part of a revised Central Frankfort Historic District that includes properties exhibiting African American historical significance, including enslavement, desegregation of schools and public accommodations, segregated transportation facilities, lynchings, sit-ins, and Civil Rights legislation and court cases as well as Black builders. The table below includes the resource name, address, construction date(s), KY-SHPO survey site number, and criteria for eligibility. More information about these resources can be found in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort's Preservation Officer. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A. This district currently contains 401 individual resources, so this table is not all-inclusive. This report recommends extending the period of significance from 1795-1961 to 1795-1972 to encompass the period of the Civil Rights Movement in Frankfort. An intensive survey and additional research will determine a definitive list of contributing and non-contributing resources. Photographs of representative examples can be found in Figures 8-15 through 8-18.

Table 4. NRHP-Eligible African American Resources for Central Frankfort Historic District

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Survey #</b>	<b>Criteria</b>
First Baptist Church	100 W Clinton Street	1907-08	FRFO-34	A, C
First Baptist Church Parsonage	104 W Clinton Street	c.1895	FRFO-99	A
St. John AME Church	208-201 W Clinton St	1892-93	FRFO-38	A, C
Good Shephard Catholic School	316 Wapping Street	1922-23	FRFC-96	A
Second St Elementary School	506 W. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1936	FRFC-760	A
First Presbyterian Church	416 W Main Street	1849	N/A	A
Old Kentucky State Capitol	300 W Broadway	1827-30	FRFO-33	A, C
Grand Theater	308 St. Clair Street	1941	FRFB-19	A
Mucci's Restaurant	241 W Main Street	1900	FRFB-87	A
Horn Drug Company	243 W Broadway	1880	FRFB-44	A
Frankfort Drug Company	238 W Main Street	1890	FRFB-85	A
Union Railroad Depot	119 W Broadway	1906-08	FRFB-34	A
Interurban/Bus Station	112-116 W Main St	c.1935	FRFB-61	A
U.S. Post Office & Courthouse	305 Wapping Street	1883-87	FRFC-1	A
Franklin County Courthouse	218 St. Clair Street	1832-35	FRFC-29	A
St. Clair St "Singing" Bridge	St. Clair/Bridge Streets	1893-94	FRFB-100	A
Emily Thomas Tubman House	310-316 Wash Street	1840	N/A	A
William H. Mayo House	311 Wilkinson Street	c.1880	FRFC-64	A
John Brown Hs/Liberty Hall	218 Wilkinson Street	1796-01	FRFC-26	A, C
Orlando Brown House	202 Wilkinson Street	1835-36	N/A	A, C
Crittendon-Watson House	401 W Main Street	c.1800	FRFC-14	A
Brown Swigert-Taylor House	300 Washington St	c.1815-44	N/A	A
Drake-Macklin House	212 Washington St	c.1850	N/A	A
Carneal-Watson House	407 Wapping Street	c.1855	N/A	A
John Bibb House/Gray Gables	414 Wapping Street	c.1857	N/A	A
William Davis House	306 Long Lane	c.1875	FRFC-77	A
Frances Rice House	308 Long Lane	c.1875	FRFC-78	A
James H. Hazelrigg House	407 W Main Street	1866	FRFC-15	A



Figure 8-15. Frankfort Drug Company, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-16. Franklin County Courthouse, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-17. William H. Mayo House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-18. Davis House (l) and Rice House (r), 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

Based on the previously listed criteria, Table 5 contains a list of 70 surveyed resources that are recommended as eligible for listing in the NRHP as part of a revised South Frankfort Historic District that includes properties exhibiting African American historical significance, including desegregation of schools and public accommodations, residences and offices of community leaders, residences of veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops, the Frankfort Freedom March, and Civil Rights legislation as well as Black builders. The table below includes the resource name, address, construction date(s), KY-SHPO survey site number, and criteria for eligibility. More information about these resources can be found in the Historic Resources Survey Database on file with the City of Frankfort’s Preservation Officer. Survey maps can be found in Appendix A. This district currently contains 910 individual resources, so this table is not allinclusive. This report recommends extending the period of significance from 1833-1963 to 1833-1972 to encompass the period of the Civil Rights Movement in Frankfort. An intensive survey and additional research will determine potentially revised boundaries and a definitive list of contributing and non-contributing resources. Photographs of representative resources can be found in Figures 8-19 through 8-24.

Additionally, research documented 36 houses constructed from circa 1945 to 1958 in Hermitage Terrace are not associated with African American history. Hermitage Terrace was a segregated white, riverside subdivision that replaced the Hermitage Distillery after it was demolished around 1940. Only the stone firewalls remain. Research indicates that these stone firewalls were likely constructed by African America stonemasons.

*Table 5. NRHP-Eligible African American Resources for South Frankfort Historic District*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Survey #</b>	<b>Criteria</b>
Freedom March Route (8 blocks)	Capital Avenue & E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	March 5, 1964	N/A	A, B
Dyke L. Hazelrigg House	418 Capital Avenue	1926	FRSF-148	A
Kentucky State Capitol	700 Capital Avenue	1905-09	FRSF-1	A, C
Kentucky State Capitol Annex	702 Capital Avenue	1950	N/A	A
Shotgun	305 Dixie Alley	c.1930	FRSF-996	A
William and Mary Buckner Hs	315 Dixie Alley	c.1930	FRSF-1026	A
F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium	315-317 Ewing Street	1955-56	FRFO-826	A
Hermitage Distillery Stone Firewalls	Hermitage Drive, E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> St, E. 4 <sup>th</sup> St	c.1868- 1940	N/A	A, C
Duplex	127-129 Murray St	c.1935	FRSF-1014	A
Duplex	131-133 Murray St	c.1935	FRSF-1015	A
First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church	214 Murray Street	1966-76	N/A	A, C
Adolphus Dilger Store/Apt	215 Murray Street	c.1886	FRSF-215	A
House	218 Murray Street	c.1925	FRSF-217	A
Shotgun House	219 Murray Street	c.1888	FRSF-218	A
Henry Garner House	220 Murray Street	c.1930	FRSF-219	A
Philip Ewing House	221 Murray Street	c.1905	FRSF-220	A
Duplex	223-225 Murray St	c.1905	FRSF-221	A
Benjamin F. Spencer House	224 Murray Street	c.1910	FRSF-222	A
Hawkins House	228 Murray Street	c.1910	FRSF-223	A

Kellis House	230 Murray Street	c.1920	FRSF-224	A
Blackburn-Mason Grocery	300 Murray Street	1933	FRSF-225	A
Duplex	308-310 Murray St	c.1910	FRSF-690	A
Louis H. Harvey House	311 Murray Street	c.1900	FRSF-228	A
Conley-Holmes House	318 Murray Street	1922	FRSF-230	A
Wilson House	322 Murray Street	c.1940	FRSF-231	A
Dr. Donald A. Marshall House	329 Murray Street	c.1953	FRSF-994	A
American Legion Post 176	226 River Street	c.1960	N/A	A
Frankfort High School	328 Shelby Street	1924	FRFO-633	A
Eliza Slaughter Lay House	406 Shelby Street	c.1880	FRSF-635	A
Frankfort Military Barracks	612-630 Shelby Street & 611-629 Woodland Avenue	1871	FRFC-459, 461, 651, 654, 656, 745	A
Booker & Carrie Washington Hs	442 Stanley Street	c.1900	FRSF-389	A
Bucker House	221 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1913	FRSF-114	A
House	215 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1911	FRSF-260	A
Warren House	217 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1900	FRSF-261	A
Martin E. Boyd House	218 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1885	FRSF-262	A
Geo & Margaret Washington Hs	222 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1880	FRSF-263	A
Croley House	224 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1954	FRSF-264	A
Jake & Mollie Warren House	225 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1924	FRSF-265	A
Apartment Quadplex	227 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1960	FRSF-486	A
First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church Parsonage	228-230 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street (moved 2021)	c.1894	FRFO-1016	A
Winnie A. Scott House	231 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1893	FRSF-266	A
Sallie Handy House	233 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1914	FRSF-267	A
Robinson House	236 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1905	FRSF-268	A
Lonnie Karrey Johnson House	301 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1880	FRSF-115	A, C
John B. Thomas House	306 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1941	FRSF-269	A
Duplex	308-310 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1925	FRSF-270	A
Mariah Booker House	311 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1905	FRSF-271	A
George Mason House	313 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1910	FRSF-273	A
Bertha Williams House	314 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1960	FRSF-124	A
Robert A. Smith House	317 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1880	FRSF-274	A
Basey House	329 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	c.1915	FRSF-1009	A
William S. Blanton House	208 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1925	FRSF-281	A
Blackburn House	212 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1925	FRSF-282	A
Robert D. Glenn House	219 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1880	FRSF-284	A



Coleman House	220 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1925	FRSF-285	A
Combs House	221 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1914	FRSF-286	A
Redding House	222 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1920	FRSF-287	A
Sarah Higgins House	223 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1914	FRSF-288	A
McWilliams House	224 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1924	FRSF-289	A
Martha Williams House	226 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1875	FRSF-291	A
Mark Edward Warren House	227 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1905	FRSF-290	A
Dr. Booker T. Holmes Office	300 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1910	FRSF-292	A
Wades-Carter House	302 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1910	FRSF-293	A
Robinson-Spaulding House	304-306 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1875	FRSF-294	A
Hudson House	313 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1875	FRSF-297	A
Calhoun House	314 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1926	FRSF-298	A
Warren Green House	317 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1875	FRSF-299	A
George G. Green House	322 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1905	FRSF-302	A
Mary Butcher House	324 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1914	FRSF-303	A
Kermit E. Williams House	328 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	c.1910	FRSF-306	A
Mary “Mother” Ellis House	214 E. 4 <sup>th</sup> Street	c.1910	FRSF-329	A
Jackie Dunlap House	310 E. 4 <sup>th</sup> Street	c.1905	FRSF-948	A
Andrew Coleman House	312 E. 4 <sup>th</sup> Street	c.1895	FRSF-947	A
Robert L. Hall House	314 E. 4 <sup>th</sup> Street	c.1895	FRSF-946	A



Figure 8-19. Martha Williams House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-20. Winnie A. Scott House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-21 Blackburn-Mason Grocery and Houses, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-22. Dr. Booker T. Holmes Office and Houses, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-23. Hermitage Distillery Stone Firewall at East 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-24. Conley-Holmes House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

This report recommends that the **Frankfort Freedom March Route** is eligible for listing in the NRHP as a cultural landscape site and linear transportation facility. Research documented that the demonstration route mobilized at the intersection of East 2nd Street and Murray Street, then headed west for two blocks to the intersection of East 2nd Street and Capital Avenue, which served as the official starting point (Figures 8-25 through 8-26). With approximately 10,000 participants, the march route then headed south along the west side of Capital Avenue, a divided boulevard with a central median, for six blocks to the Kentucky State Capitol, which served as the predetermined march route destination for the large-scale and peaceful demonstration. A podium and speakers were erected at the capitol plaza, where march participants took seats or stood for public speeches and live music. The keynote speaker was Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Research indicates that the Frankfort Freedom March Route featured staging areas, concession stands, and 24 courtesy houses where participants could step inside to warm up, dry off, make telephone calls, and use the restroom. (The buildings that served as courtesy houses are currently unknown.) City and state police officers lined the march route to provide security. Afterwards demonstrators left the capitol plaza and returned to their automobiles and buses along the same route. The NRHP-eligible march route includes the street corridor within public right-of-way, including roadbeds, the central boulevard median, flanking pedestrian sidewalks, crosswalks, streetlights, landscaping, the capitol plaza, mobilization areas, and support facilities.

Civil Rights Movement march routes that are currently listed in the NRHP include three march routes (1963) within the Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District in Alabama. (In 2019-2020, Robbie D. Jones coauthored an NHL nomination for this district, which defined the components of a Civil Rights march route.) Each of the Birmingham protest march routes is six to seven blocks in length. The 54-mile-long Selma to Montgomery March Route (1965) in Alabama is designated a National Historic Trail with several landmarks associated with the march route designated as National Historic Landmarks. In Selma, a district NRHP-listed in 2021 includes much of the Turnaround Tuesday March Route (1965). In 1999, the NPS designated Stonewall in New York City as an NHL with boundaries that included city streets containing protest march routes (1969) associated with the LGBT Civil Rights Movement. And in 2020, the 3.26-mile march route of the Chicano Moratorium protest (1970) in East Los Angeles was listed in the NRHP for its association with the Latino Civil Rights Movement; the march route district included two buildings and a park as well as the street and sidewalks along the route.

Additionally, this report recommends that the NRHP nomination for the **Frankfort Cemetery and Chapel** be revised to include its African American historical significance as one of the city's oldest public cemeteries for Black residents. Established in 1845, the cemetery features a segregated section for burials of African Americans and Catholics, neither of which are mentioned in the NRHP nomination.



Figure 8-25. Capital Avenue Looking South from East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-26. East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street Looking East from Capital Avenue, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



Figure 8-27. Capital Avenue Looking North towards Dyke L. Hazelrigg House, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

## **Recommendations**

In conclusion, the authors of this report make the following recommendations regarding the historic resource survey:

### ***Future Research***

Complete intensive historic resource surveys of rural African American communities outside the city limits of Frankfort, including Hickman Hill along Leestown Road (U.S. 421) near the Woodford County line and Farmdale on the road to Lawrenceburg (U.S. 127) near the Anderson County line. Identify other rural African American communities outside Frankfort.

Complete intensive research for resources with limited information, such as State Stadium and the courtesy houses associated with the Frankfort Freedom March.

### ***Historic Resource Surveys***

Intensive historic resource surveys should be completed for the College Park Subdivision, the Cherokee Subdivision and properties along Langford Avenue, the Green Hill and Glenss Creek communities, the Normal Heights neighborhood, and the KSU campus. KY-SHPO survey site forms should be completed for African American resources within these areas.

Update existing KY-SHPO survey site forms to include African American historical significance for properties, including dwellings and outbuildings associated with enslaved persons, schools, churches, cemeteries, civic buildings, commercial buildings, athletic facilities, recreational facilities, industrial facilities, transportation facilities, and landscape features such as stone fences, as well as rural farmsteads and thoroughbred horse stables.

### ***NRHP Nominations***

Prepare new NRHP nominations for resources associated with African American historical significance which are identified in this report. New NRHP nominations should be prioritized for resources that are most vulnerable to be demolished, adversely impacted by infrastructure projects, or in need of zoning overlays and funding for maintenance and repairs.

Update and amend existing NRHP nominations to include resources associated with African American historical significance, which are identified in this report, including the South Frankfort Historic District, Central Frankfort Historic District, and Frankfort Cemetery and Chapel.

Additionally, research in this report documented that the KSU campus features some of the finest collegiate and Modernist architecture in Kentucky and that the university has an extraordinarily significant history, particularly for education, arts and culture, women's history, and Civil Rights. Other HCBUs that have completed NRHP nominations for campus historic districts include Alabama State University, Alabama A&M University, Talladega College, Selma University, Stillman College, Miles College, Tuskegee University (NHL), Fisk University (Jubilee Hall, NHL), Clark Atlanta University, Spelman College, Morehouse College, Tougaloo College, South Carolina College, Bethune-Cookman University, Florida A&M College, Lane College, North Carolina A&T State University, Knoxville College, and Hampton University (NHL). The National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation offer many significant grants and funding opportunities to undertake NRHP nominations for HCBUs.

### ***Archaeology***

Consider archaeological excavations of the site of the original St. John AME Church, which stood from circa 1839 to circa 1940 at 512-514 Lewis Street and the site of the adjacent St. John AME Church Parsonage which stood from circa 1877 to circa 1950 at 516 Lewis Street. Both sites are currently vacant lots that appear to be relatively undisturbed (Figure 8-28). Archaeological testing and excavations could potentially reveal significant information about one the earliest African American religious sites in Frankfort.

Consider archaeological excavations of the sites of dwellings and outbuildings associated with enslaved persons at Liberty Hall, a historic site museum and National Historic Landmark. Records indicate that at least three houses for enslaved persons were located on now vacant land behind Liberty Hall. In 1860, Mason Brown, then the owner of Liberty Hall, enslaved 31 Black persons. Archaeological excavations could provide a wealth of information about urban slavery in Frankfort.

Complete intensive historic research and locate the original Kentucky State Prison Cemetery near the intersections of Chinn, Hoge and Wallace avenues two blocks north of Holmes Street. Consider archaeological testing such as Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to locate and potentially assist in recovering unmarked burials of both white and Black prisoners who died while incarcerated between circa 1800 and 1860 when records indicate that a new prison cemetery was established elsewhere. Research indicates that well over 100 prisoners died during this period, although an unknown number were interred in the prison cemetery.



Figure 8-28. Site of Original St. John AME Church on Lewis Street Looking Southeast, 2022  
Source: Robbie D. Jones



# APPENDICES

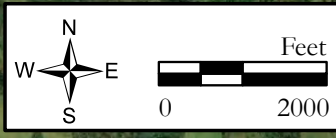
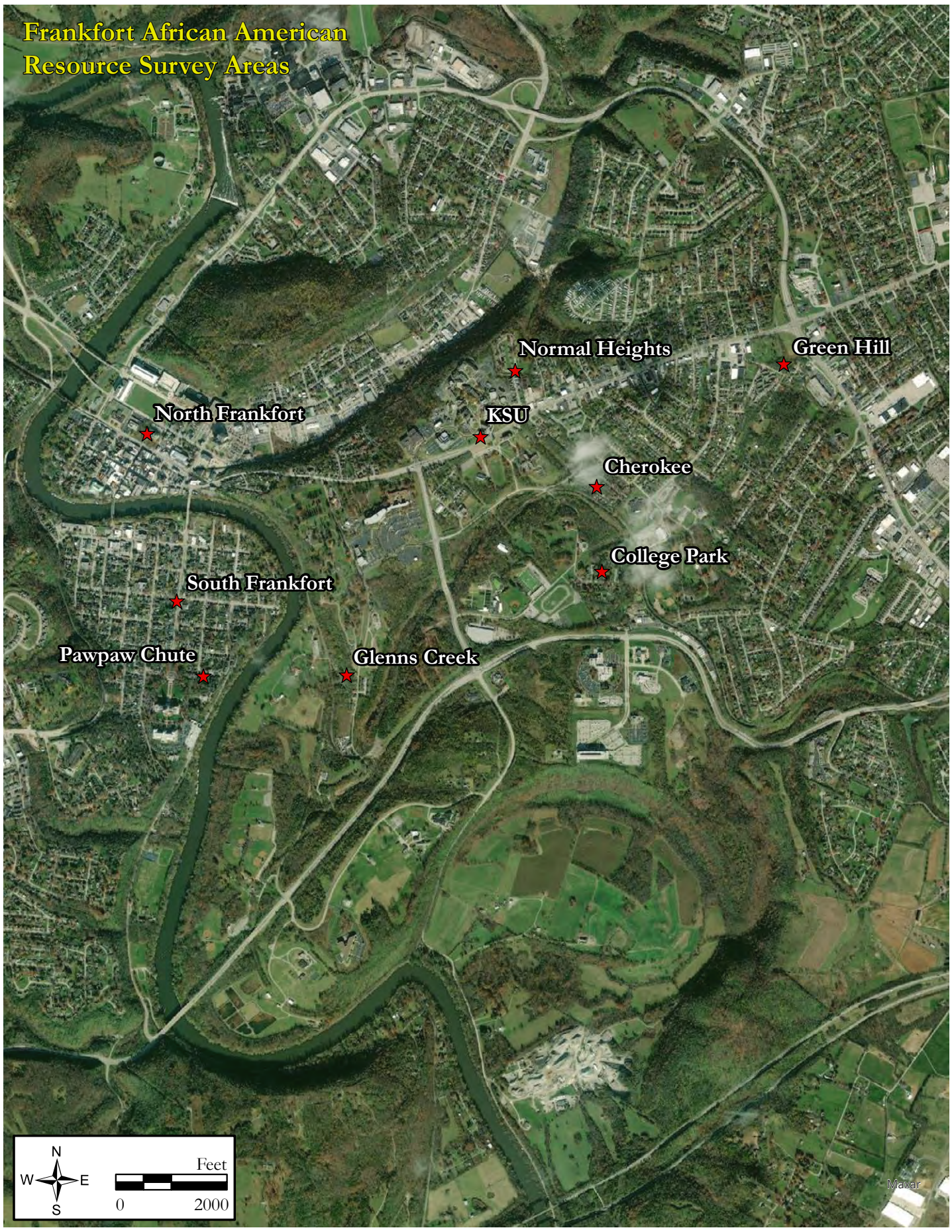
Appendix A – Survey Maps

Appendix B – Figures and Sources

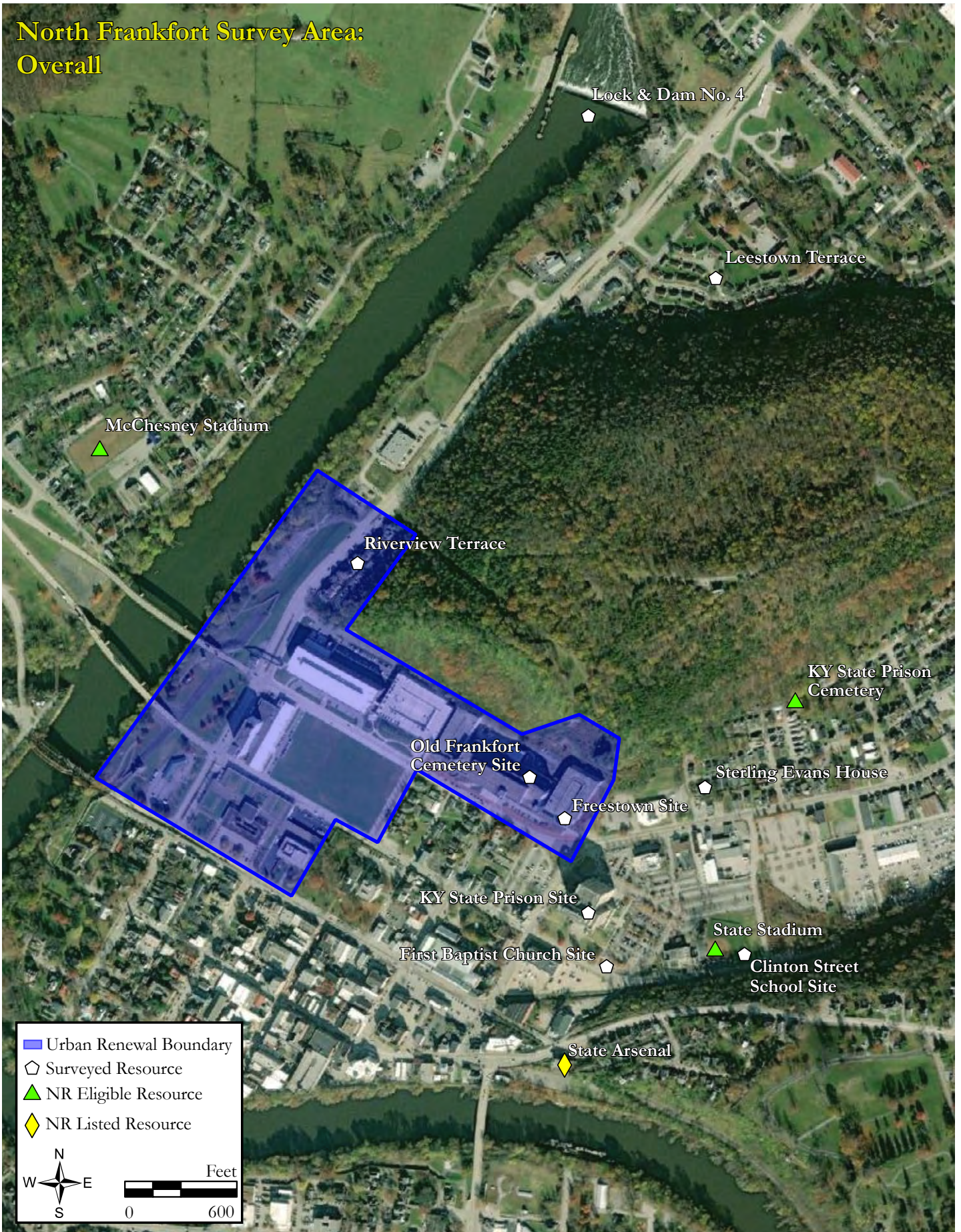
Appendix C – Resumes

## APPENDIX A: SURVEY MAPS

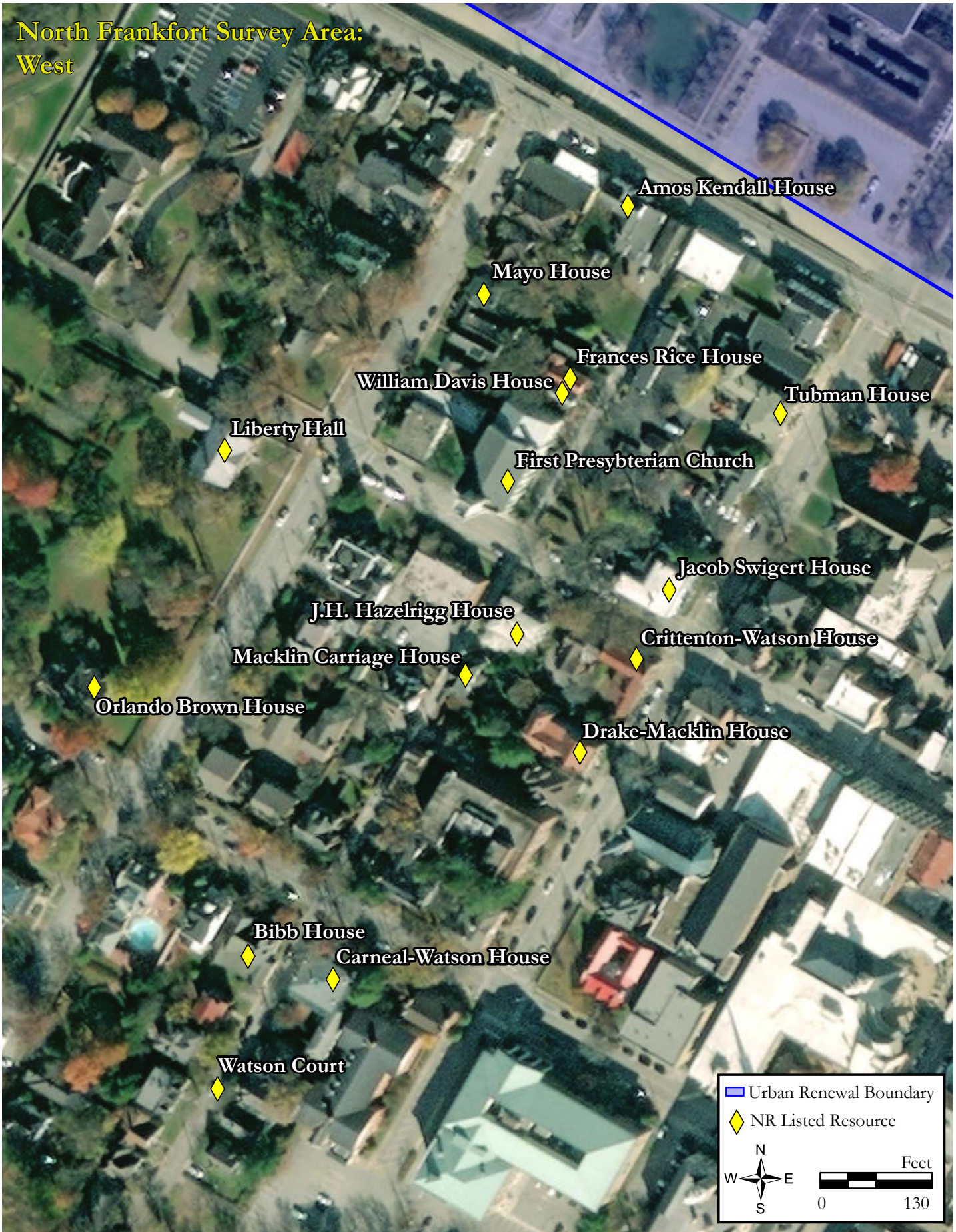
**Frankfort African American  
Resource Survey Areas**



# North Frankfort Survey Area: Overall



**North Frankfort Survey Area:  
West**



**North Frankfort Survey Area:  
Central**



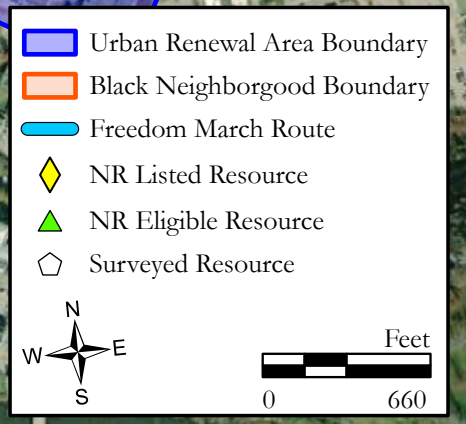
◆ NR Listed Resource

0 130 Feet

# North Frankfort Survey Area: East

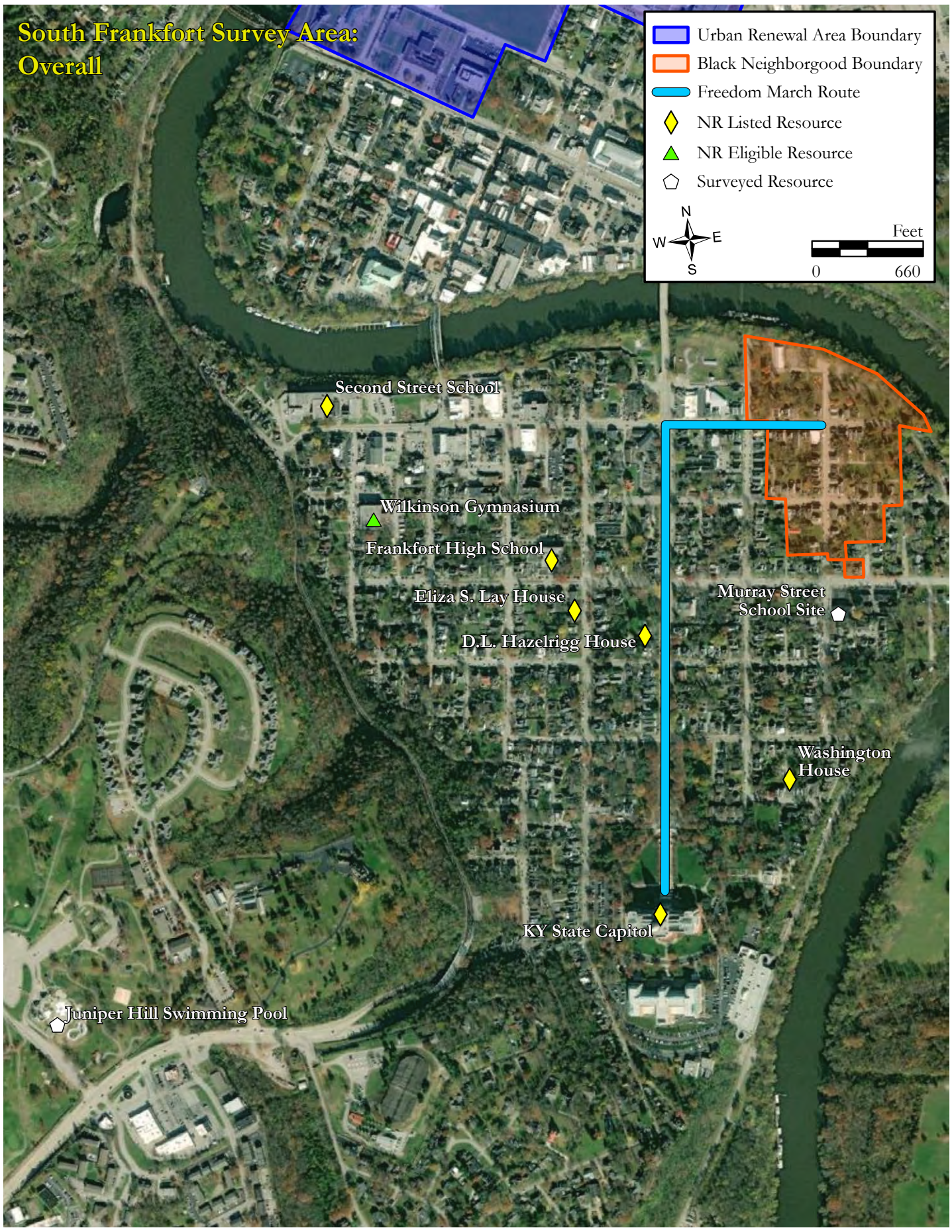


# South Frankfort Survey Area: Overall



Urban Renewal Area Boundary  
Black Neighborgood Boundary  
Freedom March Route  
NR Listed Resource  
NR Eligible Resource  
Surveyed Resource

North arrow and scale bar (0 to 660 feet)





# South Frankfort Survey Area: Northeast




# Frankfort Survey Area: Glenns Creek

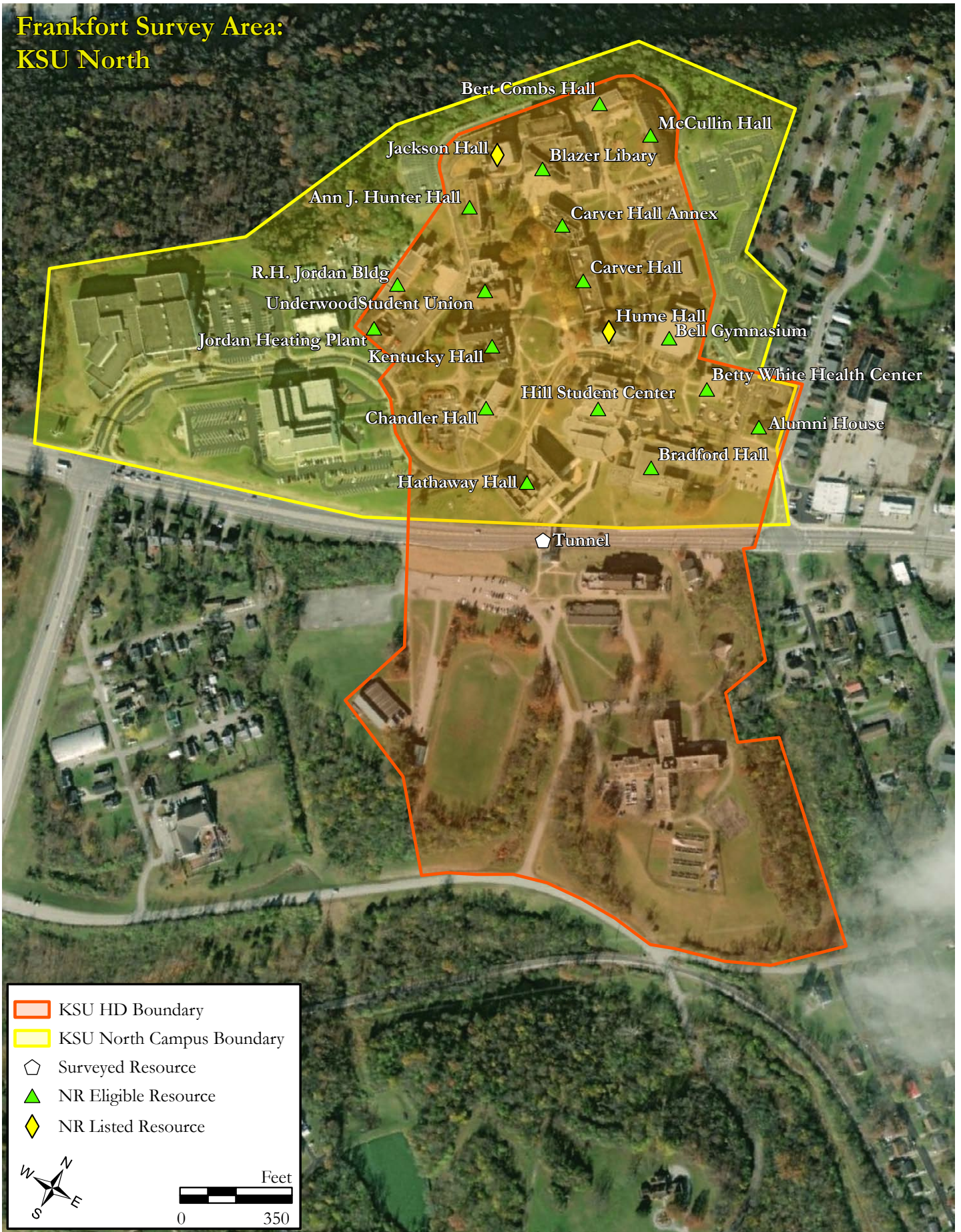
Legend:

- Glenns Creek Boundary
- Surveyed Resource
- NR Eligible Resource
- NR Listed Resource

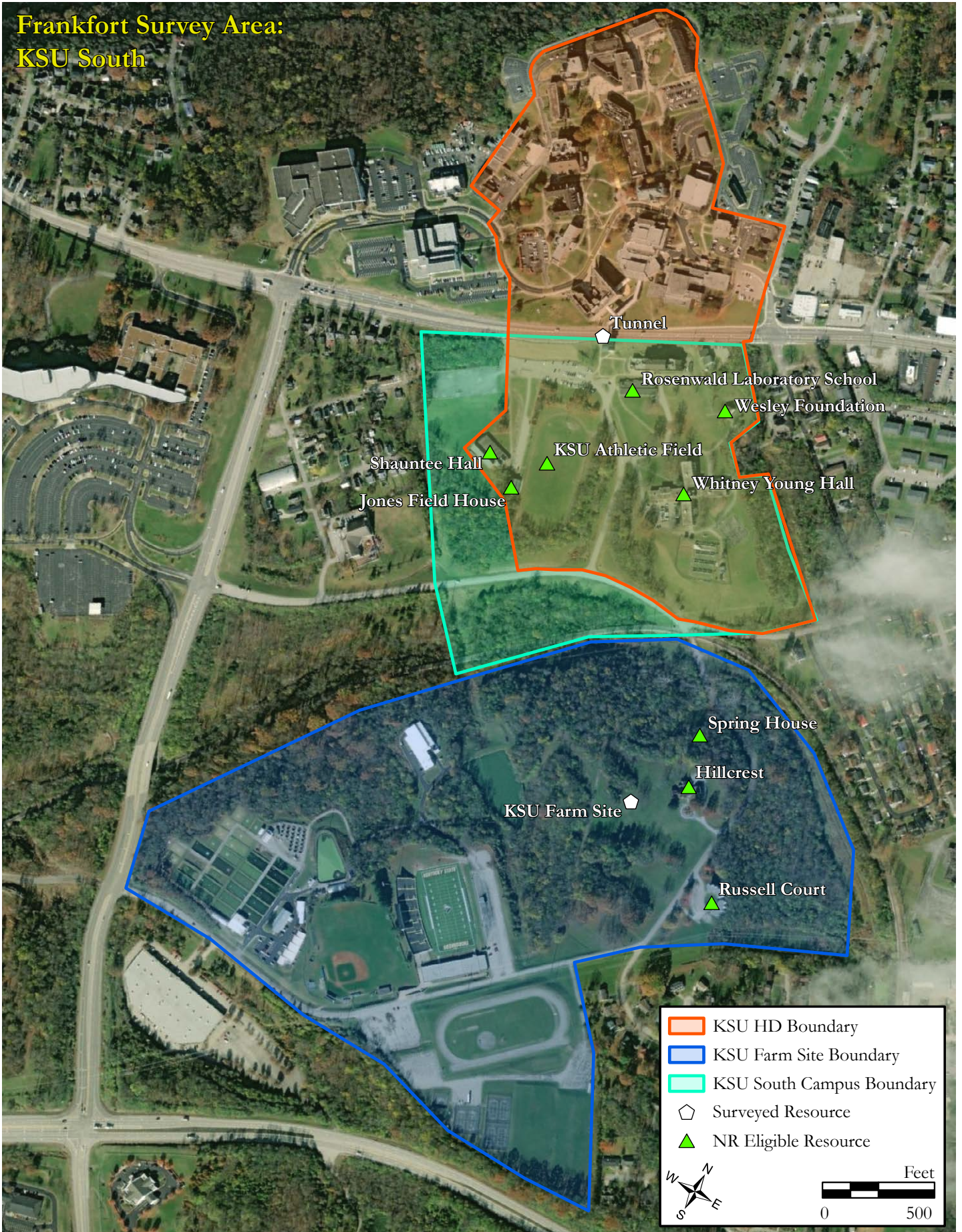
Scale: 0 to 360 Feet



# Frankfort Survey Area: KSU North



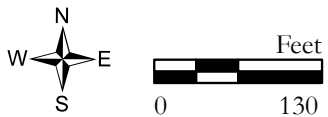
Frankfort Survey Area:  
KSU South



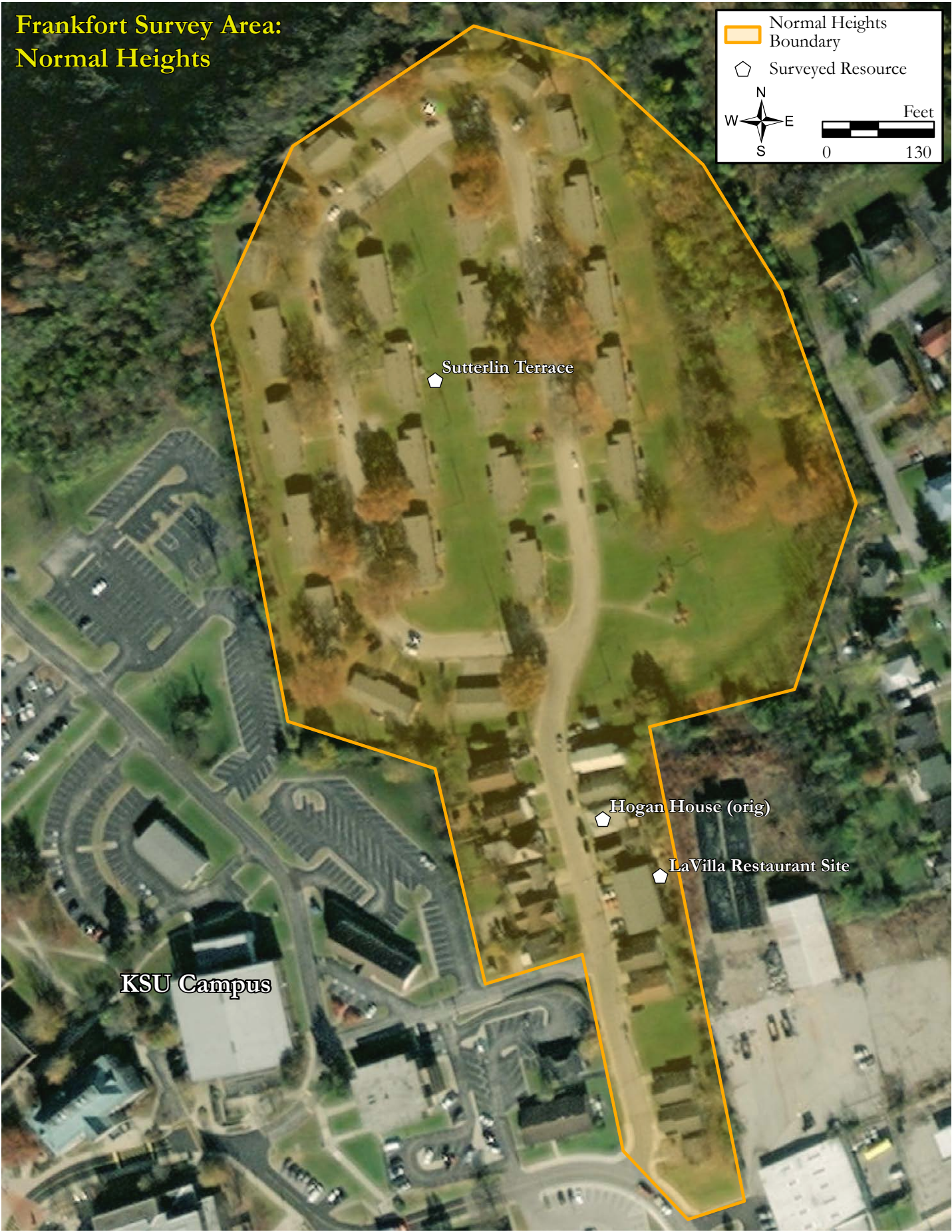
**Frankfort Survey Area:  
Normal Heights**

Normal Heights Boundary

Surveyed Resource



Feet  
0 130



Sutterlin Terrace

Hogan House (orig)

LaVilla Restaurant Site

KSU Campus

**Frankfort Survey Area:  
College Park**



# South Frankfort Survey Area: Cherokee-Langford Avenue



Taylor's Barber Shop Site

John Guy House Site

James Johnson House

W.C. Jacobs House

Hogan House

Cherokee Subdivision

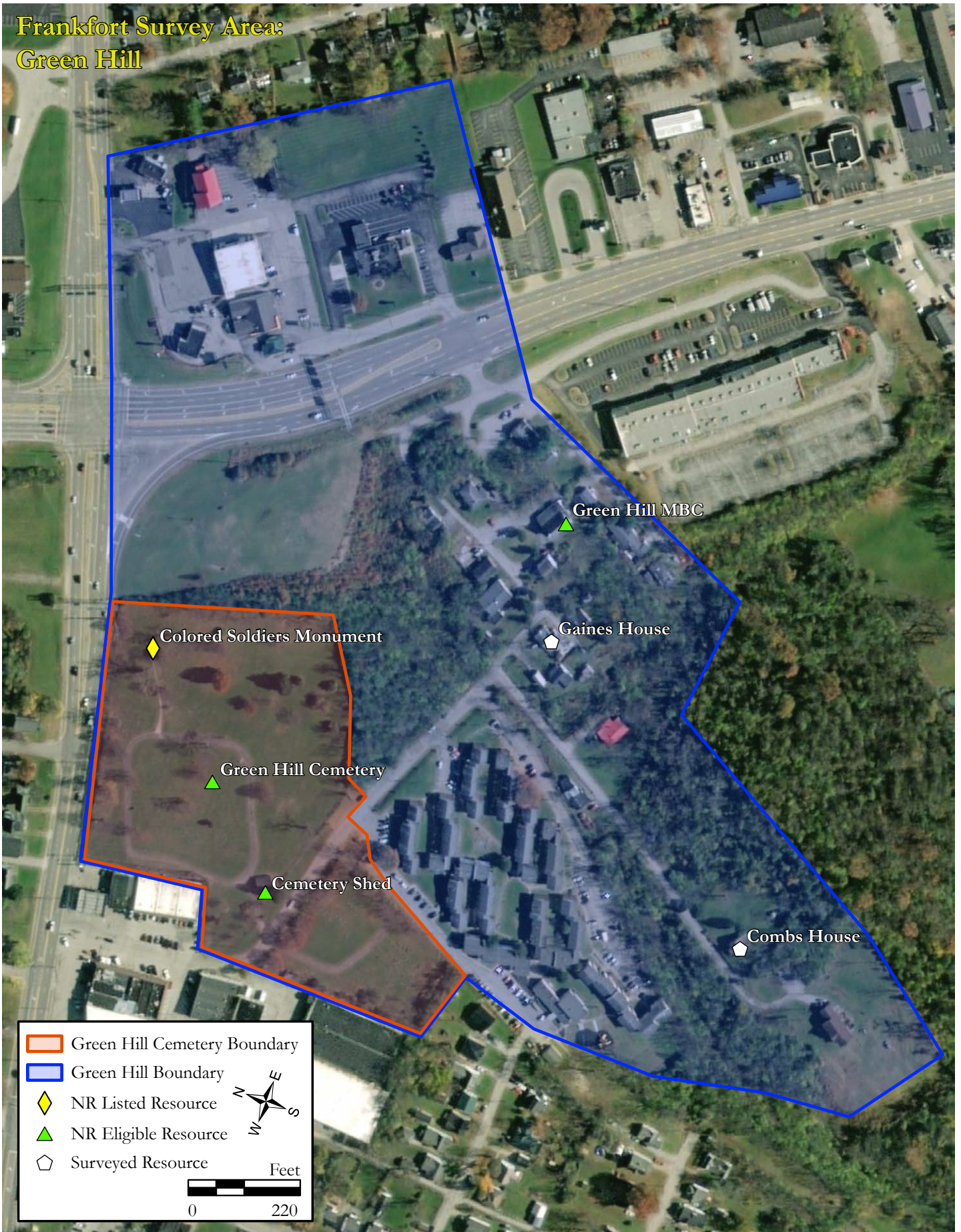
KSU Campus

Cherokee-Langford Ave Boundary

Surveyed Resource

Feet  
0 210

Frankfort Survey Area:  
Green Hill





## **APPENDIX B: FIGURES AND SOURCES**

# Frankfort African American Historic Context Report Figures and Sources

## Introduction

*Figure 0.1 African American Historic Context Report Public Meeting Announcement*

Source: City of Frankfort

## Chapter 1: Founding to War – 1791 – 1860

*Figure 1-1. Old State Capitol*

Source: Public Domain

*Figure 1-2. Map of Frankfort, 1786-1800*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: 976.902 F831bh, MAPsm; ref.map.177; reference copy SC.2.F, Fol. 5

*Figure 1-3. Rev. Calvin Fairbank*

Source: Public Domain

*Figure 1-4. Postcard advertising Liberty Hall; Senator John Brown*

Source: Capital City Museum Postcard Collection

*Figure 1-5. An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, 1836*

Source: Public Domain

*Figure 1-6. Emily Thomas Tubman, 1818*

Source: Image courtesy of Dr. Russell Rechenbach

*Figure 1-7. Colonization*

Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Louisville, June 21, 1862

*Table 1: Population Growth of Frankfort, 1800-1860*

*Table 2: Kentucky Population, 1790-1850*

*Table 3: Population of Franklin County, 1850 to 1860*

## Chapter 2: Civil War – 1860-1865

*Figure 2-1. President Abraham Lincoln 1863*

Source: Library of Congress

*Figure 2-2. Advertisement, 1863*

Source: Public Domain

*Figure 2-3. John J. Crittenden, 1859*

Source: Library of Congress

*Figure 2-4. The Border State Convention*

Source: *New York Times*, June 9, 1861

*Figure 2-5. Advertisement, 1863*

Source: Public Domain

*Figure 2-6. 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution*  
Source: Library of Congress

*Table 4: Number of Enslaved Persons, Total Population in 1860*

### **Chapter 3: Reconstruction – 1865-1900**

*Figure 3-1. Dr. Edward Ellsworth Underwood, 1900*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Graphic2\_Box47\_F046

*Figure 3-2. First Baptist Church*  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

*Figure 3-3. St. John's A.M.E. Church*  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

*Figure 3-4. Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution*  
Source: Library of Congress

*Figure 3-5. Memorial of the Citizens of Frankfort, Ky.*  
Source: Public Domain

*Figure 3-6. Frankfort Military Barracks, 1975*  
Source: Robbie D. Jones

*Figure 3-7. Clinton Street High School, Principal William H. Mayo and Teachers, Class of 1909*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.10AAFRA31

*Figure 3-8. Recitation Hall, State Normal College for Colored Persons, 1898*  
Source: Public Domain

*Figure 3-9. John H. Jackson*  
Source: Public Domain

*Figure 3-10. "Separate Coach Law Upheld"*  
Source: *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Ky., April 19, 1907

*Figure 3-11. Plessy vs. Ferguson*  
Source: Public Domain

### **Chapter 4: A New Century – 1900-1954**

*Figure 4-1. Union Depot, 1910*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Graphic5\_Box5\_387

*Figure 4-2. "Rode with Whites"*  
Source: *Paducah Sun Democrat*, April 9, 1912

*Figure 4-3. Tabitha Murphy Anderson and John Anderson Jr.*  
Source: Ancestry.com

*Figure 4-4. Lifting as We Climb*

Source: Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture

*Figure 4-5. Hospital Staff at the Winnie A. Scott Hospital*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Contributed by Josephine Calhoun to the Community Memories Project

Accession Number: 1995ph2.43AAFRA3

*Figure 4-6. Annual Offering for the Winter Coal Collection Envelope*

Source: Gift of Rick Wilson, Capital City Museum. 2011.80

*Figure 4-7. Grand Order of Odd Fellows Building*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: 1995ph2.29AAFRA3

Contributed by John Sykes to the Community Memories Project

*Figure 4-8. George Stagg Distillery*

Source: Buffalo Trace Distillery

*Figure 4-9. Colored Soldiers Monument*

Source: Robbie D. Jones

*Figure 4-10. James Cornelius Henry Draft Card*

Source: U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards

*Figure 4-11. Anna Mac Clarke*

Source: Kentucky Human Rights Commission

*Figure 4-12. Mayo-Underwood School, 1930*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Graphic2\_FreezerBag32\_8529.tif

*Figure 4-13. Dr. Edward Ellsworth Underwood at Kentucky State College, circa 1930s*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: 1995ph2.26AAFRA8

Contributed by George E. Mitchell to the Community Memories Project

*Figure 4-14. John Hatch*

Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 28, 1948

*Figure 4-15. Freedom March on Frankfort*

Source: *New York Times*, March 6, 1964

## **Chapter 5: Seeking and Demanding Civil Rights: 1954-1976**

*Figure 5-1. "School Segregation Banned"*

Source: *The Topeka State Journal*, Topeka, Kansas, May 17, 1954

*Figure 5-2. Southern School News*

Source: *Southern School News*, September 3, 1954

*Figure 5-3. "Frankfort Offers to Speed Integration"*

Source: *Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, Ky., February 12, 1963

*Figure 5-4. Frankfort High School Football Team, 1956*  
Source: Frankfort High School *Capitolian* Yearbook, 1957

*Figure 5-5. Dedication Ceremonies for the New Student Dormitories*  
Source: Dedication Ceremony Program, Kentucky State College, October 23, 1964

*Figure 5-6. "Start of a New Church Building"*  
Source: *The State Journal*, Frankfort, Ky., July 25, 1966

*Figure 5-7. Business Demolished for Urban Renewal*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Graphic9\_Box1\_FF3\_7

*Figure 5-8. Craw Home Demolished for Urban Renewal, 622 Washington Street*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Graphic9\_Box2\_FF4\_22

*Figure 5-9. "New Capital Plaza for Frankfort"*  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 31, 1966

*Figure 5-10. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at F.D. Wilkinson Gymnasium, 1957*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Contributed by Helen C. Exum to the Community Memories Project  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.53AAFRA1

*Figure 5-11. Genevieve Hughes*  
Source: New York CORE

*Figure 5.12. Jackie Robinson and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.*  
Source: Kentucky Human Rights Commission

*Figure 5.13. Freedom March on Frankfort Advertisement*  
Source: *The Lexington Herald*, Lexington, Ky., March 4, 1964

*Figure 5-14. March Route Map*  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 4, 1964

## **Chapter 6: The Built Environment**

*Figure 6-1. Plat Map of Frankfort, 1803*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 976.903 S671, MAPsm; khs.map.181; ref. copy located at SC.2.F, Fol. 5

*Figure 6-2. Liberty Hall, 1930*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, Graphic5.Box6.70

*Figure 6-3. Map of Frankfort, 1818*  
Source: Munsell and Anderson, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-4. Kentucky State House, 1861*  
Source: Campbell and Barlow, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-5. Franklin County Courthouse, 1909*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, Graphic5\_Box5\_99

*Figure 6-6. Kentucky Penitentiary Entrance and Office, 1838*

Source: Sneed, 1860: frontispiece

*Figure 6-7. First Baptist Church, circa 1912*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box101\_FF009

*Figure 6-8. St. John AME Church, 1871*

Source: Ruger, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-9. Kentucky Penitentiary Looking South, circa 1859*

Source: Sneed, 1860: 218

*Figure 6-10. Map of Frankfort - Probable Urban Enslaved Worker Houses, 1854*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society (Boundaries added by author)

Accession Number 976.903 R668, MAP; khs.map.433

*Figure 6-11. Enslaved Worker House at Liberty Hall, circa 1930*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, Graphic5.Box6.75

*Figure 6-12. Frankfort Map - Fort Hill, Arsenal, and Federal Headquarters, circa 1863*

Source: Brooks and Poe, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-13. Craw Neighborhood, 1854*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society (Boundary added by author)

Accession Number: 976.903 R668, MAP; khs.map.433

*Figure 6-14. Proposed Kentucky State Capitol, 1871*

Source: Ruger, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-15. Lithograph, the Hermitage Distillery, circa 1901*

Source: Capital City Museum

*Figure 6-16. Craw and Freestown Neighborhoods, 1871*

Source: Ruger, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-17. Craw During a Flood, 1883*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: John Wilson Townsend Collection, Graphic 3.03

*Figure 6-18. Frankfort Opera House and City Hall (left), 1907*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, Graphic5\_Box5\_107

*Figure 6-19. African American Neighborhood at South Frankfort, 1871*

Source: Library of Congress

*Figure 6-20. African American Neighborhood at South Frankfort, 1882*

Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, 1882 (Boundary added by author)

*Figure 6-21. Clinton Street School, circa 1910*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, circa 1910 - Graphic5\_Box5\_119

*Figure 6-22. Dr. William H. Mayo House, 311 Wilkinson Street, 1914*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box119\_FF008

*Figure 6-23. George T. Stagg Distillery with African American Workers, circa 1910*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box10\_F1

*Figure 6-24. Map of Frankfort, 1901*

Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-25. Dwellings near Wilkinson Street in Craw, 1913*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box111\_FF001

*Figure 6-26. William Jennings Bryan at YMCA Cornerstone Ceremony, 1911*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box60\_FF015

*Figure 6-27. Odd Fellows Hall in Craw, 1917*

Source: Russ Hatter, 2021

*Figure 6-28. Kentucky State Capitol Under Construction, 1910*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box146\_FF65

*Figure 6-29. Worker at Frankfort Arsenal, 1918*

Source: War Department, National Archives

*Figure 6-30. Jackson Hall at Kentucky State University, 1910*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box83\_F011

*Figure 6-31. Women's Dormitory (1906) at Kentucky State University, circa 1915*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_Box60\_FF\_011.tif

*Figure 6-32. Map, Kentucky State University Campus, 1912*

Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-33. Kentucky State University Campus Looking South Along Interior Road, circa 1915*

Source: KSU Yearbook, 1917

*Figure 6-34. Tuskegee Institute Campus Along Interior Road, 1902*

Source: Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-35. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1910*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box83\_F012

*Figure 6-36. Dean's Cottage and Hume Hall at KSU, 1913*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box109\_FF019

*Figure 6-37. Former Dudley Farm at KSU, 1912*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box103\_005

*Figure 6-38. Springhouse at KSU Farm, circa 1916*

Source: KSU Yearbook, 1917

*Figure 6-39. President's House at KSU, circa 1918*

Source: KSU Yearbook, 1919

*Figure 6-40. Kentucky Hall at KSU, 1930*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag31\_8414.2.tif

*Figure 6-41. Rosenwald Model Laboratory School at KSU, circa 1922*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag7\_00704\_5.tif

*Figure 6-42. Boy's Dormitory at Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded, 1930*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag32\_8475.tif

*Figure 6-43. Corinthian Baptist Church, 1958*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Co., Graphic9\_Box2\_FF6\_10

*Figure 6-44. St. John AME Church, circa 1906*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Underwood, 1906, 286 B222u

*Figure 6-45. First Baptist Church, 1912*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box101\_FF009

*Figure 6-46. Green Mill Service Station at Green Hill, 1939*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Cusick Studio, 1987PH05.14701.1.N8

*Figure 6-47. St. Clair Street Bridge and U.S. Courthouse (I), circa 1920*

Source: HistoricBridges.org

*Figure 6-48. Union Passenger Depot, 1909*

Source: Kentucky Historical Society

Accession Number: Ronald Morgan Postcard Collection, Graphic5\_Box5\_387

*Figure 6-49. Map, Union Depot Showing "Negro" Lobby and Bathroom, 1912*

Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-50. Streetcar on East Main Street near the Capital Hotel, circa 1915*

Source: Keef Jackson Postcard Collection



*Figure 6-51. Interurban Streetcar Probably at the Terminal on Main Street, 1914*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box113\_FF007

*Figure 6-52. Flooding along Washington Street at Craw, 1937*  
Source: Keef Jackson Collection

*Figure 6-53. Atwood Hall at KSU, 1935*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag60\_11688

*Figure 6-54. Frankfort "Colored Library," 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Co., Graphic9\_Box2\_FF6\_16

*Figure 6-55. State Office Building Under Construction, 1939*  
Source: Cusick Studio, Kentucky Historical Society

*Figure 6-56. Orlando Brown House, 1940*  
Source: HABS, Library of Congress

*Figure 6-57. Frankfort High School Football Field Clubhouse, 1935*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag57\_11337.2.tif

*Figure 6-58. KSU National Champion Football Team, Bell Gymnasium, 1934*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Cusick Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag55\_11088.tif

*Figure 6-59. c.1850 Tenement Houses, 516-520 Wilkinson Street, 1913*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_Box111\_FF004

*Figure 6-60. c.1850 Tenement Houses, 516-520 Wilkinson Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF1\_6

*Figure 6-61. c.1880 Tiger Inn Restaurant and Apartment, 400 Mero Street, 1958.*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF4\_14

*Figure 6-62. c.1915 Ward Apartments, 325 West Clinton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF4\_1

*Figure 6-63. c.1885 Dr. Booker T. Holmes Office & Apts., 334-336 Mero Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF6\_6

*Figure 6-64. c.1905 V.B. Christopher Grocery, 433 Mero Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF8\_7

*Figure 6-65. c.1923 Alex Gordon's Stag Tavern, 405 Washington Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF4\_10

*Figure 6-66. c.1905 Green Watts Lunch Room, 403 West Clinton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF3\_28

*Figure 6-67. c.1952 First Baptist Chapel, 726 Wilkinson Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF8\_1

*Figure 6-68. c.1947 Trinity Pentecostal Tabernacle, 641 Wilkinson Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF1\_5

*Figure 6-69. c.1885 Lucille Harris House, 506 Wilkinson Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF1\_11

*Figure 6-70. c.1910 Cecil Warren House, 624 Washington Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF3\_25

*Figure 6-71. c.1875 Memphis Hart House (Duplex), 222-224 Blanton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF1\_9

*Figure 6-72. c.1875 James C. Henry House, 218 Blanton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF1\_11

*Figure 6-73. c.1910 James C. Henry House, 214 Blanton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF1\_13

*Figure 6-74. c.1880 Sylvester Love House, 627 St. Clair Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF1\_5

*Figure 6-75. c.1910 Thomas L. Brooks House, 200 Blanton Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF1\_18

*Figure 6-76. c.1895 Louisa Wright Boarding House, 625 Center Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF4\_2

*Figure 6-77. c.1895 Dr. Edward E. Underwood House, 310 Mero Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF6\_15

*Figure 6-78. c.1905 Edward and Carrie Conley House, 320 Mero Street, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box2\_FF6\_11

*Figure 6-79. Photograph, c.1850 Rupert Apartments, 400-404 West Broadway, 1958*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Jack Hulette Realty Company, Graphic9\_Box1\_FF3\_15

*Figure 6-80. c.1800 Justice John Marshall Harlan House, 400 Madison Street, n.d.*  
Source: Frankfort: Love Downtown, Live Downtown (organization)

*Figure 6-81. Aerial View of Crow, 1966*  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 31, 1966

*Figure 6-82. Capital Plaza, c.1967*  
Source: Bill Slone, "Capital Plaza – Frankfort, KY." Personal Collection, 2018, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/10520947@N08/43921468535>

*Figure 6-83. State Office Building, 1966*  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 31, 1966

*Figure 6-84. Frankfort's Capital Plaza, 1972*  
Source: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 1972

*Figure 6-85. Edward Durell Stone's Capital Plaza, 1966*  
Source: *Lexington Herald*, 1966

*Figure 6-86. Sutterlin Terrace, 1968*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1968 - 1995ph2.21AAFRA7  
Contributed by Mary E. Clay for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-87. Estell Apartments at Kentucky State University, circa 1955*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: circa 1955 - 1995ph2.25AAFRA13  
Contributed by Winona L. Fletcher for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-88. Carver Hall at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-89. Rosenwald Laboratory School at KSU, 1955*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1955

*Figure 6-90. Blazer Library at KSU, 1962*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1962

*Figure 6-91. Alumni House at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-92. Bell Gymnasium at KSU, 1960*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1962

*Figure 6-93. Combs Hall at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-94. Whitney Young Hall at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-95. Original Design for Russell Court at KSU, 1966*  
Source: *Dawson Springs Progress*, 1966

*Figure 6-96. Russell Court at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-97. Blazer Library Annex at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-98. J.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1966*  
Source: *Lexington-Herald*, 1966

*Figure 6-99. H.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-100. Carl M. Hill Student Center at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-101. Betty White Health Center at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-102. Model of First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, 1965*  
Source: *Lexington Herald*, 1965

*Figure 6-103. First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, circa 1975*  
Source: First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church Collection

*Figure 6-104. Rosenwald Laboratory School at KSU, 1971*  
Source: *KSU Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 6-105. Paw Paw Street, 1907*  
Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Map

*Figure 6-106. Franklin County Map - Green Hill Community, 1882*  
Source: Griffing, *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, 1882

*Figure 6-107. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, circa 1960.*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.13AAFRA10  
Contributed by Edna Rawlings Washington for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-108. Franklin County Map - Glenn's Creek Community 1882*  
Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, 1882

*Figure 6-109. Map: Spring Hill Distillery (B), Pepper Distillery (C), and Glenn's Creek Turnpike, 1871*  
Source: A. Ruger, *Bird's eye view of the city of Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky 1871*. Cincinnati, Ehrgott & Krebs Lith.

*Figure 6-110. Map: Franklin County - "Colored Settlement," 1882*  
Source: *Atlas of Franklin County, Kentucky*, 1882

*Figure 6-111. LaVilla Restaurant, 1952*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.15AAFRA8  
Contributed by Grace T. Harris for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-112. Robert E. "Bob" Hogan Building a Stone Fence, circa 1965*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.9AAFRA25  
Contributed by Clara E. Hogan for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-113. Pete Marshall Building Home on East Main Street, circa 1955*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.9AAFRA15  
Contributed by Clara E. Hogan for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-114. Langford Avenue at East Main Street, Looking Northwest, circa 1954*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: 1995ph2.2AAFRA9  
Contributed by Barbara F. White for the Community Memories Project

*Figure 6-115. Map: College Park Subdivision, 1970*  
Source: USGS Topographical Map, Frankfort East, 1970

*Figure 6-116. Helen F. Holmes, 1971*  
Source: KSU *Thoroughbred Yearbook*, 1971.

## **Chapter 7: Architects and Builders**

*Figure 7-1. Thomas L. Brooks, circa 1919*  
Source: *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, 1919

*Figure 7-2. Monument for James C. Brown, Frankfort Cemetery*  
Source: Karen V., "Find A Grave," 2011

*Figure 7-3. Buildings at KSU, circa 1916*  
Source: KSU Yearbook, 1917

*Figure 7-4. Booker T. Washington's Residence, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, circa 1895*  
Source: Washington, *An Autobiography*, 1901

*Figure 7-5. Moses A. Davis, circa 1918*  
Source: *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race*, 1919

*Figure 7-6. Kentucky Institute for the Feeble-Minded at Frankfort, 1889*  
Source: *The Courier-Journal*, October 18, 1889

*Figure 7-7. Liberty Hall, 1986*  
Source: William Gus Johnson, HABS, Library of Congress  
*Figure 7-8. Ornamental Plasterwork, "Old" Kentucky State Capitol*  
Source: Sharon Cox, 2021

*Figure 7-9. Russell Memorial Hall at KSU, 1921*  
Source: Kentucky Historical Society  
Accession Number: Gretter Studio, Graphic2\_FreezerBag7\_00704\_3.tif

*Figure 7-10. Mildred Chandler Hall, circa 1970*  
Source: KSU *Thorobred*, 1971

*Figure 7-11. Hume Hall (r) at KSU, circa 1912*  
Source: KSU *Yearbook*, 1913

## **Chapter 8: Historic Resources Survey**

All fieldwork photos in this section were taken by Robbie D. Jones in 2022.

*Figure 8-1. First Corinthian Missionary Baptist Church, 2022*

*Figure 8-2. Jackson Hall at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-3. E.E. Hume Hall at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-4. Green Hill Missionary Baptist Church, Interior, 2022*

*Figure 8-5. Green Hill Cemetery, 2022*

*Figure 8-6. Springhouse at KUS, 2022*

*Figure 8-7. Mildred Chandler Hall (l) and Kentucky Hall (r) at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-8. Paul G. Blazer Library at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-9. J.S. Hathaway Hall at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-10. G.P. Russell Court at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-11. G.W. Carver Hall at KSU, 2022*

*Figure 8-12. Dr. William Exum House, 2022*

*Figure 8-13. Drs. Gus and Gertrude Ridgel House, 2022*

*Figure 8-14. Dixon House (l) and Smith House (r), 2022*

*Figure 8-15. Frankfort Drug Company, 2022*

*Figure 8-16. Franklin County Courthouse 2022*

*Figure 8-17. William H. Mayo House, 2022*

*Figure 8-18. Davis House (l) and Rice House (r), 2022*

*Figure 8-19. Martha Williams House, 2022*

*Figure 8-20. Winnie A. Scott House, 2022*

*Figure 8-21 Blackburn-Mason Grocery and Houses, 2022*

*Figure 8-22. Dr. Booker T. Holmes Office and Houses, 2022*

*Figure 8-23. Hermitage Distillery Stone Firewall at East 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, 2022*

*Figure 8-24. Conley-Holmes House, 2022*

*Figure 8-25. Capital Avenue Looking South from East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, 2022*

*Figure 8-26. East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street Looking East from Capital Avenue, 2022*

*Figure 8-27. Capital Avenue Looking North towards Dyke L. Hazelrigg House, 2022*

*Figure 8-28. Site of Original St. John AME Church on Lewis Street Looking Southeast, 2022*

## APPENDIX C: RESUMES



## **CAROLYN BRACKETT**

### **PRINCIPAL, CULTURAL HERITAGE WORKS**

Based in Nashville, Tennessee, Carolyn Brackett has more than 30 years of experience in organizing and managing complex projects to document histories, to engage the public, and to develop plans for preservation, heritage development, interpretation, and promotion. Ms. Brackett's work centers on building collaborative partnerships through State and National Heritage Areas, National Scenic Byways, State Historic Preservation Offices, nonprofit historic preservation organizations, state and local governments, tourism organizations, museums, and other cultural and historic resource agencies. Ms. Brackett worked as a Senior Field Officer for the National Trust for Historic Preservation for 17 years and served as a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for four years.

Carolyn has worked for three nonprofit organizations located in Nashville, Tennessee, where she was responsible for developing and implementing plans and programs. She served as Executive Director of Historic Nashville Inc., the city's nonprofit preservation advocacy organization; Director of Statewide Projects for Tennessee 200, Inc., the state's bicentennial organization; and Director of Marketing for The Hermitage, Home of President Andrew Jackson, a National Historic Landmark.

As one of the founders of the discipline of heritage tourism, Carolyn was engaged in the development of heritage tourism principles and planning processes that have been used across the country. Carolyn's involvement in heritage tourism began with the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development where she served as State Coordinator for the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Heritage Tourism Initiative.

She has worked in 28 states including California, Utah, Oregon, Colorado, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maine, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Minnesota. Ms. Brackett exceeds the qualifications set forth in the *Secretary of Interior's Standards* as a Historian [36 CFR 61]. Her areas of expertise include:

- Archival and Property Research
- Historic Context Studies
- Heritage Tourism, National Heritage Areas, National Scenic Byways
- Interpretive Planning, including development of wayside and public exhibits, historic markers, publications, walking tours, and educational programs
- African American and Civil Rights Movement History
- Women's History
- Strategic Planning

#### **KEY EXPERIENCE**

- Mississippi Delta National Heritage Area Management Plan – Served as project director and led an eight-member team to develop the management plan for the Mississippi Delta NHA. Managed the community engagement, site assessment, and research process, and served as the primary liaison with staff and board. Researched and wrote the majority of the plan, including chapters on context, interpretation, preservation of historic resources, and building the partnership network.
- National Register of Historic Places - South Side Community Art Center, Chicago, Illinois – Researched and wrote a National Register of Historic Places nomination which resulted in listing

at the national level of significance. As one of only three free-standing art centers established for African Americans through the WPA Federal Art Project, the South Side Community Art Center is a rare example of government support for African American interests in the 1930s and 1940s. Using this research, I developed a guided tour for the historic site.

- Melrose Plantation, a National Historic Landmark in Natchitoches, Louisiana – Developed interpretive signs and guided tour app to tell the story of famed African American folk artist Clementine Hunter. Completed for Association for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches.
- *Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report*, Historic Context for the Memphis Innovation Corridor Project, Memphis, Tennessee. Work completed for New South Associates and the Memphis Area Transit Authority and submitted to the Federal Transit Administration and Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office.

Examples of work include:

- National Heritage Area Management Plans and Planning
  - Mississippi Delta National Heritage Area, Mississippi
  - Appalachian Forest National Heritage Area, West Virginia and Maryland
  - Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta National Heritage Area, California
  - Shenandoah National Historic District, Virginia
  - Cane River National Heritage Area, Louisiana
  - Crossroads of the American Revolution, New Jersey
  - Journey Through Hallowed Ground, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, West Virginia
  - Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area, Mississippi
  - Muscle Shoals National Heritage Area, Alabama
- National Heritage Area Feasibility Studies
  - Southern Maryland
  - Eastern North Carolina
- National Park Service African American Civil Rights Grant - Interpretive exhibit and interpretive plans for Clayborn Temple in Memphis, Tennessee.
- National Register of Historic Places
  - Historic Music Industry Resources, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee – Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) with a comprehensive historic context for Historic Resources on Music Row, covering over 400 resources within a 209-acre neighborhood with period of significance of 1954-1989 (Criterion Consideration G). Project received an Award of Merit from the Tennessee Historical Commission.
  - Gateways Initiative – Funded by the Appalachian Regional Commission and the National Endowment for the Arts to work with gateway communities to public lands. The program included heritage tourism workshops, assessment reports, and grants. National Parks which participated in the initiative included Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area and Cumberland Gap National Historical Park in Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky.
  - Tennessee’s Historic Preservation Plan - Served as co-author of the State of Tennessee historic preservation plan update from 2019-2029. Project included a statewide online survey of preservationists, historians, cultural resource professionals, archaeologists, and the public, as well as demographic studies, preservation planning recommendations, and a strategic plan with extensive goals and objectives. Federally funded project completed for the Tennessee Historical Commission and published online. Completed for New South Associates and reviewed by NPS.



## ROBBIE D. JONES

### PRINCIPAL SENIOR ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN (36 CFR 61)

Robbie Jones has 30-years-experience working as an architectural historian, historic preservation planner, and project manager for government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private consultants. He holds a Bachelor of Architecture from UT-Knoxville and a M.A. in Public History/Historic Preservation from MTSU. Based in Nashville since 1994, Mr. Jones has served as a Principal Senior Architectural Historian and Tennessee Branch Manager for Richard Grubb & Associates since 2021. He has extensive experience with historic preservation laws such as Section 106 and Section 4(f), including cultural resource surveys and effects assessments, Memoranda of Agreements, minimization/mitigation plans, and public involvement requirements. He has experience working with NHL and historic site museum properties, including serving as Director of Preservation at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage (2000-2008). Mr. Jones has worked in 20 states, primarily in the Southeast.

#### **AREAS OF EXPERTISE:**

- National Register of Historic Places Nominations
- Determinations of Eligibility (DOE)
- Cultural Resource Surveys
- Historic Context Studies
- Archival Research
- Section 106 Assessment of Effects (AOE)
- Historic Structure Reports and HABS/HAER Documentation
- African American and Civil Rights History
- Interpretive Plans, Exhibits, Historic Markers
- Transportation/Infrastructure/Military
- Native American Coordination
- Section 4(f) Compliance

#### **RELEVANT PROJECT EXPERIENCE:**

2022-2023	NPS: Faneuil Hall Historic Resource Study, Boston Massachusetts (HRS)
2021-2022	City of Nashville: Nashville Bomb Site Documentation and Salvage (Research, Mitigation)
2012-2022	FEMA/FERC/EPA/USACE: Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia (Survey, AOE)
2008-2022	TDOT: Lebanon, Bolivar, Chattanooga, Williamsport, Mt. Juliet, Knoxville, Clarksville, Celina, Elizabethton, Nashville, Maryville, Cleveland, Nolensville, Thompson's Station, Hartsville, Manchester, Crossville, Tri-Cities, Memphis, Clarkrange, Farragut, Parker's Crossroads, Livingston, Dandridge (Survey, AOE, Section 4(f))
2018-2021	GSA: US Courthouse, Nashville (Research, Mitigation, Historic Marker, Public Exhibit)
2012-2021	TVA: Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia (Survey, AOE)
2012-2021	DoD: Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia (Section 110, Survey)
2019-2020	NPS: Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District, Alabama (NHL Nomination)
2019-2020	NCDOT: Greensboro, Robbinsville, Durham, Charlotte, Sanford (Manager, Survey, AOE)
2008-2020	FTA: Tennessee, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, North Carolina (Survey, AOE, Section 4(f))
2018-2018	TN-SHPO: <i>Tennessee's Preservation Plan, 2019-2029</i> (Publication)
2015-2016	NTHP: Historic Music-Related Resources, Music Row, Nashville (MPDF and NRHP Nomination)
2012-2014	TDOT: <i>Tennessee Toll Bridge Context Study, 1927-1947</i> (Publication)
2010-2013	NASA: White Sands Space Harbor, Las Cruces, New Mexico (Survey, AOE, Mitigation, HAER)

#### **ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**

Mr. Jones is the author or co-author of over 200 cultural resources technical reports, which resulted in the NRHP-eligibility evaluations of approximately 7,500 resources throughout the U.S. He has published numerous journal articles, encyclopedia biographies, book reviews, book chapters, and 33 entries for Tennessee in the Society of Architectural Historians online *Archipedia*, as well as award-winning *The Historic Architecture of Sevier County, Tennessee*. He co-authored a chapter on historic roadside show caves in *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture* (University of Tennessee Press, 2006) and a study of Tennessee's "Green Book" sites (MTSU, 2019). He co-authored the MPDF and NRHP nomination for Nashville's historic Music Row, which received an Award of Merit from the Tennessee Historical Commission. Mr. Jones has presented numerous scholarly papers throughout the U.S., and has received 10 professional awards from local, state, and national agencies. He is a past president and current treasurer of the Southeast Chapter of Society of Architectural Historians (SESAH) and a past president of Historic Nashville, Inc. Mr. Jones served as the historian for HGTV's *Nashville Flipped* TV show and has completed over 25 TV and print media interviews related to local historic preservation issues.