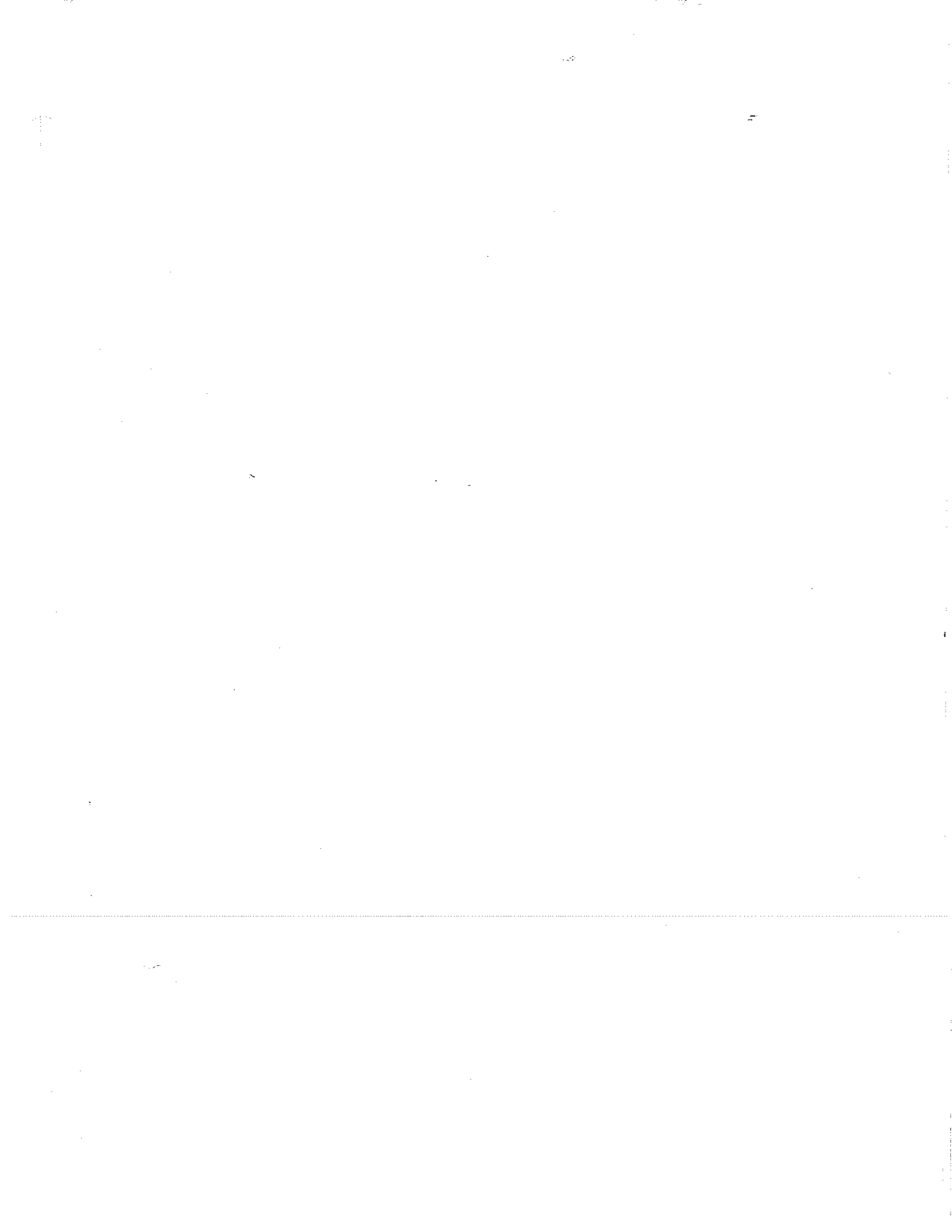


Our Kentucky

.....
A Study of the Bluegrass State

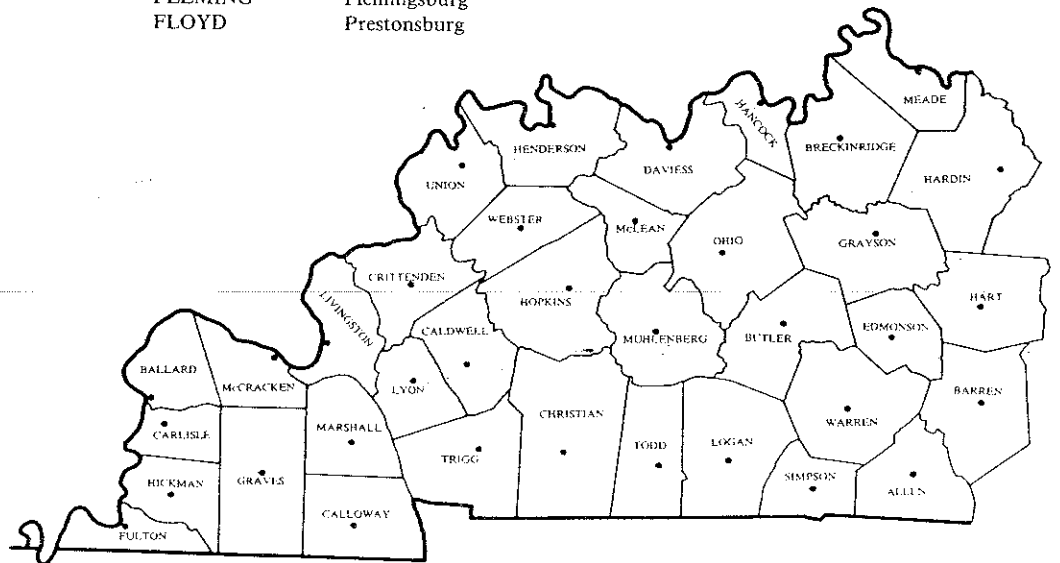
James C. Klotter, Editor

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY.....



KENTUCKY COUNTIES AND COUNTY SEATS

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| ADAIR | Columbia | FRANKLIN | Frankfort |
| ALLEN | Scottsville | FULTON | Hickman |
| ANDERSON | Lawrenceburg | GALLATIN | Warsaw |
| BALLARD | Wickliffe | GARRARD | Lancaster |
| BARREN | Glasgow | GRANT | Williamstown |
| BATH | Owingsville | GRAVES | Mayfield |
| BELL | Pineville | GRAYSON | Leitchfield |
| BOONE | Burlington | GREEN | Greensburg |
| BOURBON | Paris | GREENUP | Greenup |
| BOYD | Catlettsburg | HANCOCK | Hawesville |
| BOYLE | Danville | HARDIN | Elizabethtown |
| BRACKEN | Brooksville | HARLAN | Harlan |
| BREATHITT | Jackson | HARRISON | Cynthiana |
| BRECKINRIDGE | Hardinsburg | HART | Munfordville |
| BULLITT | Shepherdsville | HENDERSON | Henderson |
| BUTLER | Morgantown | HENRY | New Castle |
| CALDWELL | Princeton | HICKMAN | Clinton |
| CALLOWAY | Murray | HOPKINS | Madisonville |
| CAMPBELL | Alexandria | JACKSON | McKee |
| CARLISLE | Bardwell | JEFFERSON | Louisville |
| CARROLL | Carrollton | JESSAMINE | Nicholasville |
| CARTER | Grayson | JOHNSON | Paintsville |
| CASEY | Liberty | KENTON | Independence |
| CHRISTIAN | Hopkinsville | KNOTT | Hindman |
| CLARK | Winchester | KNOX | Barbourville |
| CLAY | Manchester | LaRUE | Hodgenville |
| CLINTON | Albany | LAUREL | London |
| CRITTENDEN | Marion | LAURENCE | Louisa |
| CUMBERLAND | Burkesville | LEE | Beattyville |
| DAVISS | Owensboro | LESLIE | Hyden |
| EDMONSON | Brownsville | LETCHER | Whitesburg |
| ELLIOTT | Sandy Hook | | |
| ESTILL | Irvine | | |
| FAYETTE | Lexington | | |
| FLEMING | Flemingsburg | | |
| FLOYD | Prestonsburg | | |

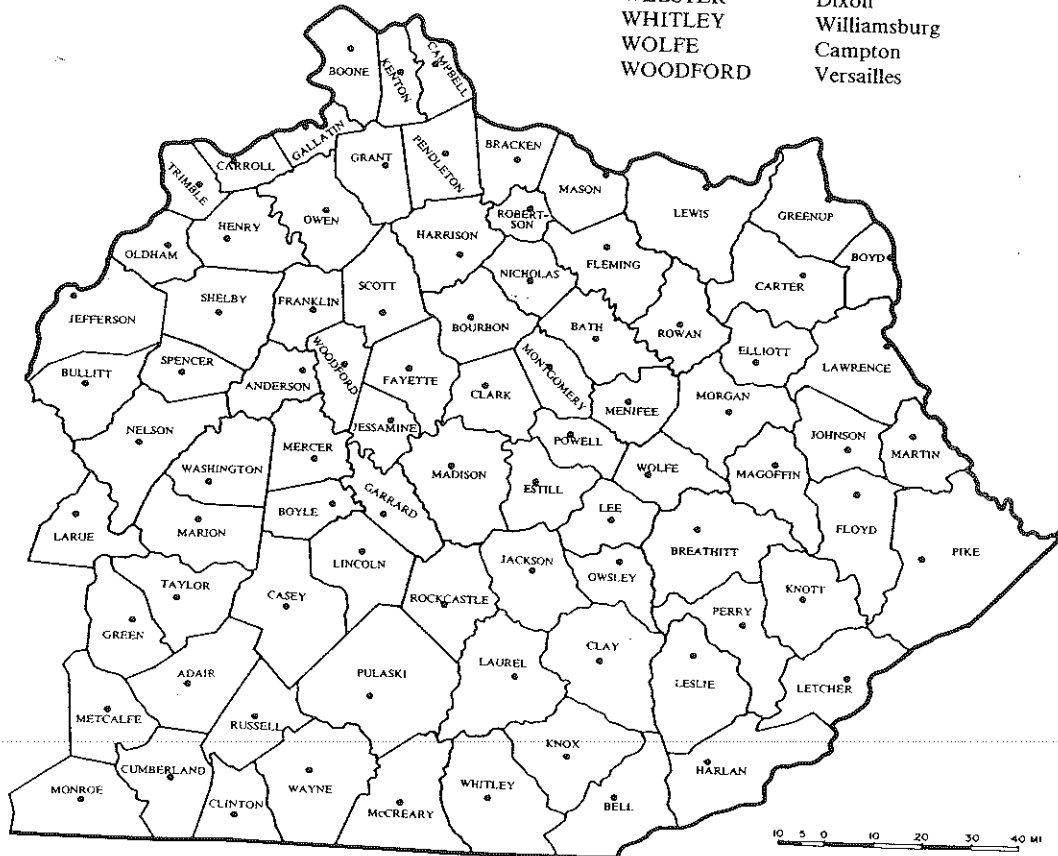


LEWIS
 LINCOLN
 LIVINGSTON
 LOGAN
 LYON
 McCRACKEN
 McCREARY
 McLEAN
 MADISON
 MAGOFFIN
 MARION
 MARSHALL
 MARTIN
 MASON
 MEADE
 MENIFEE
 MERCER
 METCALFE
 MONROE
 MONTGOMERY
 MORGAN
 MUHLENBERG
 NELSON
 NICHOLAS

Vanceburg
 Stanford
 Smithland
 Russellville
 Eddyville
 Paducah
 Whitley City
 Calhoun
 Richmond
 Salyersville
 Lebanon
 Benton
 Inez
 Maysville
 Brandenburg
 Frenchburg
 Harrodsburg
 Edmonton
 Tompkinsville
 Mount Sterling
 West Liberty
 Greenville
 Bardstown
 Carlisle

OHIO
 OLDHAM
 OWEN
 OWSLEY
 PENDLETON
 PERRY
 PIKE
 POWELL
 PULASKI
 ROBERTSON
 ROCKCASTLE
 ROWAN
 RUSSELL
 SCOTT
 SHELBY
 SIMPSON
 SPENCER
 TAYLOR
 TODD
 TRIGG
 TRIMBLE
 UNION
 WARREN
 WASHINGTON
 WAYNE
 WEBSTER
 WHITLEY
 WOLFE
 WOODFORD

Hartford
 La Grange
 Owenton
 Booneville
 Falmouth
 Hazard
 Pikeville
 Stanton
 Somerset
 Mount Olivet
 Mount Vernon
 Morehead
 Jamestown
 Georgetown
 Shelbyville
 Franklin
 Taylorsville
 Campbellsville
 Elkton
 Cadiz
 Bedford
 Morganfield
 Bowling Green
 Springfield
 Monticello
 Dixon
 Williamsburg
 Campton
 Versailles



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Preface

This book grew out of a teacher's frustration. In 1989, Martha Francis of Lincoln County High School grew tired of trying to teach a Kentucky studies elective course that had no textbook. Nor did an appropriate one exist. She decided to do something to remedy that, contacted the state historian at the Kentucky Historical Society to be an advisor, and applied to the Kentucky Humanities Council for a grant to study the problem. Out of that effort, this book resulted.

A teacher committee, chaired by Martha Francis, planned the contents and format of the book. Other members of the committee were Robert Adkins of Madisonville/North Hopkins High School, Lynda Coleman of Calloway County High School, Mac Coleman of Calloway County Middle School, Greg Figgs of Georgetown Middle School, Joyce Herald of Sebastian Middle School (Breathitt County), Paul Herald of Breathitt County High School, Tim Moore of Simon Kenton High School, and Susan McCulloch-Vislifel of James G. Brown School (Louisville).

This group of teachers from across the state examined other states' approaches and looked at the needs for Kentucky. Results of this examination indicated that some schools teach the course in a two-semester format whereas others prefer to teach it only one semester; some teach it only to sophomores, others direct it toward seniors. Therefore, maximum flexibility was needed, resulting in the topical approach presented herein.

The committee discussed possible authors, contacted them, and received expressions of interest. The eventual contributors represented numerous disciplines—history, geography, anthropology, political science, religious studies, education, economics,

literature, music, and journalism—and made large sacrifices to complete the work in a very limited time frame. They represent the best in scholarship on Kentucky.

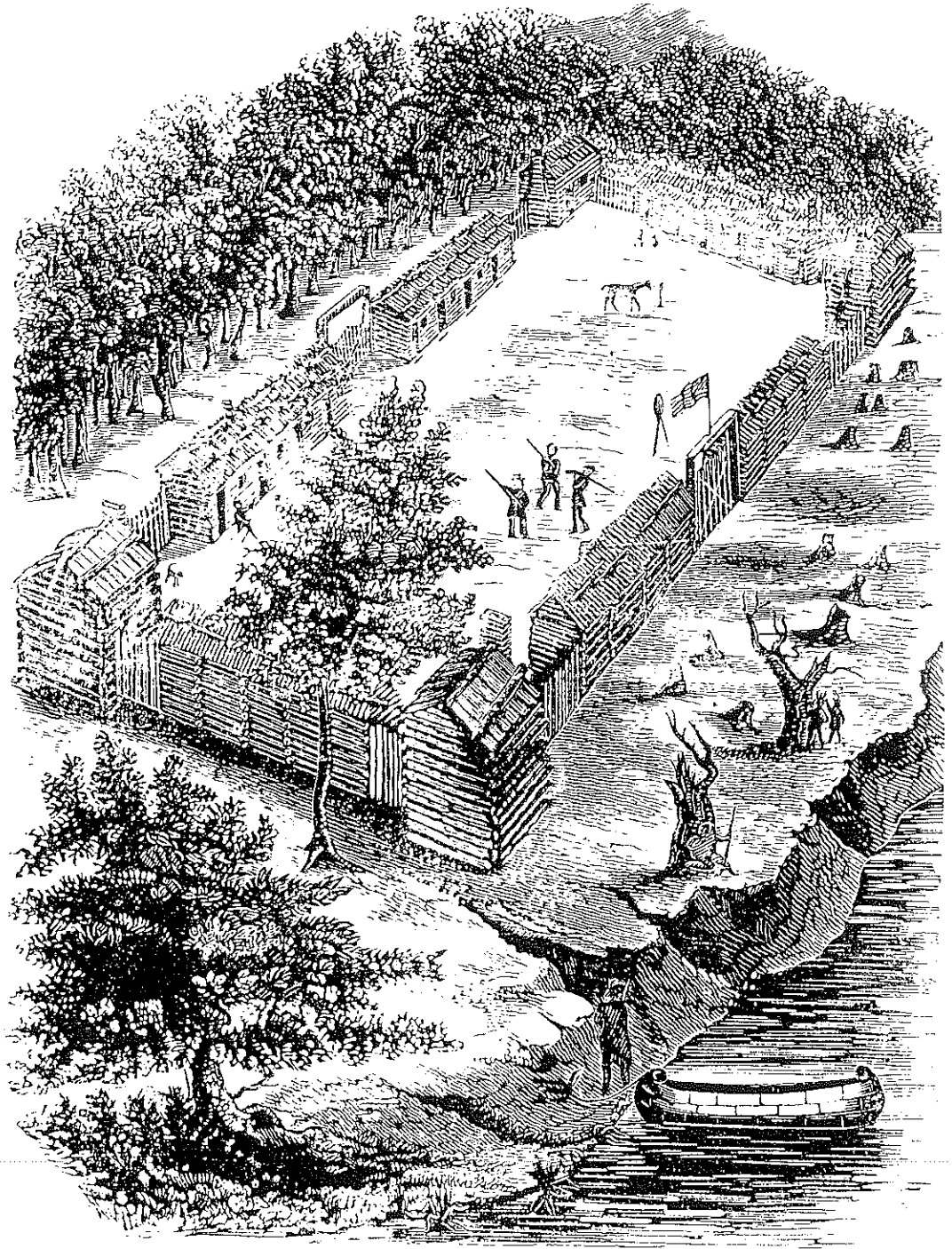
A special feature of this book is the student essays. A statewide competition was held in 1991, and a panel of judges selected these entries for publication. The quality of these essays demonstrates the good work Kentucky students can do. Those involved in this project hope other students in other years will research and write about their own topics of interest.

To transform words on paper into a book required the effort of several groups. The Kentucky Humanities Council provided a grant to determine how best to approach the task of putting together a Kentucky studies textbook. The Kentucky Historical Society provided staff and logistical aid. The Kentucky Bicentennial Commission made *Our Kentucky* their primary education project. Their support and promotion of the project was invaluable, as were the resources of another of their efforts, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, which proved important in the preparation of this volume. The Ashland Oil Foundation, a longtime friend of education, provided funds for this long-overdue project. Out of such a cooperative effort this work evolved.

Numerous people have aided in this project, and attempting to list all will undoubtedly result in some omissions. With apologies to those who should be included but are not, we do thank the following for their help, support, and inspiration: Elizabeth Adler, Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., Mary Margaret Bell, Terry Birdwhistell, Joy Blanton, Amanda Brown, Clay Campbell, Nijel Clayton, Harriet Fowler, Ruth Scott French, Jan Gevedon, Glenda Harned, Nancy Hill, Pat Hodges, David Hood, Sr., John Hudson, Susan Lyons Hughes, Vicky Middleswarth, David Morgan, Helen Prewitt, John Scarry, Sherry Sebastian, Virginia Smith, Allan Steinberg, Herb Weddington, Jenny Wilder, and Mary Winter.

For Martha Francis, the teachers and authors involved in the project, the student essay winners, and all the supporting groups, I welcome you to these pages—ones that open Kentucky's past and present to all readers. An interesting and informative voyage of discovery about the commonwealth awaits those who explore *Our Kentucky*. Enjoy.

James C. Klotter



Old Fort at Boonesborough, 1775.
[Wood engraving from Lewis Collins's Historical Sketches of Kentucky, 1847.]

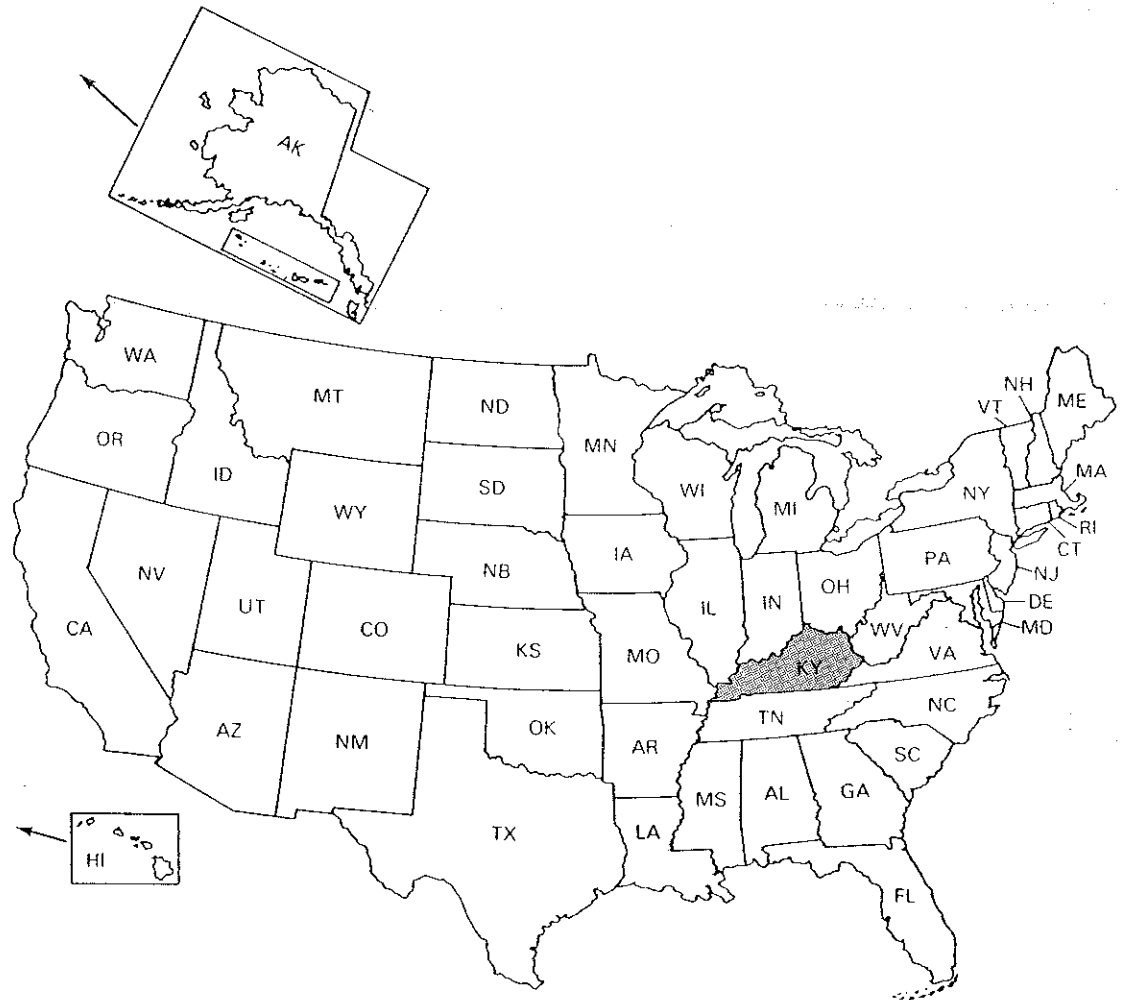


Figure 1.1 Kentucky's Place in the Nation

CHAPTER 1

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Geography

Dennis L. Spetz

The Bluegrass State, which is officially called a commonwealth rather than a state, contains 40,395 square miles of diverse natural and cultural features. This great variety makes Kentucky an interesting place for geography students to study. While reading this chapter, you are advised to consult an atlas or map to accompany and enrich the text. For a more detailed analysis, consult the *Atlas of Kentucky* published by the University Press of Kentucky or *A Geography of Kentucky* by Wilford A. Bladen, both of which are available in many libraries.

By examining Kentucky's position on a map of the United States, you can see that the commonwealth is a border state, sandwiched between the North and the South. (See **Figure 1.1.**) While a resident of Michigan might think of Kentucky as "southern," a citizen of Alabama might consider Kentucky to be part of the "lower middle west." Location is, after all, a relative as well as an absolute geographic factor. And Kentucky's border status is reflected in the fact that the president of the United States during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, and the president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, were both born in the commonwealth.

Kentucky's greatest width is the 458 miles between western Fulton County and the eastern tip of Pike County. Along this line is a great variety of landforms, from the lowlands of the west to the Appalachian Uplands in the east. The longest north-south distance is only 171 miles.

Kentucky is bounded by seven states. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois form the northern border, and Missouri lies to the west. Tennessee is located south of the Bluegrass State, and Virginia and West Virginia make up the eastern boundary. The shape of Kentucky is very irregular because of the natural features used for boundaries. The noted historian Thomas D. Clark has described the state as having a shape similar to that of a "humped camel."

On the north, 664 miles of the Ohio River form the boundary, and the Ohio then joins the Mississippi River to make up the western border. The Big Sandy River, which enters the Ohio at Catlettsburg, makes up the northeastern border. Kentucky's southeastern border with Virginia runs northeast to southwest along Cumberland and Pine mountains.

The southern boundary of Kentucky was surveyed before statehood. The line between Virginia and North Carolina was surveyed westward by Dr. Thomas Walker to the Tennessee River. Walker did not survey the line on to the Mississippi. Following the Jackson Purchase in 1818, the western boundary of Kentucky was completed on to the Mississippi along latitude thirty-six and one half degrees north. This resulted in eighteen square miles of land that is now part of Fulton County being cut off from the rest of the state. This parcel of land, which can only be reached by land by traveling into Tennessee, is known as the New Madrid or Kentucky "Bend."

Climate

The climate of a place is noted as its average annual atmospheric conditions—that is, annual temperature and precipitation patterns. Kentucky has a temperate climate because of its mid-latitude location. In general, temperatures in eastern and northern Kentucky can be expected to be cooler than those in southern Kentucky and the Purchase Region. Weather systems usually move from west to east through the state with cold air masses from Canada moving in during the winter months and warm, moist air masses from the Gulf of Mexico moving in in the summer months. Mean annual temperatures range from 54°F in the north and east to 58° in the southwest, with January averages in the low 30s and July averages

in the 70s statewide. Average precipitation totals 45 inches annually, with the lowest amounts in northern Kentucky and totals approaching 50 inches along the Tennessee border. Climatic statistics are shown in **Table 1.1**.

The period of time between the last killing frosts in the spring and the first in the fall is known as the "growing season." This is of particular interest to Kentucky's farmers because it influences what crops can be planted and expected to mature within those periods of time. In Kentucky, the shortest growing seasons are about six months in the northern and eastern regions of the state, and the longest is about seven months in the extreme southwest.

Table 1.1 Climatic Statistics for Selected Kentucky Stations

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Annual |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|--------|
| Bowling Green | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 35.6 | 38.4 | 46.3 | 57.8 | 66.7 | 75.0 | 78.1 | 76.9 | 70.3 | 59.1 | 46.4 | 37.7 | 57.4 |
| Prec. | 4.62 | 4.42 | 5.46 | 4.18 | 4.17 | 4.24 | 4.12 | 3.01 | 3.02 | 2.39 | 4.02 | 4.44 | 48.09 |
| Covington | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 31.1 | 33.3 | 41.7 | 53.9 | 63.2 | 72.1 | 75.6 | 74.4 | 67.8 | 56.8 | 43.8 | 33.7 | 54.0 |
| Prec. | 3.34 | 3.04 | 4.09 | 3.64 | 3.74 | 3.81 | 4.12 | 2.62 | 2.55 | 2.15 | 3.08 | 2.86 | 39.04 |
| Lexington | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 32.9 | 35.3 | 43.6 | 55.3 | 64.7 | 73.0 | 76.2 | 75.0 | 68.6 | 57.8 | 44.6 | 35.5 | 55.2 |
| Prec. | 3.95 | 3.42 | 4.80 | 3.87 | 4.16 | 4.31 | 4.83 | 3.40 | 2.65 | 2.12 | 3.36 | 3.62 | 44.49 |
| Louisville | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 33.3 | 35.8 | 44.1 | 56.1 | 64.9 | 72.9 | 75.8 | 74.6 | 68.2 | 57.3 | 44.8 | 35.6 | 55.3 |
| Prec. | 3.53 | 3.47 | 5.05 | 4.10 | 4.20 | 4.05 | 3.76 | 2.99 | 2.94 | 2.35 | 3.33 | 3.34 | 43.11 |
| Murray | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 36.8 | 39.8 | 47.8 | 59.5 | 67.6 | 75.7 | 78.5 | 77.7 | 70.7 | 60.2 | 48.1 | 39.3 | 58.5 |
| Prec. | 4.25 | 4.23 | 5.27 | 4.27 | 4.25 | 3.77 | 3.90 | 3.27 | 3.28 | 2.89 | 41.2 | 3.99 | 47.49 |
| Owensboro | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 34.9 | 37.9 | 46.0 | 57.9 | 66.8 | 75.3 | 78.2 | 76.8 | 70.2 | 59.5 | 46.6 | 37.3 | 57.3 |
| Prec. | 4.01 | 3.51 | 5.06 | 4.33 | 4.38 | 3.80 | 3.45 | 3.08 | 3.24 | 2.30 | 3.59 | 3.53 | 44.28 |
| Paducah | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 36.0 | 38.9 | 47.1 | 59.2 | 67.7 | 76.1 | 79.2 | 77.8 | 70.8 | 60.2 | 47.6 | 38.2 | 58.2 |
| Prec. | 4.05 | 3.49 | 4.87 | 4.12 | 4.88 | 4.03 | 3.66 | 3.27 | 3.28 | 2.63 | 3.78 | 3.63 | 45.69 |
| Pikeville | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 38.1 | 40.2 | 47.7 | 58.8 | 67.1 | 74.2 | 77.1 | 76.3 | 70.4 | 59.8 | 47.7 | 39.2 | 58.1 |
| Prec. | 3.38 | 3.62 | 4.32 | 3.60 | 3.84 | 4.12 | 5.06 | 3.50 | 3.41 | 2.15 | 2.91 | 3.30 | 43.21 |
| Somerset | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 36.4 | 39.4 | 46.2 | 56.5 | 65.0 | 72.3 | 75.3 | 74.4 | 68.5 | 57.5 | 46.3 | 37.5 | 56.3 |
| Prec. | 4.88 | 4.75 | 5.07 | 4.16 | 3.97 | 4.73 | 4.63 | 3.70 | 3.25 | 2.29 | 3.87 | 3.99 | 49.29 |
| Williamsburg | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temp. | 37.8 | 39.8 | 47.3 | 57.9 | 66.1 | 73.2 | 76.0 | 75.0 | 69.2 | 58.6 | 47.2 | 39.4 | 57.3 |
| Prec. | 4.36 | 4.28 | 4.79 | 4.01 | 3.95 | 4.14 | 5.09 | 3.62 | 2.89 | 2.59 | 3.76 | 4.05 | 47.53 |

NOTE: All temperatures are in degrees Fahrenheit and all precipitation is in inches.
Data from *Atlas of Kentucky*.

Waterways

Kentucky contains more miles of waterways than any other state except Alaska. (See Figure 1.2.) Many of these streams have been improved by the construction of dams and locks, which provide

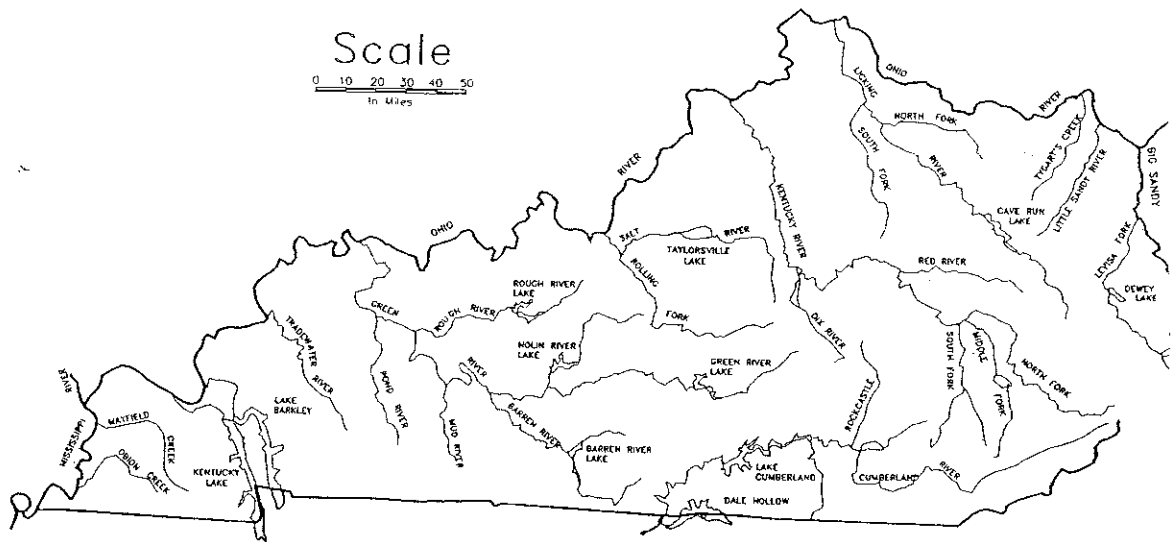


Figure 1.2 *Rivers and Lakes* [Source: Kentucky: A Geographical and Historical Perspective. Lexington, 1989.]

flood protection and hydroelectricity and allow them to be used for water transportation. From east to west, major rivers include the Big Sandy, Licking, Kentucky, Green, Cumberland, and Tennessee. All of these flow into the Ohio. Green River is the longest in Kentucky, flowing 370 miles from Lincoln County to its mouth at Henderson. Both the Cumberland and the Tennessee have been converted into man-made lakes (Lake Barkley and Kentucky Lake) by the construction of dams. This western region is referred to by some as Kentucky's Water Wonderland because of the many recreational opportunities provided by places such as Lake Barkley, Kenlake, and Kentucky Dam Village state resort parks. A third man-made lake is Lake Cumberland, which was constructed by the damming of the Cumberland River in southern Russell County.

Place Names

Kentucky's place names are often clues to the state's history or economic activities. The name Kentucky itself is generally thought to be from an Indian word meaning "great prairie" or "meadow," and Paducah is named in honor of a supposed Indian chief, Paduke. Washington and Jefferson counties are named for presidents of the United States, and Lincoln County, one of three original counties, is named in honor of General Benjamin Lincoln, a Revolutionary War officer who later served as Secretary of War.

French influence is reflected in the names Bourbon, Fayette, Louisville, and Versailles, whose pronunciation leaves non-Kentuckians in amazement. Other Kentucky towns named after major foreign cities include Madrid, Dublin, London, and Glasgow, where Scottish tradition is carried on each year with the annual Highland Festival. Natural resources used to name places in Kentucky include Petroleum, Stone, Limestone, and, of course, Coal. Kay Jay evolved from an abbreviation for the Kentucky Jellico Coal Company. Similarly, Seco in Letcher County is named for the Southeast Coal Company and Vicco in Perry County for the Virginia Iron, Coal, and Coke Company.

Biblical names include Bethlehem, Bethel, and Berea. Place names representing fish and animals include Elk, Sturgeon, Sunfish, and Wolf. The sources of the names Iuka, Azof, Panco, and Kragon may be known only to the early inhabitants who provided those names. And for persons looking for something to do, Jump, Go Forth, Stay, and Bet offer an interesting variety of possible activities.

Cities

A ranking of Kentucky's twenty-five largest cities (1980 and 1990) is shown in Table 1.2. Though often perceived as a rural state, Kentucky is, in terms of population, actually more urban. Estimates in 1990 indicate that seven out of ten Kentuckians lived in or near urban areas.

Table 1.2 Kentucky's 25 Largest Cities

Based on 1990 Census figures, not including suburbs except for Lexington, which includes all of Fayette County. The 1980 ranks are in parentheses.

| City | 1980 | 1990 | Number | % Change |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| 1. Louisville (1) | 298,694 | 269,063 | -29,631 | -9.9 |
| 2. Lexington/Fayette (2) | 204,165 | 225,366 | 21,201 | 10.4 |
| 3. Owensboro (3) | 54,959 | 53,549 | -1,410 | -2.6 |
| 4. Covington (4) | 49,585 | 43,264 | -6,321 | -12.7 |
| 5. Bowling Green (5) | 40,450 | 40,641 | 191 | 0.5 |
| 6. Hopkinsville (7) | 29,386 | 29,809 | 423 | 1.4 |
| 7. Paducah (6) | 29,315 | 27,256 | -2,059 | -7.1 |
| 8. Frankfort (9) | 25,973 | 25,968 | -5 | 0.0 |
| 9. Henderson (10) | 24,834 | 25,945 | 1,111 | 4.5 |
| 10. Ashland (8) | 27,064 | 23,622 | -3,442 | -12.7 |
| 11. Jeffersontown (16) | 19,814 | 23,221 | 3,407 | 17.2 |
| 12. Richmond (11) | 21,705 | 21,155 | -550 | -2.5 |
| 13. Radcliff (20) | 14,656 | 19,772 | 5,116 | 34.9 |
| 14. Newport (12) | 21,587 | 18,871 | -2,716 | -12.6 |
| 15. Florence (17) | 15,586 | 18,624 | 3,038 | 19.5 |
| 16. Elizabethtown (18) | 15,380 | 18,167 | 2,787 | 18.1 |
| 17. Madisonville (13) | 16,979 | 16,200 | -779 | -4.6 |
| 18. Fort Thomas (15) | 16,012 | 16,032 | 20 | 0.1 |
| 19. Erlanger (21) | 14,466 | 15,979 | 1,513 | 10.6 |
| 20. St. Matthews (23) | 14,409 | 15,800 | 1,391 | 9.7 |
| 21. Winchester (19) | 15,216 | 15,799 | 583 | 3.8 |
| 22. Shively (14) | 16,645 | 15,535 | -1,110 | -6.7 |
| 23. Murray (22) | 14,248 | 14,439 | 191 | 1.3 |
| 24. Nicholasville (30) | 10,400 | 13,603 | 3,203 | 30.8 |
| 25. Danville (25) | 12,942 | 12,420 | -522 | -4.0 |

Source: Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Jan. 26, 1991, A6.

Regions

When geographers examine an area, they often divide the land into smaller parts, or regions. Regions are areas of land that have common characteristics that set them apart from other regions. The regional approach can include cultural regions such as those with distinctive language or religions, or physical regions distinguished by climate, natural vegetation, or physical landscapes. For our purposes, we will examine Kentucky's physical regions—those areas having similar physical landscapes.

Kentucky has five major regions. From west to east, they include the Jackson Purchase, Western Coal Field, Pennyroyal

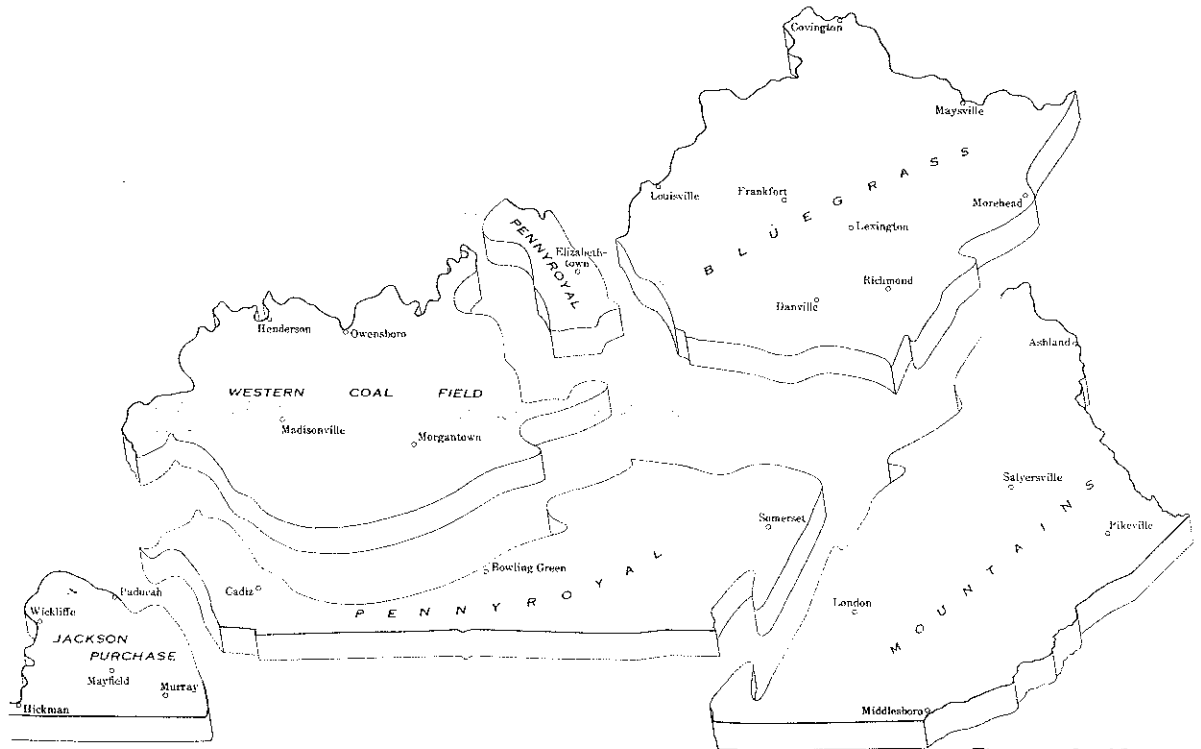


Figure 1.3 Land Regions
 [Source: P. P. Karan and
 Cotton Mather, eds. *Atlas of
 Kentucky*. Lexington, 1977.]

(pronounced Pennyryle), Bluegrass, and Mountains (also known as the Eastern Coal Field). (See Figure 1.3.) Each is identified as having unique landforms and, in many cases, unique environmental problems.

Jackson Purchase

Kentucky's western region is known as the Jackson Purchase because it was purchased from the Chickasaw Indians in 1818 by General Andrew Jackson. It is the smallest region of the state, containing eight counties, all west of the Tennessee River (now Kentucky Lake). Elevations in this region are among the lowest in the state, generally below 350 feet above sea level. Where the Mississippi River leaves Kentucky in southwestern Fulton County, the state's lowest elevation, 238 feet above sea level, is found.

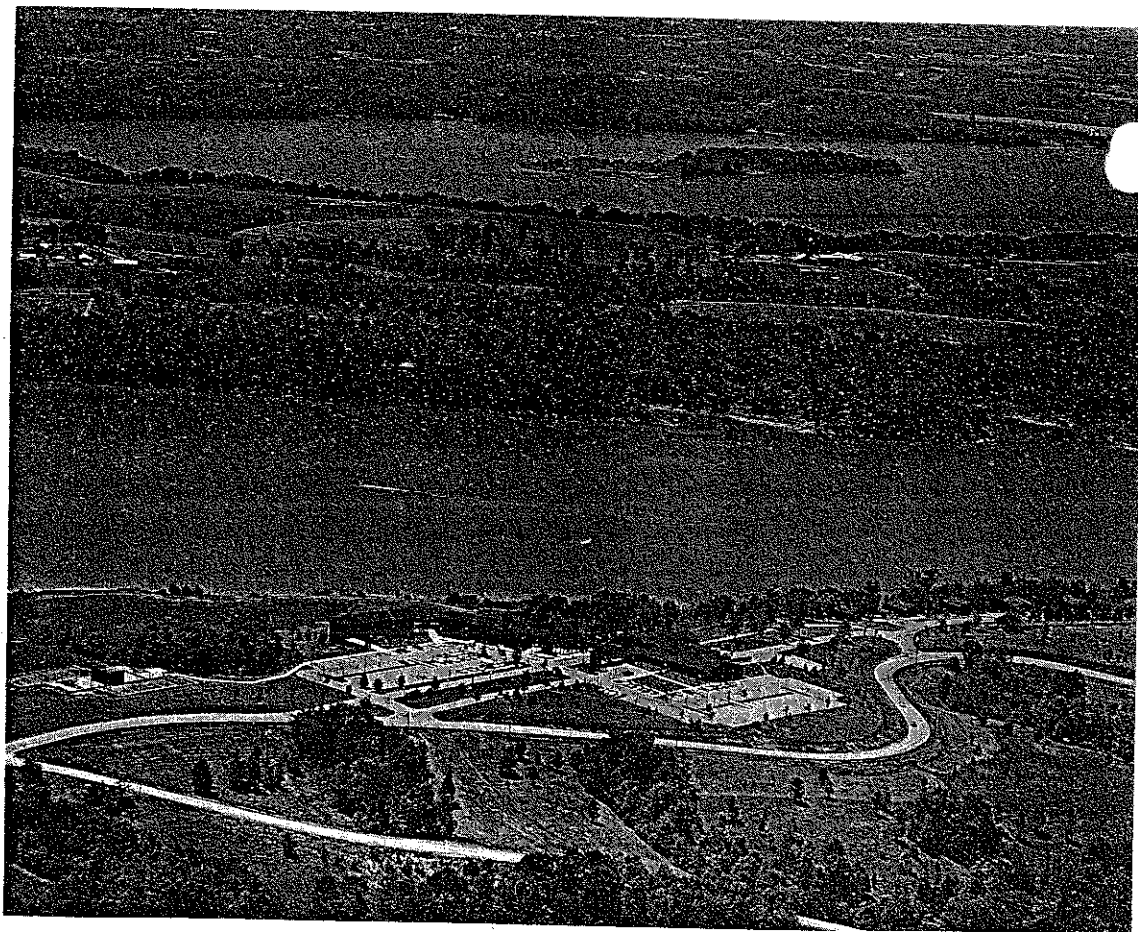
Much of this region is made up of river terraces and bottomlands that contain fertile soils. A major natural disadvantage is that in times of flooding these potential agricultural areas are often underwater and cannot be cultivated until they dry out. In spite of this, agricultural employment in the region tends to be higher than the average for all the state's counties.

Paducah, the state's seventh largest city, is the retail and commercial "capital" of the region. Much of the region's manufacturing is located here, with a secondary manufacturing area near Calvert City, where chemical and smelting industries are located to take advantage of water transportation and inexpensive electrical power.

The Purchase was home to prehistoric people who lived here from approximately A.D. 900 to 1300. Surviving as farmers and hunters, these Mississippian Indians are known as temple-mound builders because they built flat-topped mounds for ceremonial uses. One such site that can be visited is at Wickliffe in Ballard County.

This region has been more closely aligned with the South than have the other regions in Kentucky. This tie was probably established when the region was a major producer of cotton because its

*Figure 1.4 Lake Barkley
Resort Park (Kentucky
Department of Travel
Development).*



longer growing season made cultivating that crop possible. Looking at a map, you can see that the Purchase is much closer to Memphis, Tennessee, than it is to Louisville. This southern orientation can be noted in regional names as well as the inhabitants' food preferences.

Pennyroyal

Kentucky's largest region is the Pennyroyal, named for a member of the mint plant family. The region, containing 35 of the state's 120 counties, covers about 30 percent of the state, from the Ohio River on the north, to Tennessee on the south, and east to west from the Cumberland Plateau to the Tennessee River. To the north, it encircles another Kentucky region, the Western Coal Field.

In the central portions of the Pennyroyal near Bowling Green, the limestone rock under the surface of the earth has been eroded by water over long periods of time, forming numerous underground caves and surface sinkholes. In recent years, this extensive system of caves and caverns has become a major environmental problem area. The movement of untreated sewage and wastewater through this maze of underground passageways has polluted drinking water supplies for many residents. The problem is made more serious for residents because of the large number of tourists who visit the region's natural wonder, Mammoth Cave, each year, adding substantially to the amount of wastewater requiring treatment.

Agriculture is the most conspicuous activity in the Pennyroyal. Counties here are leading producers of corn, soybeans, hay, cattle, and hogs. In addition to the air-cured burley tobacco found here, the region also produces dark leaf tobacco, which is cured by air or by fire.

Bowling Green and Hopkinsville are the two largest cities in the region. A portion of Bowling Green's population is made up of students, faculty, and staff at Western Kentucky University, while Hopkinsville residents include military personnel and their dependents stationed at Fort Campbell. The region also includes the U.S. Army Armor Installation at Fort Knox.



Figure 1.5 Mammoth Cave National Park in the Pennyroyal Region (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).

In addition to Mammoth Cave, the world's largest cave system, the Pennyroyal contains a variety of tourist attractions. The Tennessee Valley Authority's Land Between the Lakes is an educational and recreational facility with a visitor's center at

Student Essay

Caves: Kentucky's Natural Wonders

One of the major geographic features of Kentucky is its caves. Caves have been forming throughout Kentucky for thousands of years. Some are still forming today. "Live caves," as they are called, have streams and creeks running through their caverns, constantly cutting new and larger passageways.

The most famous is Mammoth Cave, which was founded as a national park in 1941. Mammoth Cave is in Edmonson County just northeast of Bowling Green and contains more than three hundred miles of explored caverns. The 1.75 million people who visit annually can see up to twelve miles of the larger caverns in the tour.

Settlers found the caves of Kentucky in the late eighteenth century, but there is evidence that prehistoric Indians inhabited the caves much earlier.

One of the primary uses of caves in our history is the mining of saltpeter. Saltpeter is the common name for potassium nitrate, a compound deposited in caves, and is an essential and important ingredient in gun powder. It was mined extensively in Kentucky for that use during the War of 1812. Many of the caves were abandoned after the war ended and left for tourist use. Except for Mammoth Cave, almost all the tourist caves were complete failures.

This past summer I was given the opportunity through the Kentucky Governor's Scholars Program to go spelunking (cave exploring). We explored a small cave where the remains of a saltpeter mining operation still stood. It was dry and long-inactive, but it satisfied our beginners' curiosity. From there, we moved to a much larger "live" cave in Rockcastle County.

We had to crawl about a hundred yards through a very cold creek. From there we moved to higher ground and jumped crevices that some people in our group found almost impassable. To top that off, we crawled on our bellies through a worm hole for about forty yards until it opened into a beautiful dome 125 feet high with a skylight at the top. Seeing that was worth five times as much effort as I had made to get there.

Caving is an experience that one should not pass up (although, of course, it should be undertaken *only* with careful training and supervision). My caving experience is something that I will remember all my life. Some of the best caves in the world are found in Kentucky. Take advantage of that fact.

Tripp Tibbetts
Almo, Kentucky



Golden Pond. State resort parks at Green River, Cumberland River, Barren River, and Rough River lakes attract large numbers of visitors from Kentucky and surrounding states. For example, large numbers of Ohio cars pulling boat trailers to and from Kentucky's lakes are known as the "Ohio Navy" by local citizens.

Figure 1.6 Kentucky tobacco (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).

Western Coal Field

The Western Coal Field is a circular region bounded on the east, south, and west by the Pennyroyal and on the north by the Ohio River. Kentucky's third largest city, Owensboro, is in this region, as are Madisonville and Henderson. The Western Coal Field is a portion of the larger interior coal field that extends through southern Illinois and southwestern Indiana. Coal mining, though only one of many economic activities in this region, provides employment for many Kentucky families.

Coal is mined by either deep shaft or strip mining methods. Shaft mining involves digging a shaft down to the coal seam and mining the coal under the ground. In strip mining, the overburden, the layer of rock over the coal seam (a layer of coal), is stripped away. After the coal is removed, the land is to be returned to its

original contour through a process called strip mine reclamation. When properly reclaimed, strip mined land can be put to other uses. Where reclamation has not been done properly, soil erosion, silting of streams, and pollution of surface water pose serious threats to the environment.

Manufacturing is an important component of the region's economy, as is agriculture. Electronics, metal working, distilling, and tobacco processing are leading manufacturing activities. Some of the best agricultural soils are found in this region. Western Coal Field counties are leaders in the production of soybeans, corn, and hogs. Dark and burley tobaccos are also produced here. An additional product is timber, which can be used for furniture and veneers.

Bluegrass

In the minds of many Americans, the Bluegrass is perhaps the most typical region of Kentucky. Images of rolling fields, painted board fences, elaborate barns, and thoroughbred horses come to mind when the Bluegrass is mentioned.

The region is Kentucky's third largest, after the Pennyroyal and the Mountains. It is bounded on three sides by low hills known as the Knobs. Some geographers list these rounded hills as the sixth physiographic region of Kentucky. On the north, the region is bounded by the Ohio River.

The Bluegrass region was the destination of many early travelers. Two of Kentucky's oldest settlements, Forts Boonesborough and Harrod, are here. Many early settlers reached these settlements by way of the

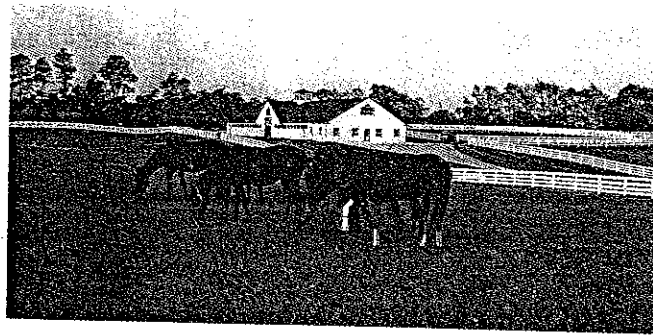


Figure 1.7 A horse farm in the Bluegrass region (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).

Cumberland Gap; others traveled west on the Ohio River to Limestone (now Maysville) and then overland into the Bluegrass.

A triangular area within the region, bounded by three interstate highways, contains the highest concentration of Kentucky's population. The area enclosed by Interstate 64 from Louisville to Lexington, Interstate 75 north to Boone, Kenton, and Campbell counties, and Interstate 71 southwest to Louisville makes up th

“Golden Triangle” of Kentucky. Several smaller urban areas are also included in this triangle, with Frankfort, the state capital, roughly at the center.

The region dominates Kentucky’s manufacturing, with the largest manufacturing employment in the Louisville and Lexington areas. The recent addition of the Toyota automobile plant in Scott County has increased manufacturing employment there, as well as in many smaller Kentucky towns and cities that provide parts for Toyota.

Agriculture is also an important part of the region’s economy, with burley tobacco, dairy and beef cattle, corn, hay, and soybeans as major crops. An equally important “agricultural” component is the raising of thoroughbred horses, which are sold at seasonal sales at Keeneland and elsewhere.

Several famous recreational facilities are located here, including thoroughbred horse racing tracks at Churchill Downs, Ellis Park, Turfway, and Keeneland. Trotters and pacers can be seen at Riverside Downs in Henderson and at the Red Mile in Lexington. Perhaps the most outstanding horse attraction in the state, the Kentucky Horse Park, welcomes thousands of visitors annually to its grounds just north of Lexington.

Mountains

Kentucky’s easternmost region is the Mountains, containing all or part of thirty-five counties and covering an estimated 10,500 square miles of territory. The region contains many small towns and has only two cities—Ashland and Middlesboro—reporting populations over 10,000 residents in the 1990 census. Both cities serve as gateways to Kentucky, Ashland along the Ohio River and Middlesboro for travelers entering through Cumberland Gap.

This region of Kentucky is a part of the Appalachian system that stretches from northern Georgia and Alabama north to New York State. Most of eastern Kentucky belongs to an Appalachian subregion known as the Appalachian Plateau, but extreme southeastern Kentucky is a part of the Ridge and Valley area. The region contains the highest elevations in Kentucky. Big Black Mountain in Harlan County is the highest point in the state at 4,145 feet above sea level. Although the entire area is popularly considered to be mountainous, in truth much of the area is not made up of

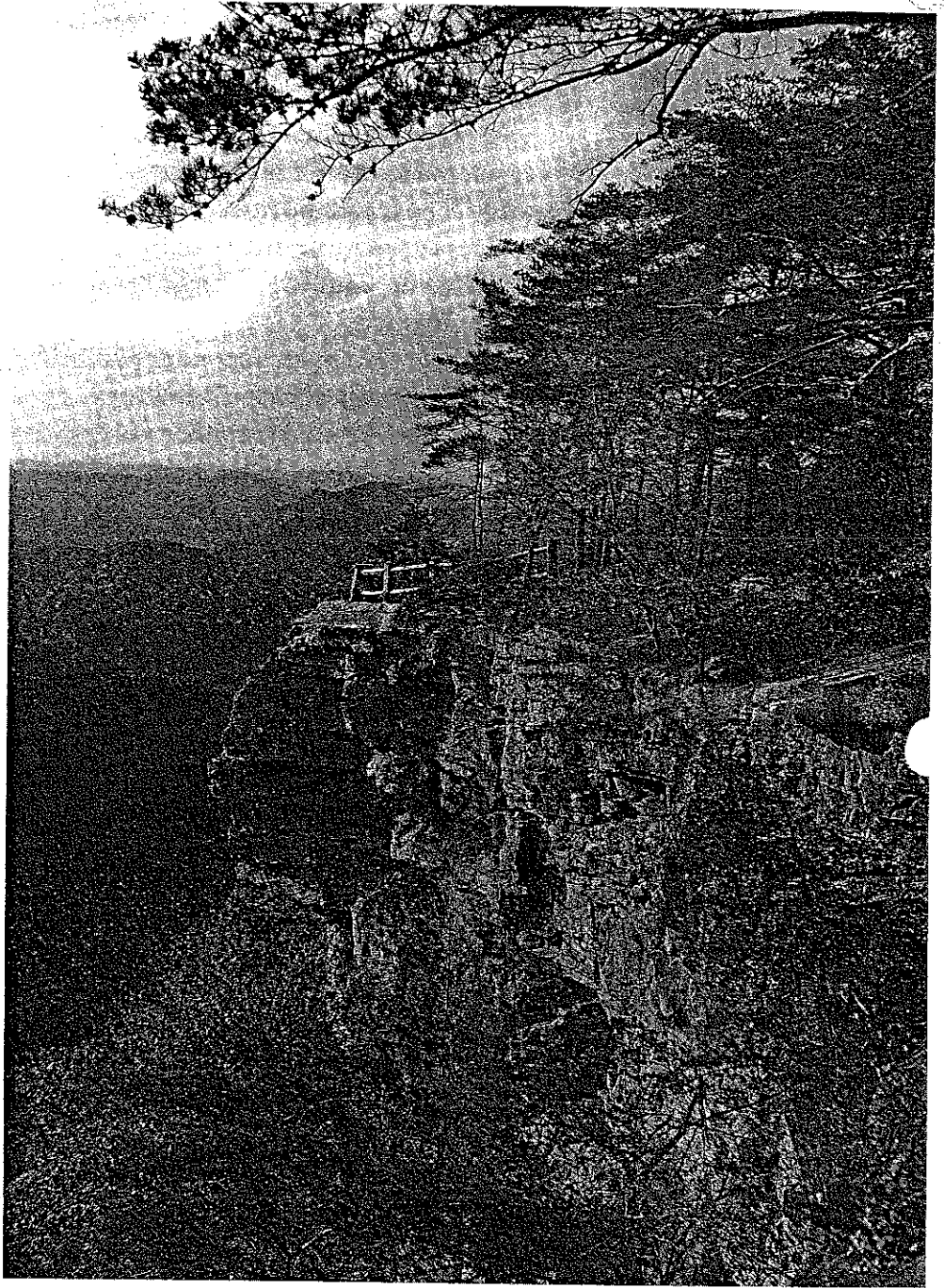


Figure 1.8 *The Cumberland Gap area in the Mountains Region (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).*

mountains in an absolute sense. Over the years erosion has cut into the Appalachian Plateau, leaving narrow V-shaped valleys surrounded by imposing hills. Travelers driving along the valley bottoms are given the impression that they are traveling "through the mountains" because of the great differences in elevation between the tops of hills and the valley bottoms.

There is very little level land in the region, seriously restricting agricultural activities. What farming does take place is limited in size and is often found in the valleys, where pockets of productive alluvial soils (soils deposited by moving water) can be found. The result of settlement is often a winding ribbon-like pattern following lowland areas along streams where roads and rail lines have also been developed.

Bituminous coal is the principal mineral resource of the region, although it varies in quality and thickness of seam from place to place. In many areas, coal mining is the backbone of the local economy, providing jobs for miners and coal haulers. When times are good and the demand and prices for coal are high, the economy flourishes; however, when the opposite is true, the economy suffers. Another factor that has restricted employment is the increase of mechanization, replacing miners with machines. This is reflected not only in the economy but also in the music of the region, as in a traditional song about the "Joy" loader, a coal-loading machine, taking jobs away from miners.

An environmental problem associated with coal mining is the large number of areas damaged by strip mining and not properly reclaimed. Recent strict reclamation regulations have helped to solve this problem, but, in spite of legislation, strip mining has created major environmental problems for many sections of the region.

Manufacturing employment in this region is among the lowest in the state. Considerable efforts have been made to encourage manufacturers to locate plants here, and the building of major roads has created a transportation system that would allow manufactured goods to be shipped out. The irony is that those roads instead offer the opportunity for residents to commute out of the region to seek employment elsewhere.

A possible benefit of the creation of roads and highways is that the region can be opened up for more tourism, for some of the most spectacular scenery in Kentucky is located here. It is not

surprising that seven of the state's fifteen resort parks are located in this region. Cumberland Falls, Pine Mountain, Buckhorn Lake, Natural Bridge, Jenny Wiley, Carter Caves, and Greenbo Lake parks provide outstanding accommodations as well as scenic beauty for visitors all year long.

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Summary

As a border state, Kentucky is in a unique geographical position, sandwiched between the North and the South. Because of its mid-latitude location, Kentucky has a temperate climate. Five major physical regions, each with unique characteristics, make up Kentucky: Jackson Purchase, Pennyroyal, Western Coal Field, Bluegrass, and Mountains.

Kentucky is geographically an ideal place to study because of the great diversity in natural and cultural features that give character to the state. Geographers ask where certain features are located and why they are located there and not somewhere else. You should also ask those questions as you study each chapter in this text. By doing so, you will have a better appreciation of how location influences many other aspects of Kentucky.

C H A P T E R 2

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The Ancient Past

Nancy O'Malley

This chapter concerns the study of Kentucky's prehistoric past through archaeology. Archaeology is part of the larger discipline of anthropology, which involves the study of many aspects of human culture. Archaeology focuses on human cultures and societies that no longer exist as distinct, recognizable groups, although they may still have living descendants. Prehistoric peoples in Kentucky lived during the centuries before the arrival of European settlers in the Americas. In Kentucky, prehistory extends from as early as 12,000 years ago to about A.D. 1750. People who lived in Kentucky during this period are commonly called Indians, Native Americans, or aboriginal groups. They left no written records to tell us about their beliefs, social customs, or lifestyles. Archaeologists rely primarily on the material remains, or artifacts, that prehistoric people left behind on archaeological sites to reconstruct the culture history of Kentucky's past. In this chapter, we will discuss how archaeologists study human culture and how their views and reconstructions of the past have changed through time. We will also examine a picture of the past, a reconstruction of how prehistoric peoples in Kentucky lived, based on modern inferences from the study of archaeological sites and artifacts.

Before discussing Kentucky's culture history, we should be aware of the materials and information that archaeologists study. Since archaeologists study past cultures, they must rely on physical remains such as tools, pottery, ornaments, and other artifacts, or

features such as hearths, house patterns, trash-filled storage pits, or burials that leave distinctive traces in the ground. Physical remains are subject to many agents that modify or even destroy them, thus making the archaeologist's job more difficult. For



Figure 2.1 Modern excavation using heavy equipment and hard labor, in Jefferson County. (Courtesy of Boyce N. Driskell.)

instance, animal bones discarded after a meal may be completely decomposed over time if they are buried in a site with highly acidic soil. Artifacts such as matting, cordage, and sandals made from grass are quickly destroyed by the processes of decomposition of most sites, being preserved only when they are left in very dry rockshelters or caves or under other conditions in

which decomposition bacteria do not thrive.

The most common artifacts in prehistoric sites are those made from various kinds of stone (particularly flint or chert) and fire clay. Bone, antler, and shell items are frequently preserved but are subject to decomposition depending on site circumstances. If a site has not been highly disturbed by later historic plowing or other earth-moving activities, archaeologists can also identify areas where specific activities took place, such as cooking hearths, graves, patterns of filled postholes where buildings once stood, and pits where foodstuffs were once stored.

Archaeologists study such clues and use a wide variety of sometimes highly technical methods to extract as much information about prehistoric peoples as possible. Despite the fact that many cultural traits are not preserved in physical form, archaeologists are still able to reconstruct many aspects of prehistoric life.

Perceptions of Prehistory

Archaeologists use different theories to explain and interpret the artifacts and archaeological sites they study. These theories have

changed over the years. As new theoretical approaches and techniques are invented or adopted, our interpretations of the past will continue to change and, one hopes, become more refined, objective, and accurate.

Archaeology was not practiced as a professional discipline until the mid-nineteenth century when the larger discipline of anthropology developed as a more scientific and organized endeavor. Before this time, observations about living Indians were occasionally published by explorers, missionaries, former captives, or other Euro-Americans. Archaeological sites, particularly earthen mounds and earthworks, were investigated by curious antiquarians but little scientific information accumulated.

In 1784, John Filson, a promoter, speculator, and historical chronicler, published an account of the Indians in Kentucky, focusing on the Bluegrass region, where the earliest European settlements were located. His writings provide good examples of the assumptions people held about Indians and prehistory in the late eighteenth century. Two of the falsely held ideas in his book are particularly important because they shaped popular opinions about Indians and affected research efforts for many years to come.

Filson reported that Kentucky did not have any resident Indians but was a "dark and bloody ground" that was fought over, first by Indians against Indians, then by Indians against settlers. The origin of this belief, which we now know to be false, can be traced to a statement made by a young Indian named Dragging Canoe in 1771. He said that Kentucky was a "bloody ground under a dark cloud." The settlers interpreted his remark to mean that Indians did not own or live in Kentucky but only fought over it. This made many settlers feel they could settle in Kentucky without being concerned about prior claims by the Indians. Filson reinforced this idea when he printed it in his book, and it was widely quoted afterward. What Dragging Canoe probably meant was that Kentucky was claimed by both the Shawnee and the Iroquois and that blood shed over the conflicting claims was inevitable. This, in fact, happened during Kentucky's early settlement period as the Shawnee struggled to maintain their control of the land.

Filson also promoted the equally false idea that the Indians the settlers encountered were not the descendants of the people who built the earthen mounds and elaborate earthworks seen in the

Bluegrass region. This notion reinforced the idea that the Indians had no legitimate claim to Kentucky. Some scholars argued that the mounds and earthworks were not only unrelated to the Indians but that they had been built by a race of "white Indians." Some people went so far as to identify these "Mound Builders" as the lost tribes of Israel, Romans, or Egyptians. Modern studies of how prehistoric Indians were distributed across Kentucky's landscape indicate that, late in prehistory and during the time when European settlers were entering Kentucky, Indians settled more frequently along the Ohio and other large rivers and did not live in the uplands and interior region as much as they had previously. Settlers saw the mounds and other prehistoric remains in one area and the Indians in another, making it easier to believe the two were unrelated. In fact, the Indians the settlers encountered when they came to Kentucky are now thought to be the descendants of the prehistoric peoples who built the mounds.

Despite some erroneous assumptions, archaeologists from the mid-nineteenth century through the first quarter of the twentieth

century made significant advances in locating and describing prehistoric archaeological sites. Large, highly visible sites, such as mounds and earthworks, were most com-

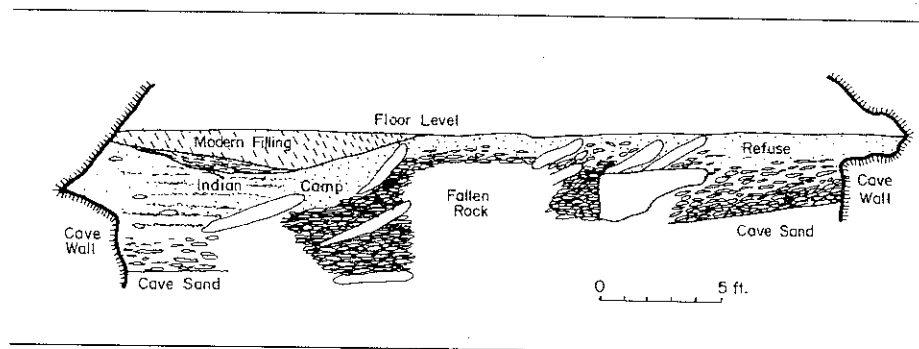


Figure 2.2 Applications of stratigraphic principles in Mammoth Cave excavations. (Redrawing of figure in Douglas W. Schwartz, *Conceptions of Kentucky Prehistory*, Lexington, 1967.)

monly noted and described, but some sites without mounds also received attention. Large village sites with abundant artifacts—such as the Fox Farm Site in Mason County, Mammoth Cave, and the shell mounds of the Green River Valley—provided information on other site types.

During this time of description, archaeologists also divided Kentucky into "archaeological culture areas" by sorting sites and the artifacts associated with them into similar groups and making assumptions about the Indians who produced them. These efforts did not take into consideration chronology, or the dating of

different cultures. In fact, many nineteenth-century scholars thought that prehistory only lasted a few thousand years and so assumed closer relationships among cultures than actually existed. Ideas about chronological relationships began to change when the stratigraphic method was applied to excavation of sites. Stratigraphy is the distribution of archaeological remains that is recognizable as one excavates successive levels of soil in a site. The simplest stratigraphic relationship is one in which earlier archaeological remains are buried deeper than those dating from a later time. Nels C. Nelson applied the concept of stratigraphy to his excavations in Mammoth Cave, where he recognized an earlier culture represented by simple stone tools, no pottery, and no evidence of agriculture, followed by a culture with evidence of corn, pottery, and different types of artifacts. The recognition of successive, chronologically distinct cultures was important, but the amount of time they involved was yet to be determined.

In 1927, Kentucky archaeology entered the professional ranks with the establishment of a Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Dr. William S. Webb, a physicist, and Dr. William D. Funkhouser, a zoologist, were appointed to serve as the department's only faculty. They launched an ambitious and extensive program of archaeological research within the state, resulting in site collections that are still being studied by modern archaeologists. Their early work included excavations of rock shelters in the eastern mountains and of village and cemetery sites in western Kentucky. They also solicited site locations and descriptions from citizens throughout the state and published an archaeological survey of Kentucky sites in 1932.

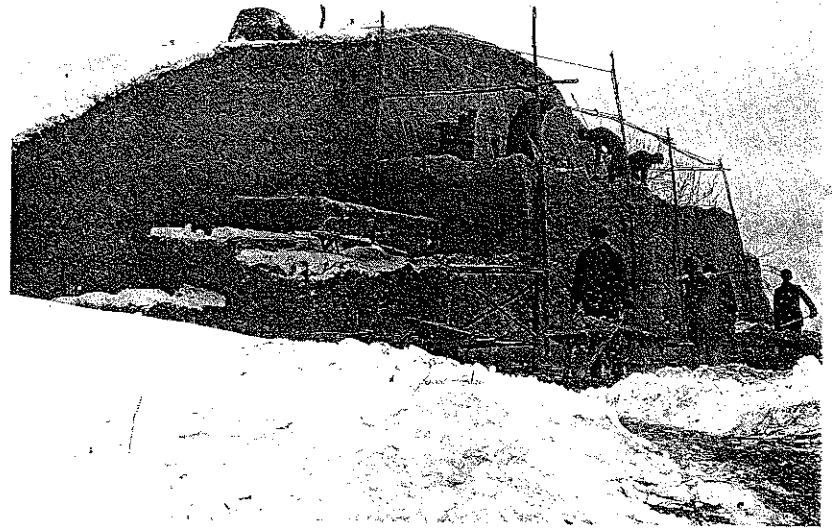


Figure 2.3 Dr. William S. Webb's excavation of an Adena burial mound (University of Kentucky Museum of Anthropology).

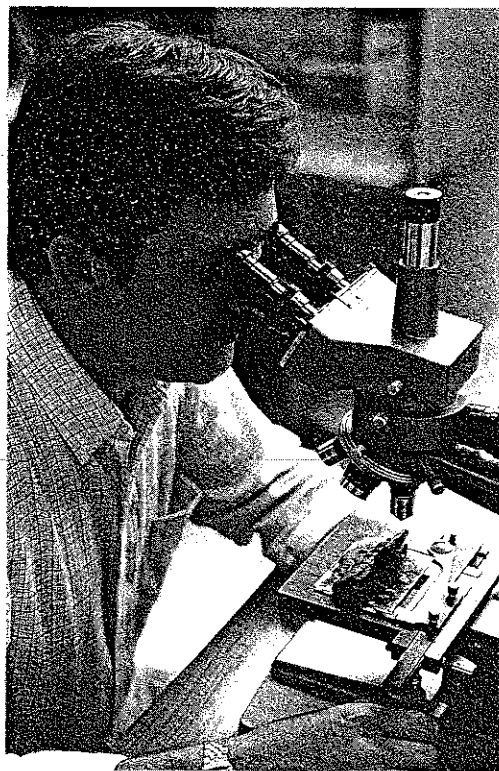
Although neither man was trained in archaeological technique or theory, Webb and Funkhouser were competent scholars and, with time, their practice of archaeology improved. During the Great Depression (1929-1941), they were assisted in their efforts by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which provided funds to employ hundreds of men in excavating archaeological sites all over Kentucky. These excavations focused primarily on large earthen mounds in the central Bluegrass region and the shell mounds of the Green River area, although some work continued on smaller rock shelter sites in the eastern mountains. This research resulted in the accumulation of massive quantities of artifacts and site information, and it quickly became apparent that the old classifications and theoretical approaches were inadequate to the task of interpreting this new evidence.

In 1948, radiocarbon dating was developed. Archaeologists could for the first time determine how old prehistoric sites actually were. Immediately, application of this method indicated that the prehistoric period was thousands of years older than had been realized. Webb was quick to adopt this technique, and it has remained a crucial part of the arsenal of archaeological techniques ever since.

Archaeological research continued to prosper in Kentucky as other professional archaeologists conducted research in the state and as other anthropology departments were established at regional universities. A major boost of archaeological research was the passage of federal legislation in the 1960s that required that federally assisted construction projects identify and investigate endangered culturally significant sites. This legislation ushered in the era of "contract archaeology" and has been responsible for the recording of thousands of sites and many full-scale excavations in the commonwealth.

Many other improvements in archaeological theory and techniques have also been developed. Among them are the use of computers, improved dating techniques, the study of plant and animal remains to reconstruct prehistoric diet, and the determination of tool function by microscopi-

Figure 2.4 Determining stone tool function by microscopic identification of use wear.



cally examining evidence of use on tool edges. Although there are still many gaps in our knowledge and much research remains to be conducted, archaeologists have made major strides in reconstructing Kentucky's prehistoric past and explaining how and why culture changes.

Culture History

Archaeologists have used the results of many years of scholarly research on archaeological sites in Kentucky to reconstruct a culture history that covers many aspects of the life of the aboriginal inhabitants of the commonwealth. This culture history covers approximately 12,000 years, from the first entry of Native Americans into Kentucky to about A.D. 1750, when the effects of European culture becomes recognizable in archaeological sites.

Prehistory in Kentucky is divided into four major chronological periods, each covering a particular segment of time and characterized by different cultural traits. These time periods are a device by which archaeologists divide the 12,000 years or so of prehistoric life to simplify research efforts. (See Table 2.1.) The chronological periods are

Paleoindian—12,000-10,000 B.P. (before present)

Archaic—10,000-3,000 B.P.

Woodland—3,000-1,000 B.P.

Late Prehistoric—1,000-240 B.P.

The following sections will discuss each time period individually, focusing on four major cultural dimensions: settlement patterns, foodways, ritual/religion, and social organization. Interwoven among these topics is information on the technological levels and innovations reached at various times in prehistory. The term "settlement patterns" refers to the distribution of different types of archaeological sites across the landscape. Foodways concern prehistoric diet and the procurement, production, processing, use, consumption, and discarding for animals and plants. Ritual/religion involves the spiritual beliefs and activities of a society. Social organization refers to the system by which human societies organize themselves and recognize status differences among their members.

Table 2.1 Milestones in the Human Parade

| Years before present | North America | The Old World |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12,000 | Paleoindian - Nomadic hunters cross Bering Strait. | Bow and arrow and harpoon are adopted by European hunters. |
| 11,000 | Climate begins to warm and glaciers retreat to the north. | Ritual cave art disappears. |
| 10,000 | | Transition to agricultural village life begins. |
| 9,000 | Archaic - Plant foods become more important. | Pottery is invented. Dogs are domesticated. |
| 8,000 | Social groups live within smaller territories. | |
| 7,000 | Religious rituals become more complex. | Cattle and other animals and plants are domesticated. |
| 6,000 | Many types of tools and implements are invented. | First cities are built in the Middle East. Plows are invented. |
| 5,000 | | Writing is invented in the Middle East. |
| 4,000 | | |
| 3,000 | Plants begin to be domesticated. | Pyramids are in use as burial chambers for Egyptian royalty. |
| 2,000 | Woodland - Pottery is invented. | |
| 1,000 | Burial mounds are constructed. | The Roman Empire rises. |
| | Late Prehistoric - Bow and arrow adopted for hunting. Rise of village life and agriculture. Differences in social status increase. | Vikings travel the oceans as premier sailors/explorers, probably visiting America. |

The Paleoindian Period

The Paleoindian period covers the first two thousand years of prehistory when Kentucky was first settled by human groups. Scientists generally agree that the Americas were populated by small groups of people moving across a land bridge that periodically existed across what is now the Bering Strait between Alaska and Siberia. The land bridge emerged when huge amounts of water froze to form glaciers covering large areas of Canada and the northern part of the United States during what geologists call the Pleistocene epoch (popularly called the "Ice Age"). People crossed the strait toward the end of the Pleistocene and were well distributed throughout North and South America by about 12,000 years ago. We know very little about these early cultures because their archaeological sites are difficult to locate and are often poorly preserved.

Although Kentucky was not covered by the glaciers, its climate was dramatically affected by the ice. Its forests were more like those of present-day upper Michigan and Minnesota. The Ohio River was choked with gravel formed when the glaciers crushed and ground down the rocks over which they passed. The gravel then washed down into the Ohio River and dammed its tributaries, forming vast inland lakes. One such lake existed in the Green River Valley of western Kentucky. Although the climate was colder than it is now, temperatures were warming throughout the Paleoindian period in Kentucky, and Indians had to respond to the changes in animals and plants the climatic differences caused.

Paleoindians formed small groups, probably of related family members. They moved frequently over large areas to hunt wild game and gather edible wild plants. The typical picture of Paleoindians shows them as "big game hunters" following herds of now-extinct mammoth, mastodon, giant buffalo, and other large animals. The accuracy of this interpretation for Kentucky Paleoindians is not certain because we simply have not located enough well-preserved and reliably dated sites for this time period. Judging from the distribution of Paleoindian projectile points (spear or lance tips), the hunters favored low, rolling hills, particularly areas that would have supported large expanses of grass and attracted large game animals. Later in the Paleoindian period, the climate was warming, the forests were changing to

mixed hardwoods, and the large game animals were becoming extinct. While their environment was changing, Paleoindians were probably spreading into areas of rugged terrain. They hunted the large game animals as long as they were available, but increasingly they had to focus on smaller game such as deer, small mammals, fish, and turkey, as well as plant foods.

Paleoindians also left traces where they quarried the special types of stone (called chert or flint) they used to make tools. Their tools included projectile points with distinctive grooves or flutes in the blade, a type of endscraper probably used to scrape hair and fat from animal hides, and chert blades. The Clovis point is the most famous Paleoindian artifact found in Kentucky. Later in Paleoindian times, points were made without the flutes or grooves on the blades. The points were probably hafted on shafts that could be thrown or used for close-range thrusting. The Paleoindians made tools from other materials such as wood, but they have not survived or have not been recognized yet as Paleoindian in date.

We know virtually nothing about Paleoindian ritual and religious practices. No burials dating to this time period have been found in Kentucky, although discoveries in other states indicate that Paleoindians prepared their dead for burial in a manner that suggests they believed in an afterlife. Judging from modern hunters and gatherers such as the Bushmen of Africa or the Australian aborigines, Paleoindians may have selected spiritual leaders, or shamans, who served as go-betweens for the people and the spiritual world. Much of what ritual they practiced may have concerned "hunting magic," curing illnesses, or activities carried out to gain supernatural support.

We also know little about Paleoindian social organization, but, calling once again on studies of similar modern groups, archaeologists speculate that Paleoindians were organized at the band level of society. A Paleoindian band probably contained several related families who lived, worked, and traveled together over a certain specified territory. They probably recognized a leader, generally a strong, competent hunter, who was looked on as a protector and decision-maker. This was not a formal elected or inherited office, and most decisions were probably made by the entire group. Different bands would have periodically met to exchange members for marriage, participate in animal drives where large numbers of game could be killed at one time or trade

information. Paleoindian populations were small at first but increased as they learned more about their environment and how best to utilize it. As the earliest identified human social groups in Kentucky, Paleoindians established a hunting and gathering lifestyle that persisted for thousands of years. This lifestyle was developed to a very high degree in the next cultural period, the Archaic.

The Archaic Period

The Archaic period is the longest subdivision of Kentucky prehistory, and it featured many important changes and new developments. Unifying this period is the continuance of the hunting and gathering lifestyle. This way of life was so successful that the human population in Kentucky steadily increased. Modern hunting and gathering societies studied in detail by anthropologists are testimony to the fact that “living off the land” can be a very effective means of survival. Hunter/gatherers who know their particular territory well often have plenty to eat and more leisure time to devote to pursuits such as crafts, religion, or social activities than do modern agricultural and industrial societies. Archaic peoples in Kentucky probably were no exception.

Early in the Archaic period, Native Americans were living in an environment characterized by hardwood forests of great variety and were hunting modern animal species such as white-tailed deer and wild turkey. These soon became staples of the meat diet. The artifacts we find in early Archaic sites include specific styles of projectile points that are widely distributed across the eastern United States. The similarity of early Archaic points over a large region and the relatively small numbers of artifacts found at the sites suggest that early Archaic people were still very mobile, much like their Paleoindian predecessors, and that most of their occupations were of short duration.

By the middle of the Archaic period, the trend seems to have been toward smaller territories that were exploited more intensively and toward less wandering over very large areas. The Archaic people developed new tools and a greater variety of projectile points. Some sites contain large numbers of artifacts, burials, and other indications that suggest they were occupied for fairly long periods, perhaps year-round. But other sites with small quantities of artifacts and few features indicate that short-term

camps established for limited activities were still common. This trend of greater regional specialization continued to intensify through the Archaic period.

By the late Archaic period, the cultural picture becomes very complex. Populations had increased, and groups were focusing on specific territories to a greater degree than in earlier times. For instance, late Archaic sites in the Green River Valley of west-central Kentucky are characterized by large accumulations of discarded freshwater mussel shells, which were a major food source and used to make ornaments and other items. People lived on the same sites for long periods of time, discarding so many shells that the living surfaces became littered with them. Deep deposits of soil laden with shells, and artifacts, called archaeological midden, accumulated in these sites. Late Archaic sites also occur in many other locales, including rockshelters, caves, hilltops, ridgetops, near springs and water-filled sinkholes, and along rivers and streams. These sites range from small camps for special activities (such as hunting), occupied for short periods of time by only a few people, to quarry sites at sources of good quality chert used to make tools, to base camps where larger numbers of people lived for longer periods of time.

Throughout the Archaic period, foodways were centered around the hunting and gathering lifestyle, but many important changes and innovations improved the reliability of food sources and ensured survival during times when wild foods were scarce. In the early portion of the Archaic period, hunting was very important, probably more like the Paleoindian period, and gathering plant foods was a relatively minor activity. Aiding the hunting pursuit was the increased use of the dart and dart-thrower, or atlatl, which increased the range and accuracy of hafted projectile points. This weapon was probably also used during Paleoindian times but became more important in the Archaic period.

As the Archaic period progressed, however, plants appear to have become increasingly important to the prehistoric diet. By the middle Archaic, we find tools made specifically for gathering and processing the plants used for food or as raw materials for making a wide variety of items such as clothing, tools, ornaments, bedding, and shelters. The collection and consumption of nuts, particularly hickory nuts, was very important in the Archaic diet. Another important change was the use of starchy seeds from a

variety of wild plants; these were generally toasted and ground into meal or processed in other ways. Collection of these seedy plants may have contributed to the development of agriculture, which had its origins in the late Archaic period. Some late Archaic groups began to experiment with growing both native plants and some nonnative plants that had been first domesticated in the tropics. We do not know precisely how late Archaic people first learned about the tropical plants (various kinds of squashes and gourds), but archaeologists find their seeds in late Archaic sites and assume that they were being grown since they require human intervention to grow successfully in Kentucky.

Ritual and religious activity during the Archaic period is not well understood. We have no specific evidence for particular types of religious observances, but we can infer that such activity was conducted from the occurrence of objects such as pendants and effigies made from native copper, freshwater and saltwater shell, and other materials traded across the eastern United States. These items are frequently found in graves and may have been used to identify spiritual leaders. As in earlier times, the fact that special pains were taken to bury the dead indicates a belief in an afterlife. It is also likely that much of the ritual activity had to do with supernatural control of the weather, the availability of animals and plants important to survival, and other concerns.

Social organization during the Archaic period continued to emphasize essentially equal treatment of society members, but some individuals may have been accorded higher status because of their age, sex, or personal abilities. For instance, someone who was chosen to lead a particular band or who specialized in performing important rituals had higher status than other band members and may have worn special clothing or ornaments to identify his or her special role in society. For the most part, however, there were few recognized social differences among people in Archaic society.

The Woodland Period

The Woodland period has historically been identified as the time when aboriginal peoples began to produce pottery. This new technology was accompanied by more ritual activities associated with burial of the dead and more experimentation with growing

plants. These changes were grafted onto but did not replace the hunting and gathering lifestyle. The changes that herald the Woodland period did not take place at the same time everywhere but were gradually adopted through time.

The transition from the Archaic to the Woodland period probably took place over several hundred years with many holdovers from earlier times. The settlement pattern of the early part of the Woodland period seems to be very similar to that of the last stages of the Archaic period. However, as the Woodland period progressed, people began to live in larger groups for longer periods of time, occupying villages near reliable sources of water and venturing out periodically to hunt, gather seasonally available plant foods, or carry out other activities. In some parts of Kentucky, they also began to bury some of their dead, possibly people with higher social status, in earthen mounds.

Northern and central Kentucky are well known for the earthen burial mounds associated with the Adena culture of the early Woodland period. These mounds contain individuals of both sexes, ranging in age from infants to older adults. The mounds were built in stages and grew over time as bodies were added to them. Frequently, the dead were placed in log tombs and then covered with earth. Occasionally, personal ornaments were buried with the dead, but grave goods such as pots or hunting weapons are generally uncommon in Adena burials. Some of the mounds are small and contain only one or two people while others are very large and crowded with remains.

The varied characteristics of the burial mounds probably relate to the use of some as "family cemeteries," others for burying important persons who controlled large territories or more people, and others for individual burial. Sometimes the mounds contain fragments of pots scattered through the earthen fill; these may have been pots that were used to hold offerings of food for the dead person's journey to the afterlife or to cook and serve food for ritual feasting associated with preparation of the body for burial and construction of the tomb or other burial facility. The pots may have been made specifically for the death ritual, broken afterwards, and included in the mound fill. Other Adena site types include earthen enclosures of various sizes and shapes, most commonly small circles. Their function and cultural significance are difficult to interpret.

During the middle portion of the Woodland period, the Hopewell culture, related to Adena, appeared in Ohio and, in a modified version, in Kentucky. Hopewell societies also buried their dead in mounds but, unlike the Adena, included elaborate grave goods such as mica and copper ornaments, chert blades, and decorated ceramic pots. They built log tombs and erected charnel houses where the bodies of their dead were stored. The participation of Kentucky Indians in this culture is not well understood, although the Indians undoubtedly were aware of Hopewellian ideas and beliefs.

Student Essay

Archaeology and Prehistory

Many people believe that Kentucky's history began with Dr. Thomas Walker and Daniel Boone and that Indians never lived in Kentucky. In reality, Indians occupied Kentucky for 10,000 to 12,000 years before English-speaking explorers ever saw the state. It is very important that we as Kentuckians learn about this forgotten part of our heritage.

In an effort to help bring light to this long ignored period of Kentucky's past, every summer a group of Kentucky students who are members of the Kentucky Junior Historical Society spend a week at Wickliffe Mounds in Ballard County trying to uncover this part of our history. Wickliffe Mounds is a Mississippian Indian site where the students, through the cooperation of the Kentucky Junior Historical Society and Murray State University, have the opportunity to experience an actual excavation of a site occupied by the Mississippian Indians between A.D. 1000 and 1300. The information gathered by the students helps archaeologists reconstruct the lives of prehistoric Kentuckians.

It is our responsibility as Kentuckians to become educated about the preservation of the archaeological sites in Kentucky. Only through education can we avoid such occurrences as the Slack farm incident. A disgraceful, illegal desecration of an ancient Indian burial site occurred at Slack farm in Union County. Although the information contained at that site may not have been of worldwide importance, it was a significant part of Kentucky's prehistory that can never be replaced. Unfortunately, it was only one of several such incidents. Once these sites are disturbed by looters or "pot hunters," a piece of Kentucky's history is lost forever.

*Shana McMurtrey
Summer Shade, Kentucky*

Different Woodland cultures are identified in the western part of the state. The Crab Orchard culture is characterized by mostly plain pottery and large habitation sites; people continued to rely heavily on hunting and gathering with little or no reliance on agriculture.

By late Woodland times, people began living in larger numbers in village communities. Hunting and gathering were still the economic mainstay, but cultivation of plants became more important. The late Woodland people adopted the bow and arrow, an important addition to the hunting toolkit.

Ritual and religion focused on burial of the dead during the early and middle portions of the Woodland period. The elaborate nature of the log tombs and enclosing mounds suggests that Woodland social organization was differentiated, with certain people having more power and higher social status. Elaborate ornaments were used to identify these individuals and were frequently buried with them. We know virtually nothing about the "common folk" of the Woodland period. However, the burial mounds required a certain amount of labor to construct, and Woodland society must have had the social organization to provide for this need.

The Late Prehistoric Period

The Late Prehistoric period is represented by societies who practiced corn agriculture, lived year-round in villages, and developed complex social organizations with centralized political authority and leadership. The major changes that took place during the Late Prehistoric period provided greater economic stability, allowed for increased creativity in artistic and ceremonial life, and broadened social contacts. However, there were costs as well, in the form of more crowded living conditions and attendant compromises in health, more intensive labor requirements and lower social status for some citizens.

Kentucky contains two cultural traditions, the Mississippian and Fort Ancient, dating to the Late Prehistoric period. Although they shared some broad similarities, they existed in different areas and had some notable differences.

Mississippian societies developed in western Kentucky about 1,000-1,100 years ago and survived until about 300 years ago. The

Mississippian settlement pattern was one in which villages varied in size, population, and complexity—from simple family farmsteads to small villages to large communities around ceremonial centers with open plazas and large temple mounds. Mississippian peoples lived in substantial houses of solid pole frames, plastered with mud and roofed with thick layers of grass or reed thatch. Since hunting and gathering were still practiced, special activity sites such as short-term hunting camps or other processing sites were also occupied.

Foodways were dominated by cultivation of corn or maize, squashes, beans, and other plants, supplemented by hunting animals and gathering wild plants. Practicing both food collection and production allowed a more stable and reliable supply and ensured survival during times of the year when wild plants and animals were difficult to obtain. However, cultivation required a greater labor investment to plant, tend, and harvest the crops through the growing season.

The production of pottery was closely tied to foodways since ceramic vessels were used in processing, preparing, serving, and storing food. Mississippian ceramics were usually made of clay mixed with crushed mussel shell and generally had well-smoothed, plain exteriors. A wide variety of vessel shapes was produced, and some were decorated by painting or by pressing designs into the undried pot with various tools. The major weapon for hunting game was the bow and arrow.

Ritual and religion were highly developed in the Mississippian societies and were closely tied to the social organization. Powerful chiefs or important priests lived in structures built on top of large earthen flat-topped mounds in major ceremonial centers. Open plazas next to the mounds provided space for group activities such as the ritual sport of *chunkey*, a game that involved hurling spears at a rolling stone disk. Dancing, trading, and preparation for war also took place on the plazas. The leaders of Mississippian societies were very powerful and could demand tribute in the form of labor, food supplies, craft goods, or other products from their people. In return, they redistributed goods during times of need and provided protection and stability. Individuals with special artistic or creative talents could spend more time specializing in their particular area, producing items that could then be traded for food or other necessities.

Mississippian religious practices are reflected in their treatment of their dead. Burial usually involved placing the body in a grave lined with large flat stones arranged to form a box. Sometimes grave goods were included with the individual. In some cases, the grave was left open and the flesh was allowed to decompose; then the bones were removed and stored in the villages.

The Fort Ancient societies were similar in many ways to the Mississippian: they were dependent on the cultivation of corn, beans, squash, and other plants and lived in permanent villages. But there were important differences too. Fort Ancient societies occupied central, northern, and eastern Kentucky. They built smaller villages and central plazas but did not erect platform mounds. During the winter, at least a portion of the village population moved up into the headwaters of the rivers and streams of their territory and established small hunting camps where they killed and processed bear and white-tailed deer by drying the meat and melting down the fat. Later in the Fort Ancient period, they fortified their villages, presumably for protection from their enemies.

As with the Mississippians, the most important hunting weapon was the bow and arrow. Pottery made of clay and crushed shell was also an important part of their household goods. Their pots frequently were made with thick handles or protruding lugs, and generally had plain exteriors. Fort Ancient societies enjoyed a rich religious life, some of which can be inferred from the decorative items of shell and other materials they made or obtained through trade. They developed a widespread trade network with other regions, which brought them exotic goods such as engraved marine shell ornaments. Some very late Fort Ancient sites contain European goods, obtained through trade either directly with Europeans or through Indian intermediaries. Fort Ancient peoples are closely related to the Indian tribes that encountered Europeans in the Ohio Valley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The arrival of Europeans in the New World had a profound effect on both the Fort Ancient and the Mississippian people. Devastating European diseases swept through the eastern part of North America ahead of actual European presence and resulted in many deaths and in social disintegration. Trade for European goods such as guns, metal pots, and other items changed some

aspects of the Indian lifestyle. Warfare between Indians and Europeans and competition for land caused major shifts in native settlement patterns. By the time Europeans entered Kentucky in large numbers, Indian cultures had been changed forever, largely for the worst.

European settlement in Kentucky began in the 1770s, by which time Indian population and settlement patterns had drastically altered. The settlers interacted with Indians largely through hostile encounters in the form of raiding parties. As hostilities resulted in the expulsion of Indians from Kentucky, European and African-derived settlers took their place, clearing forests and establishing farms, towns, and road systems. In so doing, they also left archaeological remains that fall under the category of historic archaeology.

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Summary

Kentucky has a rich archaeological heritage to study, spanning 12,000 years of continuous occupation. Human societies that lived in Kentucky varied widely. Wide-ranging bands hunted large game in the cold, dry environment of the Pleistocene epoch, but subsequent climatic change required societal changes to a hunting and gathering lifestyle focusing on smaller territories. Population increased and societies became more complex, recognizing social status differences, formulating complicated systems of religious beliefs, developing new ways to ensure an adequate food supply, and inventing new, more efficient tools. Although archaeologists divide Kentucky's prehistory into distinct chronological periods to facilitate its study, the cultural changes and developments took place over a continuous unbroken span of time, with early events, conditions, and circumstances influencing those that followed. Evidence of this "cultural parade" must be painstakingly gathered from physical remnants in Kentucky's soils since prehistoric Native Americans left no written records. Archaeological research yields important knowledge on cultures that left no written records behind as well as those that did.



Government and Politics

Paul Blanchard

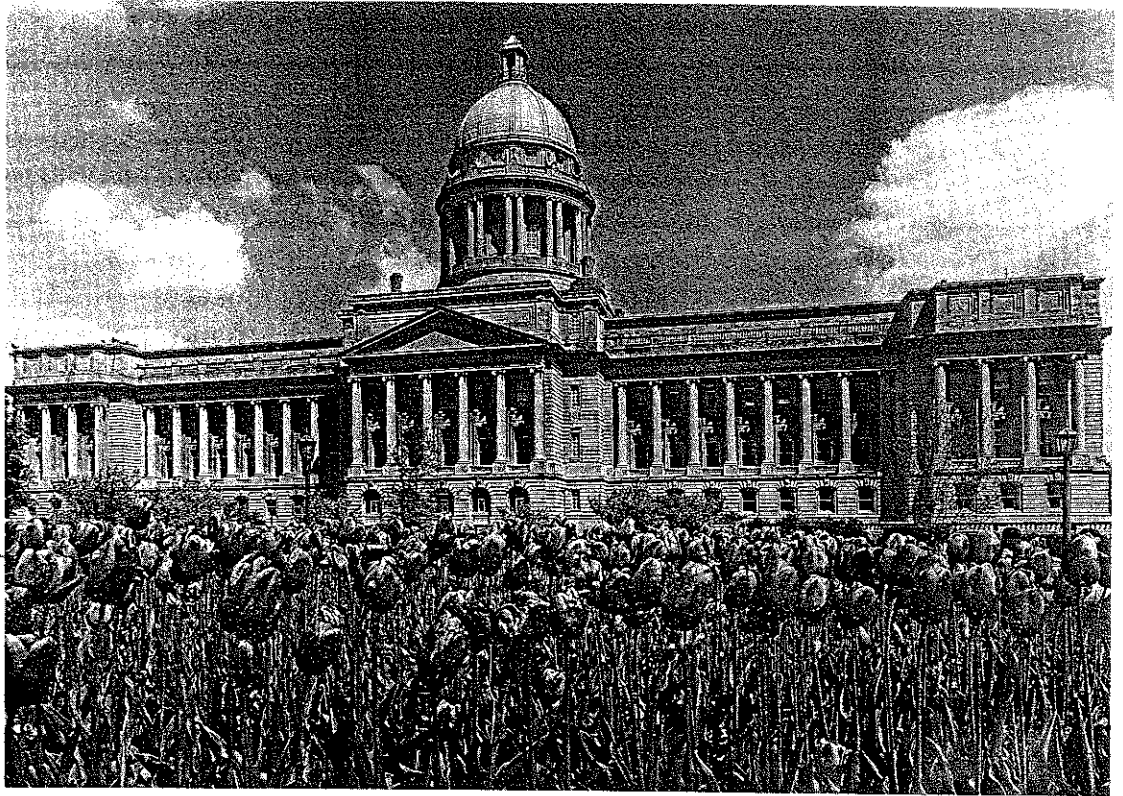
In this chapter, we will examine Kentucky and its politics. Though the word “politics” could be defined in several ways, we are defining it here to mean how decisions are made by those with the authority to make them, decisions that affect the people who live in Kentucky. Our examination of political decision-making in Kentucky will focus on three major topics: (1) our constitution and how it shapes decision-making; (2) major decision-makers (the legislature, governor, and courts); and (3) citizen involvement in decision-making (political parties, elections, and voting).

Kentucky's Constitution

Constitutions are important—both at the national level and at the state level—in establishing the general framework of government and stating the basic principles that limit and direct the behavior of those who make decisions. Since becoming a state in 1792, Kentucky has had four different constitutions. Before examining our current constitution, which went into effect in 1891, we will briefly discuss the three earlier governing documents.

Kentucky's first constitution was adopted in 1792, having been written in about eighteen days. It was a brief and concise document, modeled in several respects after the U.S. Constitu-

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tion. Voting provisions were quite generous for that time—all free males aged twenty-one and over could vote. Kentucky was the first state to abolish religious, property, and taxpaying qualifications for voting. However, neither the governor nor state senators were popularly elected. A college of electors, similar to our national electoral college, made these decisions. One apparent weakness of the 1792 constitution was a provision allowing the governor to appoint many local officials.

The first constitution was replaced after only seven years by the 1799 constitution. It provided for the direct election of the governor and state senators. A new position, lieutenant governor, was created by this document. It also allowed the governor to appoint all judges, who served for life (“during good behavior”). Like its predecessor, the 1799 constitution recognized the institution of slavery.

Kentucky’s third constitution was adopted in 1850. This document was written during the national controversy over the expansion of slavery. Proslavery delegates dominated the convention. Not only did they require the owner’s consent and just

Figure 3.1 Kentucky’s State Capitol (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).

compensation for emancipation, as in the previous two constitutions, they also provided that emancipated slaves must leave the state.

Events and experiences surrounding the 1850 constitution illustrate two major principles that help explain how Kentuckians relate to their constitution: (1) state constitutions reflect the times in which they are written, and (2) Kentuckians are quite reluctant to approve of significant constitutional change. These two statements will be useful as we consider Kentucky's current constitution.

The 1891 constitution, now over one hundred years old, reflects the time in which it was written in two important ways. Obviously, Kentucky in 1891 was different from present-day Kentucky. Perhaps the most useful adjective to describe the state at that time is "rural." The writers of the 1891 constitution were almost entirely rural people whose major interest was agriculture. They attempted to create a governing document that would protect and support a rural way of life. Little attention was given to the needs of people who lived in cities and towns or to the kinds of urban problems that many Kentuckians face today. Provisions relating to local government were very restrictive, making it difficult for local communities to respond to changing conditions.

Closely related to the rural environment of 1891 was the attitude the writers of the constitution had toward government in general. The key descriptive word here is "distrustful." Because of political experiences of that time period, a distrust of all state government officials dominated the thinking of the writers. One specific incident illustrates this lack of trust. Just a short time before the constitution was written, the state treasurer, James W. "Honest Dick" Tate (so named because of the integrity he had supposedly achieved over many years in state office), withdrew most of the funds from the state treasury and fled the state, never to return. This one incident is likely directly related to several provisions in our current constitution, the best example being the decision not to allow statewide elected officials to run for reelection (succession).

The lack of trust toward government officials, held by the writers of Kentucky's constitution, is reflected in its length. Our constitution is a very long document, at least four times longer than the U.S. Constitution. Kentucky's constitution has 260

sections, compared to only 24 in the national document. It is a long constitution because of its many specific provisions, with much detail, unlike the U.S. Constitution, which is more of an outline of the basic principles of government. A broad and basic constitution would allow later legislatures to provide legislative details as required. The writers of Kentucky's constitution were not willing to trust legislators in future generations to have this authority. As a result, many of the detailed provisions they included have become totally irrelevant to Kentuckians of the late twentieth century.

The Kentucky constitution, like its U.S. counterpart, does contain the four necessary components of constitutions in general: (1) a preamble, (2) a bill of rights, (3) the body, and (4) provisions for amendment and revision.

The preamble states the reasons for and purposes of the document. Our Kentucky preamble is brief and simple:

We, the people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, grateful to Almighty God for the civil, political and religious liberties we enjoy, and invoking the continuance of these blessings, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

The bill of rights is contained in Sections 1-26 of Kentucky's constitution. The purpose of a bill of rights is to protect individuals from the arbitrary actions of government decision-makers. Among the rights specifically protected in Kentucky's constitution are freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, the right to acquire and protect property, and the right to a jury trial. Provisions in the Kentucky Bill of Rights tend to be more detailed than those in the U.S. Bill of Rights. One example is Section 5, which contains a strong and specific statement on freedom of religion:

Section 5. Right of religious freedom. No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect, society or denomination; nor to any particular creed, mode of worship or system of ecclesiastical polity; nor shall any person be compelled to attend any place of worship, to contribute to the erection or maintenance of any such place, or to the salary or support of any minister of religion; nor shall any man be compelled to

send his child to any school to which he may be conscientiously opposed; and the civil rights, privileges or capacities of no person shall be taken away, or in anywise diminished or enlarged, on account of his belief or disbelief of any religious tenet, dogma or teaching. No human authority shall, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.

The body of the Kentucky Constitution addresses how the powers of government are divided among decision-makers in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. More than two hundred sections are included in the body. Sections 27-124 deal primarily with state government, Sections 140-168 with local government, and Sections 169-255 with other matters, such as education, taxation, and corporations. Our discussion of major decision-makers in the next section of this chapter will provide an overview of the three branches of Kentucky state government.

Finally, the fourth component of our constitution, relating to amendment and revision, is covered in Sections 256-263. In general, these provisions make it relatively difficult to change the constitution, in whole (revision) or in part (amendment). In addition, Kentucky citizens have apparently been reluctant to make any major changes in their constitution even when they have been given an opportunity to do so. This electoral orientation is discussed briefly at the end of this section of the chapter.

As suggested earlier, some of the most important provisions of the Kentucky constitution have been criticized as being too restrictive and/or outdated. This is particularly true of those sections dealing with the executive and legislative branches. For example, Kentucky is one of only four states where the governor can serve no more than one term in succession. Critics have argued that this prevents the state from planning for more than four years into the future and that it introduces much instability in government by installing a totally new administration every four years. Some also argue that many competent people are discouraged from seeking elective office—or even serving in appointive positions—because they realize how difficult it is to accomplish any meaningful goals in four years or less.

Another controversial provision restricts Kentucky's legislature, limiting it to a sixty-day session every other year. Kentucky's

is one of only eleven state legislatures that do not meet on an annual basis. Of these eleven states, only Nevada has as short a legislative session as Kentucky. Critics argue that short and infrequent sessions mean that legislation is passed with undue haste and inadequate consideration.

However, Kentuckians have had several opportunities to change these provisions and have always voted them down. In fact, recent behavior by Kentucky's electorate shows they are relatively unwilling to approve any meaningful constitutional change. Since 1891, of sixty-six proposed amendments submitted to Kentuckians, only thirty amendments have been approved, averaging about one every four years. Even of those approved, several have been quite insignificant. For example, one amendment permitted the use of prisoners for road work and another permitted the use of voting machines in elections. One major exception was an amendment approved by Kentucky's voters in 1975. That amendment changed Kentucky's judicial branch significantly, so that Kentucky's court system is now considered a model for many other states.

In addition to the amendment process, Kentuckians have been given five different opportunities to revise their constitution—in 1931, 1947, 1960, 1966, and 1977. In each case, they voted against revision.

Major Decision-Makers

In this section we will briefly examine Kentucky's three branches of government. Our discussion of the legislature, the governor, and the courts will have two major purposes: to describe how these institutions make decisions affecting most Kentuckians and to indicate recent changes that have occurred in the decision-making process in all three branches.

The Legislature

We begin this discussion with the legislative branch because that is the branch of government covered first in the Kentucky constitution. Kentucky's legislature is called the General Assembly,

and it consists of two different houses—the Senate, containing thirty-eight members, and the House of Representatives, containing one hundred members.

The General Assembly meets for its regular session in January of the even numbered years. As discussed earlier, our constitution limits these sessions to sixty working days. However, a constitutional amendment passed in 1979 allows the legislature to use these sixty days any time it chooses between January 1 and April 15. Thus, the General Assembly has roughly three and one-half months every other year to complete its business.

These sessions are hectic: legislators must consider between 1,200 and 1,500 legislative proposals during this period. Each proposal, called a “bill,” is introduced by an individual legislator, a member of either the Senate or the House. **Table 3.1** shows the number of bills introduced during three sessions of the General Assembly and the number that finally became laws.

Table 3.1 Bills Introduced in the General Assembly

| | 1986 | 1988 | 1990 |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bills Introduced | | | |
| Senate | 398 | 399 | 410 |
| House | 990 | 1,030 | 940 |
| Total | 1,388 | 1,429 | 1,350 |
| Became Law | | | |
| Senate | 153 | 106 | 149 |
| House | 308 | 293 | 321 |
| Total | 461 | 399 | 470 |

These figures show that approximately 30 percent of those bills that are introduced actually become laws. In order for a bill to become law it must overcome a number of obstacles. The booklet, *A Look at the Kentucky General Assembly* (pages 19-22), available from the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission (LRC) in Frankfort, provides the following summary of how a bill becomes a law:

1. *Introduction and Committee Referral.* A bill may be introduced in the House or Senate. Each bill is assigned a number,

read by title and sponsor, and referred to a standing committee by the Committee on Committees.

2. *Committee Consideration.* Committee meetings are usually open to the public. When there is sufficient interest in a subject, a public hearing is held. A bill may be reported out of committee with one of the following reports: favorable, favorable with amendments, favorable with committee substitute, unfavorable, or without opinion. A committee can kill a bill by failing to act on it.

3. *First Reading.* When a committee reports a bill favorably, the bill has its first reading and is placed in the Calendar for the following day. If a committee reports a bill unfavorably or without opinion, the bill is not likely to go further.

4. *Second Reading; To Rules.* The bill is read by title a second time and sent to the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee may recommit the bill or place it in Orders of the Day for a specific day.

5. *Third Reading and Passage.* "I move that House Bill 100 be taken from the Orders of the Day, read for the third time by title only, and placed upon its passage." This motion, usually by the majority floor leader, is adopted by voice vote, and the floor is open for debate. Following debate and amendments, a final vote on the bill is taken. To pass, a bill must be approved by at least two-fifths of the members of the General Assembly (40 Representatives or 17 Senators) and a majority of the members present and voting. If the bill contains an appropriation or an emergency clause, it must be approved by a majority of the members elected to each house (51 Representatives and 20 Senators).

6. *What Happens Next?* If a bill is defeated, that is the end of it, unless two members who voted against it request its reconsideration and a majority approves. If a bill passes in one house, it is sent to the other chamber, where it follows much the same procedure. Both houses must agree on the final form of each bill. If either house fails to concur in amendments, the differences must be reconciled by a conference committee of senators and representatives. Compromises agreed to by this conference committee are subject to approval by both houses.

7. *Enrollment.* After passage by both houses, a bill is read carefully to make sure the final wording is correct. The bill is signed by the presiding officer of each house and sent to the Governor.

8. *Governor's Action.* The Governor may sign a bill, permit it to become law without his/her signature, or veto it. The bill may be passed over his/her veto by a majority of the members of both houses. The Governor has 10 days (excluding Sundays) to act on a bill after he/she receives it.

The fastest a bill can pass through both houses of the legislature is five days, the minimum time required for three readings in each house. Most bills take much longer to complete the process, however.

The most critical stage of legislative decision-making is when bills are considered by standing committees. Most bills "die" here; that is, they do not receive a favorable recommendation and are unable to move on through the process toward passage. Also, it is at this stage that citizens have the best opportunity to influence the success or failure of a proposed bill and to suggest modifications in its provisions.

Informed citizens know the importance of learning which committees deal with legislation in particular areas, who the members of those committees are, and when they meet. Following are the thirteen standing committees in the Senate and the sixteen standing committees in the House:

Senate

1. Agriculture and Natural Resources
2. Appropriations and Revenue
3. Banking and Insurance
4. Business Organizations and Professions
5. Cities
6. Counties and Special Districts
7. Economic Development, Tourism, and Energy
8. Education
9. Health and Welfare
10. Judiciary
11. Labor and Industry
12. State Government
13. Transportation

House

1. Agriculture and Small Business

2. Appropriations and Revenue
3. Banking and Insurance
4. Business Organizations and Professions
5. Cities
6. Counties and Special Districts
7. Economic Development
8. Education
9. Elections and Constitutional Amendments
10. Health and Welfare
11. Judiciary
12. Labor and Industry
13. Natural Resources and Environment
14. State Government
15. Tourism Development and Energy
16. Transportation

Besides its regular session, the General Assembly may also meet in special sessions. Special sessions may be called only by the governor and may consider only the topics the governor has included in his or her call.

The General Assembly has undergone major and significant changes over the past fifteen years. In general, it has become more independent of the governor's influence. Whereas most Kentucky governors were able to dominate legislators before 1980, often dictating to them what laws they wanted passed, the legislature of the 1980s and 1990s has been more of an equal partner in decision-making. Some of the changes that have accompanied increasing legislative independence include:

1. Legislative leaders are now selected by legislators rather than the governor.
2. The legislature now establishes its committees a year before the session begins, permitting more study and preparation for legislative decisions.
3. Legislative facilities have been greatly improved. Larger committee rooms, for example, allow for more public participation in decision-making.
4. Toll-free telephone numbers and television coverage on Kentucky Educational Television (KET) contribute to more open decision-making. Citizens have an easier time keeping track of what the General Assembly is doing.

5. The legislature is much more involved in specific decisions about the state's budget. The budget, which is the most important bill in every session, represents the billions of dollars that Kentuckians pay in taxes each year.

The Governor

The governor of Kentucky is probably the one decision-maker most Kentuckians know best. As we watch our governors, we become aware of the many duties and responsibilities they have, and of the many different "hats" they are called upon to wear. Dr. Robert Snyder of Georgetown College, in the book *Kentucky Government and Politics*, has divided these responsibilities into six major areas:

1. *Ceremonial Role.* The governor presides over numerous ceremonial functions. Some examples include cutting ribbons on new highways or new buildings, crowning beauty queens, and presenting awards to notable Kentuckians. The biggest ceremonial duty revolves around the Kentucky Derby, when the governor is highly visible in many activities, from hosting the Kentucky Derby breakfast to awarding the trophy for the winning horse before thousands of fans at Churchill Downs and millions watching on national television.

2. *Legislative Leader.* Although the governor's influence over the General Assembly has declined in recent years, legislators still look to him or her for leadership, and a governor's influence is still decisive on legislation that has a high priority for the administration. The governor's major contribution in each legislative session is to prepare and propose a budget that must be presented to the legislature early in each session. In most sessions until recently, the governor's budget recommendations were changed very little by the legislators. Another legislative power is the veto, which has been used quite sparingly by recent governors. As noted earlier, the governor also has the power to call special sessions of the General Assembly.

3. *Managerial Role.* This is one of the most difficult responsibilities, managing the state's resources, personnel, and tax dollars as efficiently as possible. This role is performed largely through the governor's appointment power as well as his or her budget recommendations.

4. *Judicial Role.* Unlike the president, Kentucky's governor generally does not have the power to appoint judges. All judges are elected, but the governor does have the power to fill judicial vacancies. The governor also has the power to commute sentences and grant pardons for Kentucky prisoners. However, most decisions of this kind are made by the Kentucky Parole Board.

5. *Political Party Leader.* This is an informal power (i.e., not specified in the constitution or statutes) that has been an extremely important source of gubernatorial influence. Most governors are very active in local, state, and national politics, and the giving and receiving of favors based on political loyalties (often called patronage) is firmly entrenched as a Kentucky tradition. Many state and local officials follow the governor's recommendations in hopes of receiving a political favor from him or her sometime in the future.

6. *Developer Role.* In recent years, governors have placed a heavy emphasis on economic development. They have attempted to create a favorable business climate to attract new industries and businesses to the state in order to create additional jobs for its citizens. The best recent example was Governor Martha Layne Collins's intensive and lengthy efforts to attract a Toyota plant to Kentucky, that was formally agreed to in 1986.

The variety of roles we expect a governor to play makes the governorship a difficult and challenging job. Some governors are more effective than others in performing specific responsibilities, but few governors are successful in all six areas. One of the reasons for this is the short tenure that serves a significant limitation on a governor's exercise of power. As noted earlier, governors serve a single four-year term and are ineligible to run for reelection. Although governors are eligible to run again in later elections, few do so and even fewer are victorious. In fact, in this century, only one person—Albert B. “Happy” Chandler—has been elected to two different full terms as governor (1935-39; 1955-59).

Among recent changes affecting the governor's office is the way we elect our governors. The amount of money needed in order to be elected governor has reached staggering sums, with several candidates in recent elections each spending more than two million dollars. An issue in Kentucky during the 1990s is likely to be possible reforms of campaign finance laws so that money becomes less significant in determining the outcome of our elec-

tions. If practices do not change, it is probable that only wealthy Kentuckians will have a reasonable chance to be elected governor.

The Judicial Branch

Kentucky's court system was changed significantly as a result of a constitutional amendment approved by Kentucky voters in 1975. Kentucky's new "Unified Court of Justice" was fully implemented during the late 1970s.

One important aspect of Kentucky's judicial system is that it is a "unified" system. The entire system is interrelated, and all

courts and judges within it are responsible to and under the supervision of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court serves as the chief administrator of the entire court system.

Kentucky's Court of Justice contains two courts (district and circuit) that are primarily trial courts and two (the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court) that are appellate-level courts (courts that review decisions made previously by trial courts).

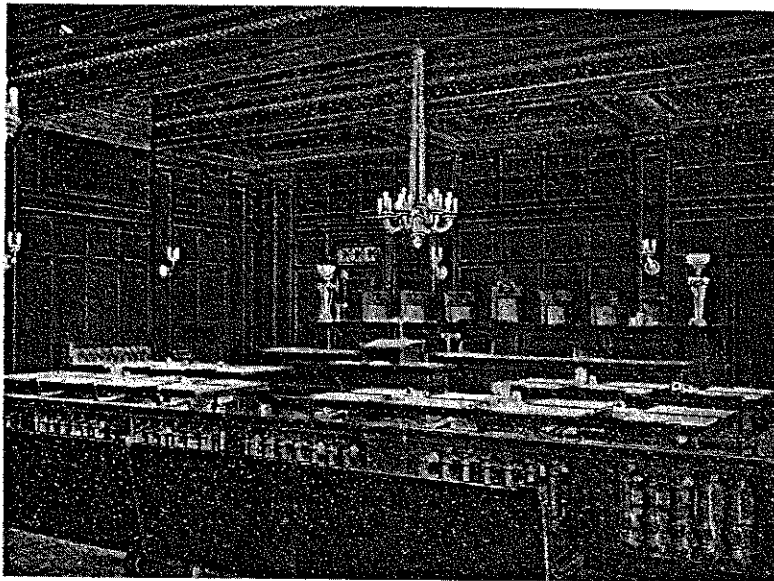


Figure 3.2 Chambers of the Kentucky Supreme Court in the State Capitol as they appeared early in this century (Kentucky Historical Society).

The jurisdiction of each court is summarized as follows:

District

Juvenile matters
Small claims court
Criminal misdemeanors
Traffic violations
Civil cases up to \$2,500
Preliminary hearings for felonies

Circuit

Criminal felonies
Civil cases above \$2,500
Divorce cases
Land title matters
Appeals from District Court
Appeals from administrative agencies

Court of Appeals

Appeals from Circuit Court
Appeals from state agencies

Supreme Court

Appeals from Court of Appeals
Appeals from Circuit Courts
(death penalty and
twenty or more years
imprisonment)

As a result of the 1975 amendment, all Kentucky judges must be attorneys; before 1975, most local judges were not trained in the law—in fact, some did not even have a high school education. Also affected by the amendment was the total number of judges in Kentucky. The number was reduced from more than 1,000 judges before 1975 to slightly more than 200 today. Currently, there are 7 Supreme Court justices and 14 judges on the Court of Appeals. There are 91 circuit judges and 123 district judges.

The current court system has built-in flexibility. Only the number of Supreme Court justices is fixed by the constitution. The number of judges at the other three levels can be increased or decreased as necessary to accommodate changing workloads.

Citizen Involvement in Decision-Making

We have seen who the major decision-makers in Kentucky's government are and how their decisions affect Kentuckians. But citizens can also be involved in the political process and attempt to influence the decisions that affect them. Citizens have the opportunity to become involved through political parties and through voting.

Political Parties and Elections

Political parties are organizations whose major goal is to win elections. This is certainly true of Kentucky's two major political parties. A political party is legally defined in the Kentucky Revised Statutes (KRS 118.015) as "an affiliation or organization of electors . . . which cast at least twenty per cent (20%) of the total vote cast at the last preceding [presidential] election." Only

the Republican and Democratic parties have been able to meet this 20 percent criterion in recent years.

Party organizations provide excellent opportunities for Kentuckians to become involved in political activities and to become more influential citizens. In each of Kentucky's 120 counties, both political parties select officers at the county and precinct levels at least every four years. Both parties "reorganize" in the spring of presidential election years, and the Republican party repeats this process again two years later. Generally, all registered Democrats or Republicans can participate in the meetings in which their local party leaders are chosen.

At the county level, a county executive committee is selected along with a county chairperson. Delegates are chosen from each party in all counties to attend a state party convention, where the Republicans and Democrats select their state party leaders. The governing body for each party at the state level is called the state central committee. This body manages and directs party affairs, collects and spends party funds, and promotes and supervises the campaigns of party candidates at all levels.

Several leaders are selected as officers of the state political party. The most important of these is the state chairman, who calls meetings of the state central committee, presides over these meetings, appoints special committees of the party, and names members to these committees. The state chairman may also be called upon to be a spokesperson for his or her party when significant issues emerge in state politics.

In recent times, the Democratic state chairman has been a full-time, paid employee of the party, whereas the Republican state chairman has been a part-time, nonpaid (volunteer) leader. This difference reflects the fact that the Democratic party has had a financial advantage over the Republican party. This financial advantage is owing to the fact that there are many more Democrats than Republicans in Kentucky and that the Democrats have had more electoral success. These Democratic advantages will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

It is important at this point to emphasize the statement made earlier: involvement in a political party's organizational activities provides an excellent opportunity for citizens to become more influential. This is particularly true of young Kentuckians, who usually find both parties very receptive to their participation.

Particularly at the local level, the parties are anxious for young voters to take part in precinct and local elections. Several leadership positions are set aside for young people. And since few young people compete for these positions, it is quite easy for a young person, even a teenager, to be elected as a precinct or county party leader.

As mentioned earlier, Kentucky has more registered Democrats than Republicans. As of mid-1991, there were 1,248,992 registered Democrats compared with 548,051 registered Republicans. This Democrat advantage of nearly two and a half to one has made it possible for Democrats to win most contests for statewide office. For example, between 1947 and 1990, only one Republican was elected governor; Democrats won ten gubernatorial elections. Democrats have been similarly successful in elections for the state legislature and for local offices in most counties.

The Republican party in Kentucky has been much more successful in national elections. For example, since 1952, the Republican candidate for president has carried Kentucky in seven of the nine elections held. Republicans have also managed to win approximately half of all recent senatorial and congressional elections.

Voting

All Kentuckians, like their counterparts in other states, are entitled to vote if they are American citizens, at least eighteen years old, residents of their communities for at least thirty days, and properly registered. It is interesting to note that Kentucky allowed younger citizens (under age twenty-one) to vote starting in 1955, some sixteen years before the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified, allowing citizens at least eighteen years of age to vote across the entire country.

Kentucky citizens may register to vote by filling out a simple form and returning it to their county clerk no later than thirty days before an election. Kentucky has what is called a closed primary voting system. This means that persons registering to vote must publicly declare their party affiliation. Then they may vote only in the primary election of their chosen party. One may also register "no preference" (affiliation with neither political party).

People for the Vote versus City Hall

"Council approves audit and plans for annexing area around Murray." This news story was the first of many concerning Murray's proposed annexation of a large portion of Calloway County. The issue provoked the largest debate between the city and county in the history of Calloway County.

In Kentucky's history, the county has remained a strong government institution. Throughout the nineteenth century, Kentuckians remained county-oriented, more loyal to these local units of government than to towns or to state and national governments. Some county-worshippers even advocated abolishing towns as unnecessarily complicating the local constitution. Usually relations between counties and towns remained harmonious, but occasionally towns bridled over the domination of counties, which retained more governing authority under the constitution and the statutes. In a few instances, townsfolk obtained important concessions from the General Assembly, and the frustrated county politicians then staged revolts of their own.

The original idea of annexing Murray came from a Blue Ribbon committee of Murray citizens appointed by the late Mayor Holmes Ellis. They were non-city-council members appointed to look at the economic future of Murray. The now 5,000 acres of Murray was to be increased by an additional 8,000 acres of annexed land. The outlying areas of Murray are sparsely populated. This, in turn, meant an increase in the area to be annexed. This large area was proposed in order to include the Industrial Park. The city wanted to bring more industry into the Park area. The legal principle behind the committee's proposal to annex such a large portion of land at one time was a Kentucky law that states that the number of residents in the annexed area must equal half of the employees at the Industrial Park.

The first obstacle of the issue was getting the question of annexation on the ballot. The organization formed to accomplish this was called "People for the Vote" and was led by Kenneth Suiter and Larry England. A number of people in the five county precincts petitioned for a vote on the issue.

On October 12, 1989, a public forum was held. Neither faction claimed a clear-cut victory in the debate, but residents gained a better understanding of what the annexation would entail for the residents in and out of the proposed area.

On November 7, 1989, voters in five districts decided on the annexation referendum. The result of the vote was a four-to-one defeat of the issue.

Although the county residents are not part of the city, the Industrial Park now is. A small strip of land running along the railroad tracks to the Park was annexed. Thus ended one of the largest political battles in Calloway County.

Stephanie Carraway
Hazel, Kentucky

However, that person would not be allowed to vote in primary elections at all, except for nonpartisan candidates. Since so many Kentucky elections are decided in the primary rather than the general election, a voter who wants to be influential in all elections should register with one party or the other.

Even though it is a relatively simple process to register and to vote, many Kentuckians do not take advantage of this great privilege and responsibility of citizenship. During a typical election, nearly a third of all Kentucky adults are not even registered to vote. Of those who are registered, nearly half do not bother to vote. Thus, it is not unusual for only about one-third of all Kentucky adults to vote in a given election.

Several reasons for nonvoting in Kentucky have been suggested by those who study elections. One is the lack of competition in many electoral contests. People are more likely to vote if they believe it will be a close race. In Kentucky, many races are not close, partly because Democrats have a registration advantage across the state and in many counties. However, in a few counties, especially those in south central Kentucky, the Republicans have a substantial registration edge, meaning that a Republican running for local office will usually be elected easily in those communities.

Another likely reason for nonvoting in Kentucky is the frequency of our elections and the number of candidates from which we must choose. Elections in our state are held twice every year, with a primary in May and a general election in November. It would not be surprising if many Kentuckians simply get tired of politics and elections after a while because elections occur so often. To make matters worse, some elections force us to make decisions about six or eight different offices, and, in primary elections, we might have to choose from four or more candidates running for each office. For example, consider the Democratic primary in 1991 for statewide offices. Democrats voting in that election had to choose from four candidates for governor, seven candidates for lieutenant governor, three candidates for secretary of state, two candidates for attorney general, two candidates for auditor, seven candidates for state treasurer, seven candidates for commissioner of agriculture, and eight candidates for superintendent of public instruction. Just in one election, forty different candidates' names were on the ballot! It seems likely that many citizens,

rather than doing the study and research about the candidates they might believe is necessary in order to make an informed decision, just decide to sit out the election altogether. Many observers have concluded that some of these offices should be made appointive rather than elective, in order to simplify our voting decisions.

Another possible contributor to the lack of voting in Kentucky is the feeling held by some that elections in our state are not honest. Unfortunately, "vote-buying" has been a means of winning elections in too many places in Kentucky in recent years. The state legislature has attempted to deal with this problem by passing strong voter fraud laws in both 1988 and 1991. As a result, vote-buying and vote-selling are now felonies in Kentucky, and state and local law enforcement officials are attempting to eliminate vote fraud throughout the state.

Finally, though nonvoting is a national as well as a Kentucky problem, we do restrict voting in one unusual way in our state. The length of the voting day—from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M.—appears to place an undue burden on the average working Kentuckian. Nearly all other states close the polls later on election day. Since voting machines, used throughout the state, allow the votes to be tabulated very quickly, there are no apparent reasons for closing the polls at 6 P.M., except that we have always done it that way. If Kentucky leaders view encouraging voter turnout as a desirable goal, we should consider making it more convenient for more citizens to be able to vote by extending the voting day by at least one hour in the evening.

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Summary

Politics primarily involves decision-making, and the way decisions are made in Kentucky is affected by our constitution, elected officials, political parties, and individual voters. Kentucky's nineteenth-century constitution may not be modern or flexible enough to serve our state effectively as we approach the twenty-first century. However, Kentuckians have been reluctant in recent years to approve major changes in our constitution. The most significant change that has been approved pertains to the judicial

The Movement to Statehood

The Indian danger became even more acute after 1777 when the British government during the Revolutionary War directed Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton at Detroit to employ the Indians "in making a Diversion and exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania." Soon raiding parties of fifteen to twenty Indian warriors and one or two Europeans were harassing the Kentucky settlements. There were also larger expeditions. In September 1778, for example, several hundred Indians led by Chief Blackfoot and a number of Canadian advisers besieged Boonesborough for thirteen days before abandoning their attack. Ingenious Squire Boone, Daniel's brother, made water guns from old musket barrels and used them to extinguish fire arrows that lodged on the roofs. An even larger Indian-Canadian force brought small cannon with them and forced the surrender of Martin's and Ruddle's forts in June 1780. Two years later Bryan's Station near Lexington withstood a two-day attack by another large force. But in pursuing what they perceived as a beaten foe, the Kentuckians were ambushed at Lower Blue Licks on August 19, 1782. Over sixty were killed in their worst defeat of the war.

At times, the infant Kentucky settlements seemed near extinction as many settlers fled eastward to safety. George Rogers Clark, a slender redhead in his mid-twenties, may have saved Kentucky by his 1778-1779 invasion of the territory north of the Ohio River and his later expeditions against the Indian tribes living in that area. While Clark never succeeded in taking Detroit, he did capture Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, who directed the Indian attacks in the west. A masterful negotiator and a skillful practitioner of psychological warfare, Clark shielded Kentucky from blows that might have erased the early settlements.

Despite the dangers, settlers continued to reach Kentucky by way of the Ohio River and Cumberland Gap. Land was the great lure, and Kentucky was the spearhead of the westward migration. Exaggerated accounts of "the Eden of the West" had reached even Europe, and no difficulties or dangers could long hold back the eager persons who wanted to obtain a portion of that fabled land.

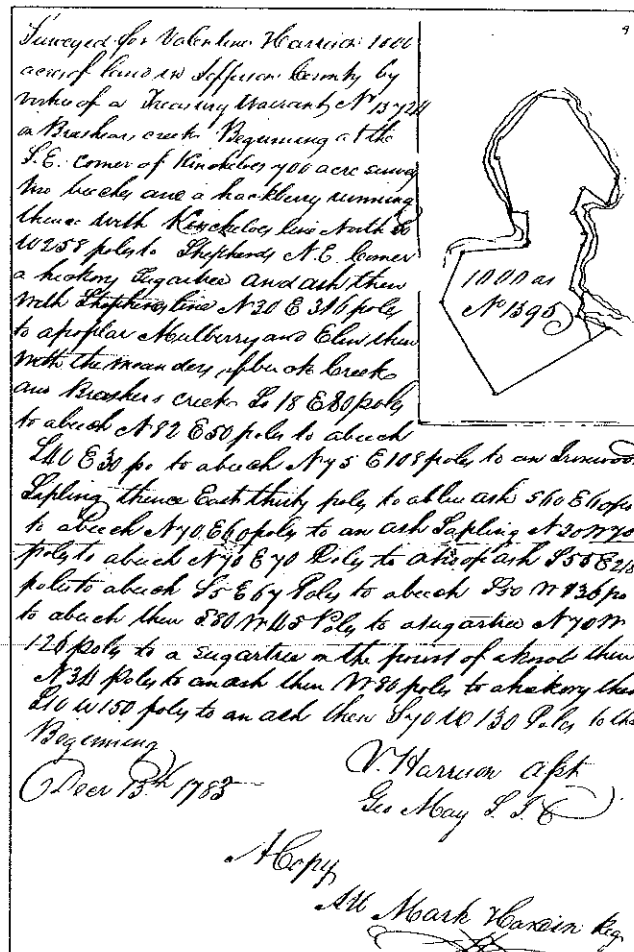
Baptist minister Lewis Craig, who led a congregation known as the "Traveling Church" to Kentucky in 1781, expressed the opinion held by many others when he asserted that "Heaven was a Kentucky of a place."

Unfortunately, land in Kentucky was never systematically surveyed as were the acres in the gridlike townships in the Northwest Territory. Pioneers with a claim to a certain number of acres naturally tried to include the most desirable land while avoiding inferior areas. Surveyors used such marks as trees, creeks, and rocks, which in time shifted or even disappeared. Choice land was often shingled over with overlapping claims. An unhappy victim of such claims warned that "whoever purchases there, is sure to purchase a lawsuit." Land suits filled the dockets of the courts and provided employment for future generations of lawyers.

Even Daniel Boone, best known of all the Kentucky pioneers, lost all the acres he had claimed. At age sixty-five, Boone moved to Spanish-owned Missouri to make a new start in life. Many dispossessed owners hated the attorneys who had found defects in their titles. An unsuccessful attempt was made in the constitutional convention of 1792 to make lawyers ineligible for service in the legislature.

Early questions about ownership of Kentucky were resolved when Virginia asserted its claim by creating a vast Kentucky County in December 1776. Its population increased, and in 1780 the region was divided into Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln counties. Richmond was hundreds of dangerous and difficult miles from the expanding Kentucky settlements, and many Kentuckians were convinced that

Figure 5.1 This survey was made in Jefferson County in December 1783 for one Valentine Harrison who held a Virginia treasury warrant for one thousand acres. Over two hundred years later, few if any of the landmarks used by the surveyor remain. If the creek is still there, it will probably have changed course considerably during that period of time (SC 147, Special Collections, Western Kentucky University).



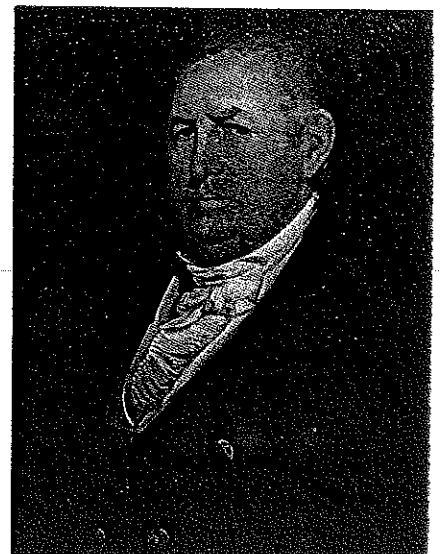
their state government neglected its frontier citizens. During the 1780s, agitation for separation from the Old Dominion increased. This movement was confused by the intervention of James Wilkinson, an ambitious young man to whom intrigue clung like a cloak. Like many others, he came to Kentucky to make his fortune. Impatient for success, he entered into secret agreements with Spanish officials in Louisiana and for years was in the pay of the Spanish governments. A western historian wrote that “nothing he said or wrote can be accepted as true, and no sentiment which he at any time professed can be accepted as those he really felt. . . . [I]t is doubtful if he even had enough straightforwardness in him to be a thoroughgoing villain.” Two centuries later, his motives and goals in the “Spanish Conspiracy” are still debated. Was Wilkinson a traitor who, in return for permission to use the Mississippi River, money, and promise of office, tried to detach Kentucky from the United States and associate it with Spain? Or was he a shrewd, loyal American who led Spanish officials to believe that he would cooperate with them in order to secure the use of the Mississippi River, without which Kentucky’s surplus crops had no practical outlet? Perhaps Wilkinson himself did not know his ultimate goal.

Separation required the concurrent approval of the District of Kentucky, Virginia, and the national government. Ten conventions met before statehood was finally achieved on June 1, 1792. Kentucky entered the union as the fifteenth state, the first state west of the mountains.

Early Kentucky Politics, 1792-1816

As political parties developed, the Jeffersonian Republicans dominated the politics of the new state. Isaac Shelby, a hero of the Battle of King’s Mountain, reluctantly accepted election as governor in 1792. He made some excellent appointments, and the new government got off to a good start. Shelby refused a second term in 1796, but in 1812 he returned as chief executive to guide the commonwealth through the

Figure 5.2 Kentucky’s first governor, Isaac Shelby (Kentucky Historical Society).



War of 1812 with Great Britain. He went on active duty during one of the major campaigns, the only Kentucky governor to have done so. Much of the fighting occurred in the west, and Kentuckians had an important role and suffered many of the casualties in the region's campaigns.

James Garrard, also a Jeffersonian Republican, was the only Kentucky governor to serve consecutive full terms (1796-1804). A strong, unusually progressive chief executive for that era, he denounced the Federalist Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress, and he approved the Kentucky Resolutions (drafted anonymously by Thomas Jefferson and sponsored in the General Assembly by John Breckinridge) that asserted the doctrine of states' rights as a check on national powers. The purchase of Louisiana during Garrard's second term solved permanently the vexing problems connected with the use of the Mississippi River.

The Aaron Burr Conspiracy, as difficult to untangle as the Spanish Conspiracy, complicated the administration of Christopher Greenup (1804-1808). A number of prominent Kentuckians, including Henry Clay, who for a time was Burr's attorney, were caught up in the affair. A revival of the old Spanish Conspiracy charges forced Benjamin Sebastian to resign from the Court of

A Statement of States' Rights

Several states responded negatively to the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. In 1799, the General Assembly, apparently without consulting with Thomas Jefferson, who was the primary author of the 1798 set, restated their principles in one lengthy resolution. It said "nullification" was the remedy for unconstitutional acts of the general government. This doctrine of states' rights was later used by the southern states to justify secession. The resolution said in part: "That the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the state legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop not short of *despotism*—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the *Constitution*, would be the measure of their powers: That the several states who formed that instrument being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and, *That a nullification of [by] those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy.*"

Appeals after he was found to be in the pay of Spain. Greenup was followed as governor by General Charles Scott (1808-1812), a noted Indian-fighter who was crippled by a fall early in his term. He continued the procession of Jeffersonian Republicans. A few Federalists such as Humphrey Marshall and William Murray offered resistance, sometimes at considerable personal risk. Marshall and Henry Clay wounded each other in an 1809 duel, and Murray was frequently threatened with violence when he tried to express Federalist views. Marshall often had the last word with his opponents, for in 1812 he published the first comprehensive history of Kentucky. Enlarged and revised in 1824, it gave biased accounts of Marshall's many controversies.

A number of notable Kentuckians in the era never served the commonwealth as governor. George Nicholas, a brilliant lawyer who was so rotund that he was described as "a plum pudding with legs," was the chief draftsman of the 1792 constitution. His untimely death in 1799 at age forty-five ended a promising career. His leading rival as an attorney was John Breckinridge, who established a flourishing legal practice and horse farm in the Bluegrass in the 1790s. Breckinridge served as state attorney general and a member of the General Assembly before going to the United States Senate in 1801. When he entered Jefferson's cabinet as attorney general in 1805, he was the first westerner to hold a cabinet post. He was only forty-six at his death in 1806.

By then Henry Clay was emerging as a major figure in state and national politics. Until his death in 1852, the "Great Compromiser" was a dominant figure on the national scene, serving in both the House and the Senate and as secretary of state, in addition to several terms in the Kentucky General Assembly. Tall, lanky, and congenial, Clay had a magnetic personality. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was usually a political foe, but he was reported to have said: "I don't like Henry Clay. He's a bad man, an impostor, a creator of wicked schemes. I wouldn't speak to him, but, by God, I love him." Toward the end of a convivial banquet in Lexington an exuberant Clay leaped upon the sixty-foot-long table and

Figure 5.3 Orator, framer of political compromises, Speaker of the U.S. House, senator, and presidential candidate Henry Clay (Kentucky Historical Society).



danced his way from one end to the other, accompanied by the sounds of broken glass and china. The next day he cheerfully paid damages of \$120. In addition to his role as a compromiser in several national controversies, Clay developed an integrated "American Plan" that was designed to promote the economic development of all sections of the nation—and to elect Henry Clay president of the United States. Three times defeated in presidential elections, Clay was a more important figure than were most of the presidents during his long political career.

The Old Court - New Court Struggle

Governor George Madison (1816) had the unwanted distinction of being the first Kentucky governor to die in office. Elected without opposition, he served just over two months. Lieutenant Governor Gabriel Slaughter was generally considered to be acting governor for the rest of the term (1816-1820), as the constitution was vague on the status of a successor. Before the end of his term Slaughter became involved in an economic issue that dominated the administrations of his immediate successors, John Adair (1820-1824) and Joseph Desha (1824-1828). Kentucky shared the nation's brief period of prosperity after the end of the war. The commonwealth had enjoyed rapid growth since 1775, and the 1820 population of some 564,000 ranked sixth among the states. Sparked by land speculation and the expectation of ever-increasing commodity prices, an inflationary period put many Kentuckians in debt as they sought to share in the new prosperity. The two banks chartered by the state (the Kentucky Insurance Company, 1802, and the Bank of Kentucky, 1806) and the branches of the Second National Bank in Louisville and Lexington could not meet the feverish demand for more credit. In 1818, the General Assembly chartered forty more banks, then added six more to the amazing total. By reckless lending and lavish printing of money in the form of bank notes, these institutions, later called "The Forty Thieves," fanned the fever for easy credit and speculation.

But prices fell sharply before the end of 1818 as Europe began to recover from nearly two decades of war. The demand for American produce decreased, and prices dropped on both foreign

and domestic markets. Land values also declined, and many Kentuckians suddenly found that they could not meet the obligations to which they had committed themselves. The speculative bubble burst like a balloon pierced with a pin. The Panic (depression) of 1819 lasted for several years and affected all parts of the country. Thousands of Kentuckians had to default on their payments. Faced with financial disaster, they demanded that their state government provide relief.

Advocates of that viewpoint gained control of the legislature in 1820 and began to pass relief laws. "Stay Laws" postponed the payments due on loans and mortgages; their sponsors hoped that prosperity would return in time to save their investments. Another approach was to charter a Bank of the Commonwealth that would issue cheap money with which debts could be more easily paid. A creditor who refused to accept the bank's money was not allowed to seek a court order for payment for two years.

Creditors and other economic conservatives were horrified by such measures. As this anti-relief faction saw the situation, much of their wealth was being confiscated by the relief group. They believed that the relief acts violated both federal and state constitutions, and some of them hurried to seek protection through the courts. They were delighted when the Court of Appeals upheld decisions of the lower courts that the acts were unconstitutional. People were highly sensitive to the pocketbook issue, and feelings ran high between the two groups. One judge felt so threatened that he carried two pistols, even to prayer meeting.

After a sharp legislative inquisition failed to change the opinions of the Court of Appeals justices, the pro-relief party decided to replace them with more sympathetic jurists. A crisis developed after Joseph Desha won election as governor in 1824 on a pro-relief platform. In a wild legislative session on Christmas Eve 1824, the legislators voted to reorganize the Court of Appeals by replacing its three members with four more dependable judges. Governor Desha appeared on the floor of the House and lobbied actively and successfully for passage of the bill. The former justices and their supporters were called the Old Court; those favoring the recently organized system were termed the New Court.

The Old Court judges refused to accept the act as legal. They would not hand over their records, and they continued to defy the New Court even after its clerk, Francis P. Blair, broke into the

courtroom and seized some of the records. The Old Court met in a Frankfort church, but its decisions were ignored by the New Court. Kentucky was in a turmoil, and civil war appeared possible.

However, the Old Court and its supporters appealed to the voters, and they won control of both houses of the General Assembly. The Old Court was restored, its records were recovered, and the decisions and actions of the New Court were disallowed. Kentucky's reputation was hurt by this economic-political struggle, economic recovery was retarded, and immigration was discouraged.

Governor Desha's reputation was also tarnished by two other issues. He was involved in the successful attempt to force Horace Holley from the presidency of Transylvania University. After 1817, Holley made the Lexington school into one of the best and largest colleges in the country. But his religious beliefs and liberal views were too unorthodox for that time and place, and he was forced to leave. The governor also outraged many of his constituents by pardoning his son, who had been convicted of murder.

Student Essay

The Medical Successes of Dr. Walter Brashear

Two remarkable feats of surgery were performed by a Kentucky native, Dr. Walter Brashear. As a young surgeon on a sailing vessel destined for China in the late 1700s, he was able to perform the excision of a cancerous breast from the wife of a dignitary of the Flowery Kingdom. In 1806, Brashear—who at that time was only thirty years old—was called from his home in Bardstown to tend to a young slave who had an extensive fracture of the thigh. He was able to amputate the limb at the hip joint with no serious problems. This operation proved to be the first of its kind in America.

This prominent doctor of Kentucky first studied medicine under Dr. Frederick Ridgely of Lexington and later rode on horseback to and from Philadelphia to attend medical lectures at the university. Brashear's last move was on to Louisiana, where he became prominent in politics as well as being elected as a United States senator from Louisiana.

Dr. Walter Brashear is one of the many notable physicians who gave his knowledge of medicine to his country.

Beth Ann Ruth
Ashland, Kentucky

The Whig Dominance

Thomas Metcalfe's election as governor (1828-1832) marked an important change in the state's political parties. The Federalist party died after the War of 1812, and, during the brief period somewhat erroneously called "the Era of Good Feelings," the country had only one party. That party contained several factions, and after the presidential election of 1824, which had to be decided in the House of Representatives, two parties emerged. The Democrats followed the leadership of Andrew Jackson and a group of able associates; the National Republicans (later evolving into the Whigs), had an over-abundance of leaders, one of whom was Henry Clay. After the National Republican party disappeared, the Whigs became the major rival of the Democrats. Clay was a Whig leader until his death in 1852. Although party stands sometimes shifted, the Whigs usually favored a national bank, internal improvements, and a tariff on imported goods. During the period of Whig dominance in Kentucky, the state made progress in the development of roads, railroads, and water transportation. While the state and national governments provided limited assistance, private companies were responsible for most improvements. Most Kentuckians of that period believed that the role of the government should be limited in such matters.

Metcalfe, known as "Stonehammer" because of his early work as a stonemason, was the first gubernatorial candidate in Kentucky to be nominated by a party convention. Elected by a narrow margin, he was the first of a succession of Whig governors who occupied the executive mansion from 1828 to 1851 with the exception of a two-year interlude. The exception was John Breathitt (1832-1834). Elected lieutenant governor in 1828, he won the 1832 contest for governor. In that year, Oldham County may have set the state's all-time record for turning out the vote. Breathitt received 162.9 percent of the eligible votes in the county, while his Whig opponent, Richard A. Buckner, got nearly half as many! It was an inspiring example of democratic suffrage. As governor, Breathitt encouraged internal improvements and strongly denounced South Carolina's nullification of federal acts, although South Carolina appealed to the same principle of states' rights on which the Kentucky Resolutions had been based.

When Breathitt died on February 21, 1834, Whig Lieutenant Governor James Turner Morehead (1834-1836) took office. He was the first native-born Kentuckian to become governor of his state. Of his ten predecessors, seven had been born in Virginia. Maryland, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania had each supplied one chief executive.

Another panic struck the nation in 1837, and it also lasted for several years. Perhaps even more severe than the one of 1819, it dominated the administrations of governors James Clark (1836-1839), Charles Anderson Wickliffe (1839-1840), and Robert Perkins Letcher (1840-1844). The sharp decline in state revenues blocked Clark's effort to establish a real system of public schools. Previous efforts had accomplished little, and Kentucky's children received little education unless their parents were able to afford private schools. After Clark died in office on August 27, 1839, independent-minded Charles Wickliffe made himself unpopular by asking for taxes to balance the budget. He was so critical of Henry Clay that he could hardly be called a Whig, but he disliked the Democrats even more.

Governor Letcher's solution to the continued financial pinch was to balance the budget by cutting expenditures. "Black Bob," dark-complexioned and corpulent, was the sort of politician beloved by Kentucky voters. A great stump speaker who could hold an audience for hours, he sawed on his fiddle when he sensed that a change of pace was desirable. Letcher was not one of the state's best governors, but he was one of the most entertaining.

William Owsley (1844-1848) was one of the best of the pre-Civil War governors. A tall, slender man who had been one of the Old Court judges, he made irascible Reverend Robert Jefferson Breckinridge superintendent of public instruction. Elected to that position when it ceased to be appointive, Breckinridge served until 1853. Under his sometimes dictatorial leadership, real progress was made in creating a system of public education. Owsley gave strong support to the Mexican War, in which Kentuckians had a prominent role.

Most Kentuckians who opposed that war did so because they feared that slavery would spread into the territories obtained from Mexico. Indeed, the future of slavery in the Mexican Cession led to a great national crisis in which Kentuckians were vitally

interested. Henry Clay, only two years from his death, presented Congress with a package of proposals that he hoped would settle the controversial issues. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and others worked Clay's proposals into the Compromise of 1850. As a slave state, Kentucky was concerned over the slavery controversy, although the percentage of slaves in the state's population had been declining since 1830. Lacking the slave-hungry great plantations of the Lower South, Kentucky had become a slave exporting state. To be "sold down the river" was a genuine threat to many black Kentuckians.

The two most disadvantaged groups in Kentucky before the Civil War were slaves (male and female) and white women. Neither group had the substantial legal and civil rights that the white males had. Slaves and white women were in Kentucky from the early days of settlement. They shared the discomforts and most of the dangers of pioneer life, and they were vital to the development of the state. But few slaves are known to history as individuals, and most of the Kentucky white women who are known are identified as wives and mothers of noted men. The offices and professions in which white men became well known were not open to white women. Only very limited gains in women's rights came before 1860.

As Henry Clay faded from the state and national scenes, John J. Crittenden inherited the role of moderate compromiser. A noted defense attorney in murder trials, Crittenden held an amazing number of state and national positions. Always alert to better opportunities, he was notorious for resigning one post to accept another. Elected as a Whig governor in 1848, he resigned in 1850 to become attorney general of the United States. During the secession crisis of 1860-1861 he made futile efforts to find compromises that would prevent secession and civil war.

When Crittenden resigned, Lieutenant Governor John Larue Helm (1850-1851, 1867) became the last Whig governor. Born in Kentucky in 1802, he was the state's first chief executive who was a child of the nineteenth century. Helm was especially interested in the development of railroads, and considerable construction occurred in the 1850s. In 1867, by then a Democrat, Helm was elected governor, but he died five days after taking the oath of office.

The Uncertain Last Prewar Decade, 1850-1860

Lazarus Whitehall Powell (1851-1855) was the first Democratic governor after Breathitt. Elected by a narrow margin in 1851, he was plagued by rheumatism that required the use of crutches much of the time. Powell favored the expansion of transportation facilities by private companies, continued improvement of public schools, and financing of a comprehensive geological survey that might aid industrial development.

The slavery controversy would not die, and, as the Compromise of 1850 unraveled, it shoved aside many issues with which the state needed to deal. It also helped bring about the breakup of the Whig party. As their party disappeared, some Kentucky Whigs became Democrats. Others who could not make the change quickly joined the new American, or Know-Nothing, party. This short-lived group was anti-foreign and anti-Catholic. The state's most disgraceful display of such prejudice came in Louisville's "Bloody Monday" riot in August 1855. Nineteen or more persons were killed and a much larger number injured.

Charles Slaughter Morehead (1855-1859), a former Whig, was elected governor by the American party in 1855, but he advocated "perfect equality" for foreigners who had been naturalized. Morehead was most interested in establishing a school for training teachers at Transylvania, but the legislature ended the project after two years. The governor also secured some prison reforms, and he had the geological survey completed and published. However, the growing national controversy over slavery diverted attention from state issues.

Kentucky voted Democratic in the 1856 presidential election, in part because native son John C. Breckinridge was the vice presidential candidate with James Buchanan. The new Republican party polled only 314 votes in the state out of over 130,000 cast. Three years and several crises later, Democrat Beriah Magoffin (1859-1862) was elected governor. No Kentucky governor had ever faced as critical a situation as he did as the nation moved toward secession and civil war. Although he believed in slavery and states' rights, Magoffin hoped to avoid secession through collective action by the slave states that would force northern

concessions. His hopes faded, and, when the war started, Kentucky proclaimed neutrality. After the Unionists gained firm control of the General Assembly, Magoffin resigned as governor in 1862.

Kentucky made much progress by 1860. It was then a relatively larger and more important state than it has been since the Civil War. In 1860, when the U.S. House of Representatives was much smaller than it is today, the commonwealth had ten seats; since the redistricting following the 1990 census, the state has only six. But a historian wrote that "Kentucky was never a poor man's frontier," and well before the Civil War other areas had become more attractive to western migrants. While much had been done, much remained undone in the state. It must be remembered that in the years before 1860 few Americans believed that either state or national governments should be involved in the many economic and social programs that in recent years have been assumed to be major functions of government. What seems like unforgivable neglect to Kentuckians of the 1990s was a reflection of America at that time.

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Summary

In March 1775, James Harrod led some fifty men to the Kentucky site they had abandoned the previous year because of Indian danger, and they completed the cabins and fort that became Harrodsburg. Within weeks Daniel Boone and a party of axmen who had opened a trail through Cumberland Gap for Judge Richard Henderson and the Transylvania Company established on the banks of the Kentucky River a station they called Boonesborough. Despite the early dangers, settlers continued to come to Kentucky by way of the Ohio River and Cumberland Gap. Land was the great lure, and Kentucky was the spearhead of the westward migration. On June 1, 1792, Kentucky entered the union as the fifteenth state, the first state west of the Appalachian Mountains. Isaac Shelby, a hero of the Battle of King's Mountain, reluctantly accepted election as governor that year. Kentucky and its leaders grew in importance with Henry Clay emerging as a major figure in state and national politics. But his compromises

could not avert secession and the civil war that came in 1861. Kentucky first adopted a policy of neutrality but later affirmed its ties to the Union. Progress had taken place in Kentucky from statehood to the Civil War, but that conflict made the state's future still an uncertain one.

CHAPTER 6

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Religion

Clyde F. Crews

The hardy pioneers who settled Kentucky not only brought with them into the commonwealth their worldly possessions and often meager fortunes, many of them also transported to the wilderness their ancient religious faith and heritage. Yet, not all of them were particularly pious; historians estimate that somewhat less than 10 percent of the early settlers belonged on a regular basis to any particular church. Nor were they the first people to worship in this storied land of Kentucky. Though little is known about them except from scattered archaeological remains, Native Americans had lived intermittently in the area for thousands of years, perhaps as far back as 12,000 years ago. Such groups as the Adena, Mississippian, and Fort Ancient cultures seem to have had a deep sense of an afterlife, judging by their variety of rituals.

Many scholars find the roots of the word "religion" in the Latin words *re* and *ligio*, suggesting linkage (*ligio*) back (*re*) to a primal source of energy, power, compassion, and protection. If this is accurate, the earliest settlers of Kentucky, isolated and remote on their frontier, soon gave evidence of a hunger for all the comfort and challenge that religion could provide. The ancient faiths would help to bring civilization, order, education, and stability to the frontier; in turn, the new land would infuse many of the traditional religions with greater diversity, democracy, and intensity.

The Frontier Beckons

Although the largest denominational groups to make an early appearance in Kentucky were Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Catholics, the first recorded Christian service in the state was led by Anglican (Episcopal) minister John Lyth, at Boonesborough on Sunday, May 28, 1775. At that primal Kentucky settlement, still part of the British colony of Virginia, the worshipers gathered beneath a massive elm tree and prayed for Britain's "most gracious sovereign Lord King George." Within a decade, after the American Revolution, many of their number would be celebrating their independence from that same Majesty, George III.

The first sizable Baptist congregation was that of the Severns Valley settlement (later Elizabethtown) in 1781. In that same year, the "Traveling Church" of some 500 Baptists from Virginia made their way into Kentucky, convinced that their journey across the mountains was a parallel to that of the ancient Israelites crossing from Egypt to the Promised Land. An early Baptist preacher, James Garrard, served as the commonwealth's second governor (1796-1804). Another early Baptist minister, David Barrow, formed in 1807 an association of churches in opposition to slavery: the Baptist Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity. One of its members was Thomas Lincoln, father of the future president. The Baptist leadership of Kentucky was also active in founding Georgetown College in 1819.

Kentucky's first Presbyterian service occurred in 1780, led by Terah Templin; but the most outstanding minister of that denomination on the frontier was to be Princeton-educated David Rice, who not only would agitate against slavery but also would be instrumental in establishing Transylvania Seminary (later University), Kentucky's first major center of learning. Presbyterians would later be the guiding hand in the founding of Centre College.

The Methodists also made inroads in the area in the 1780s, with Francis Clark, a lay preacher, as the leading force. Nationally known Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury would soon appoint missionaries James Haw and Benjamin Ogden to this western outpost; and the bishop would pay no less than fifteen visits to Kentucky himself, once addressing what he termed a "sickly

serious congregation." The Methodist preachers, like most early ministers in the commonwealth, served as "circuit-riders" to their far-flung flocks and wherever they might get a hearing for their preaching of the Gospel. "The weather is so bad," went an early Kentucky saying, "that only a Methodist preacher would be out in it."

Sunday sermons on the frontier usually ran to ninety minutes in most of the churches. And many of the early ministers regularly instructed their people from the pulpit (and at times in individual confrontations) about such matters as drunkenness, adultery, promiscuity, dancing, and swearing. In some congregations, men and women were carefully seated on opposite sides of the aisle.

Much of this early Protestant activity in Kentucky centered, generally speaking, in the Bluegrass area. In the nearby Knobs region clustered the work of early Catholic leaders. From Maryland in the 1780s came leagues of Catholic laity who would settle along the creeks of what are now Nelson, Washington, and Marion counties—known as "The Holy Land" to Catholic historians.

From the Diary of a Catholic Bishop in Kentucky

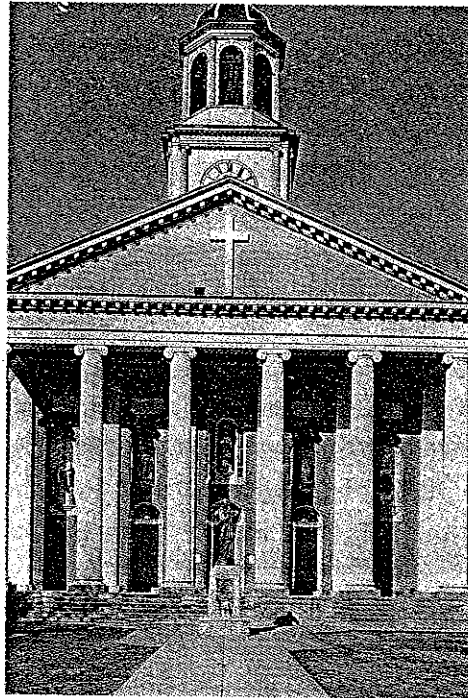
Benedict Joseph Flaget (1763-1850), an emigre from the French Revolution, was the first Catholic Bishop of Kentucky. He arrived to take up his post in 1811. The following excerpt drawn from his diary for January 1814 gives a glimpse of Catholic life on the frontier.

- Jan. 1. After hearing confessions all morning, I celebrated Mass at Holy Cross until 3:00 p.m.
- Jan. 2. I went to St. Charles. Confessions, Mass, sermons until 2:00 p.m.
- Jan. 6. Discontented, sad, troubled.
- Jan. 8. Visited a sick drunkard. I made him ask pardon publicly.
- Jan. 10. Assembled the people of St. Charles to discuss the priest's establishment. Great difficulties to overcome.
- Jan. 16. At Loretto, preached. Confessions until noon. Few persons. Feeble hope of success in affairs of the Church. Great confidence in God.
- Jan. 18. At the Seminary. Correspondence. Theology. The seminarians seem more poised and happy. May it be given me to see them as fervent as angels.

- Jan. 20 Left for St. Stephen. Mr. Badin informed me of the news of the defeat of [Napoleon] Bonaparte.
- Jan. 26 Mr. Hirt's negress died without the sacraments. Could be my fault. Pardon me, Lord. My heart is broken with doubts.
- Jan. 30 ... The day is full as to time, but has the work been well done? Vanity, impatience, carelessness—have these not carried [off] the greater part of my merit? I tremble that even my good deeds will turn to my confusion.

Source: Flaget Diary in the Cathedral Museum of Louisville.

Figure 6.1 *St. Joseph's Cathedral in Bardstown* (Kentucky Historical Society).



Although the earliest Catholic settlements were lay-founded, the pioneers appealed to the Bishop of Baltimore for priests; many that came were exiles from the French Revolution, including Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in America. In 1808, Pope Pius VII made Bardstown the seat of a new diocese that took in over six states, and he named the courtly Benedict Flaget as “first Bishop of the West.” Soon Flaget gathered around him a group of lay and clerical leaders who would make Kentucky the leading point from which Catholicism spread to the Midwest and the South.

An extensive array of Catholic institutions arose in the Bardstown area: colleges (such as St. Joseph's at Bardstown and St. Mary's near Lebanon) and academies to serve the general public; St. Joseph's Cathedral and St. Thomas Seminary (each the first in the West) and Gethsemani Abbey (one of the oldest in the nation) for the Catholic community.

The Great Revival

As Kentucky and the nation moved into the Jacksonian era, a new intensity of religious life was in evidence. This was in part owing to a religious event of national significance that had taken

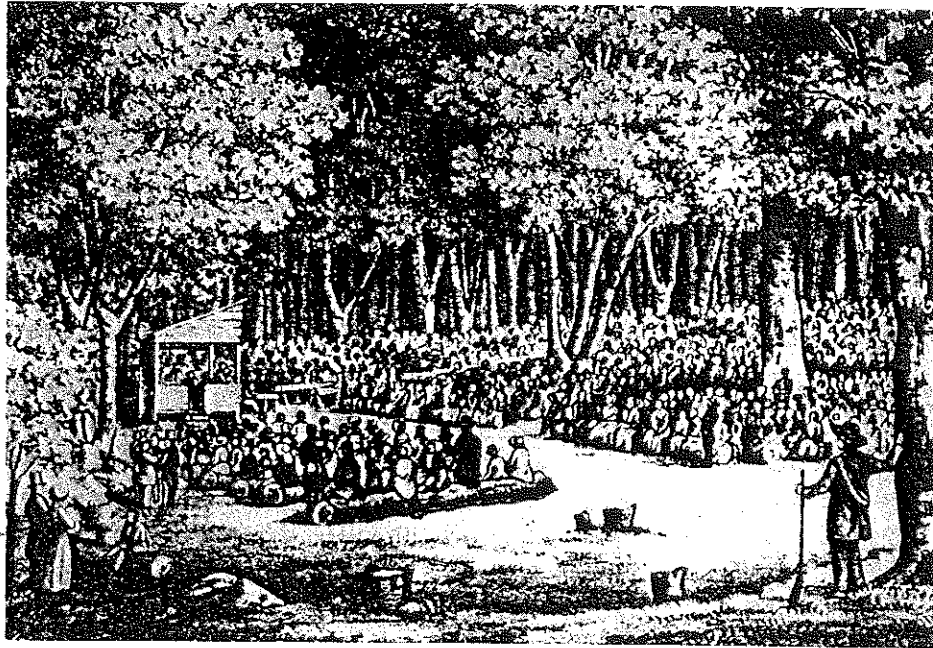


Figure 6.2 A frontier camp meeting, typical of the Great Revival of 1800 (Kentucky Historical Society).

place in Kentucky a generation before. The Great Revival (or Awakening) began in Logan County in 1800 when scores were converted during emotional outdoor services. A Presbyterian divine, Barton Warren Stone, came to observe and related that the scenes he witnessed “baffled description.” In the summer of 1801 at Bourbon County in the Bluegrass, Stone arranged for a revival along the same lines. As a result, Kentucky religion, and southern religion in general, would never be the same.

The Great Revival in Logan County

Barton Warren Stone (1772-1844) was a Presbyterian minister highly influential in the Cane Ridge Revival in Bourbon County in 1801. Here he describes his first encounter with an earlier revival in Logan County.

The scene to me was new, and passing strange. It baffled description. Many, very many fell down, as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently . . . motionless state—sometimes for a few moments reviving and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy most fervently uttered. After lying thus for hours, they obtained deliverance . . . they would

rise shouting . . . and then would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women and children describing the wonderful works of God, and the glorious mysteries of the Gospel.

Source: Barton Warren Stone. *The Biography of Elder Barton Warren Stone Written by Himself*. Cincinnati, 1847.

All the loneliness and pent-up emotion of the wilderness years now found relief as thousands flocked to the open-air meetings, pitching camp in the area. Hundreds were overcome by jerks, uncontrollable laughing, singing, and fainting spells; others dashed uncontrolled through the woods. For all the surface excitement, many lasting conversions took place at the Cane Ridge Revival, and within a decade, membership in Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in Kentucky surged. The revival was also responsible for other lasting effects in the world of religion:

1) It set a pattern for subsequent southern religious revivalism in the United States—a cast of mind that historian John Bolt described as highly individualistic, localist, and conversion-oriented.

2) The Revival, ironically, created new division and diversity within Kentucky religion. Presbyterians divided into “New Lights” (pro-revivalist) and “Old Lights,” with the eventual creation of a separate Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1810 led by Finis Ewing.

3) The New Lights themselves would subdivide when one of their leaders, Barton Stone, began to fear that Kentucky was on the verge of religious anarchism. Stone and his followers would join together with the movement of the “Christian Reformers,” led by Thomas and Alexander Campbell (father and son). At Lexington in 1832, a loose merger of these groups would yield the modern-day Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), a major new religious denomination in the South.

Yet one more outcome of the Revival in Kentucky was to be notable in the later history of religion in the commonwealth. The spiritual agitation in the region lured Shaker missionaries into Kentucky in 1805 and led to the establishment of two major communities of that sect, which had come to America with Mother Ann Lee in 1774. The Pleasant Hill establishment i

Mercer County and that of South Union in Logan County became well-known features on the Kentucky landscape. Noted for common property ownership, pacifism, celibacy, vigorous ritual dance, simplicity, and separation from “the world,” the small Shaker colonies won the puzzled respect of many of their fellow-citizens for their earnestness, kindness, and excellence in agriculture, architecture, and crafts. “Put your hands to work,” went a well-known Shaker dictum, “and your hearts to God.”

Into the Civil War Era

Already considerably diverse, Kentucky religion began to show even greater variety in the middle years of the nineteenth century. The first Unitarians were in evidence by the 1820s, Mormons were present by the 1830s, and Lutheran numbers began to grow with the German immigration. The first Jewish congregation of the commonwealth was established at Louisville in 1842. It was during these years also that many of the premier black congregations of Kentucky—often originally largely composed of slaves—made their appearance. These included the State Street Baptist Church in Bowling Green, with Nelson Lovings as preacher, and First Baptist in Lexington, where Peter Duerett (“Brother Captain”) presided. In Louisville there were nine such churches. In addition to worship centers, these congregations often served as places of social, economic, and political solidarity.

In this era, the various denominations devoted some part of their energies to theological battles. Most notable was the series of 130 debates between Alexander Campbell of the Christian Church and Presbyterian Nathan Rice in Lexington

Figure 6.3 A baptism of the 1890s (Kentucky Historical Society).



in the autumn of 1843. Topics included baptism and the creed, with Henry Clay serving as moderator and referee.

Disagreements, regrettably, were not always so civil. Catholics, Jews, and Mormons were often made to feel unwelcome in this era. In 1862, an infamous military order issued at Paducah had been dismissive of all Jews in the area, while the Bloody Monday riot against Catholics in Louisville in August 1855 resulted in more than nineteen deaths.

But by far the greatest political and moral conflict in Kentucky during these years centered on the issue of slavery. Abolitionism found many advocates in slave-state Kentucky in such individuals as Presbyterian John Fee and Methodist Calvin Fairbank. The latter, along with Delia Webster, was quite active in the Underground Railroad movement to free slaves by spiriting them across the Ohio. Both Webster and Fairbank were jailed in Frankfort for their efforts.

In Louisville, the commonwealth's border metropolis, one could witness both slave sales and massive abolition meetings at the Jefferson County Court House. When the Kentucky constitution was rewritten in 1849, several religious leaders spearheaded a drive to end slavery in the state, but to no avail.

Several of the churches of Kentucky had experienced ruptures over the issue of slavery. The Methodists, holding their national meeting in Louisville in 1845, had split into two parts, with most Kentucky Methodists veering toward the southern position. Presbyterians and Baptists had seen somewhat similar divisions. Among the Presbyterians, two well-known ministers represented dramatically the parting of ways that came with the Civil War. The Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge of Lexington became an outspoken opponent of slavery and proponent of the Union, while Stuart Robinson, a Louisville pastor, pronounced southern sympathies and moved to Canada until the war's end. Kentucky's Episcopal Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith was himself antislavery and pro-Union but publicly moderate throughout the Civil War. The Catholic Bishop of Louisville, Martin John Spalding, was publicly neutral throughout the war and hosted at his cathedral massive services to commemorate the fallen of both armies.

The Pleasant Hill Shaker Community

In 1806, on a 140-acre farm near Harrodsburg in Mercer County, forty-four converts accepted Kentucky's first family covenant and became members of the Shaker religion. Mother Ann Lee, an English woman, who, in her search for inner peace, embraced celibacy and open confession of sins and then proclaimed herself to be the reincarnation of Christ, brought this new doctrine to America. The name Shaker came from the worship service in which the Spirit so overwhelmed the believer that he or she would shake violently. Mother Ann Lee's followers began the settlement at Pleasant Hill, converting the people through a gospel of spiritual contentment and hope for a utopian city.

The world perceived the Shakers as quite different. The Shaker religious ethics, based on kindness and peace, led them to share material possessions and property. Shakers condemned swearing, secrets, overindulgence, poor hygiene, and slavery. The Shakers attempted not to discriminate between man and woman. Labor was divided, and they had no hierarchical ordained ministry. Shakers practiced celibacy and sought to increase their numbers through adoption or orphans, who were brought to Pleasant Hill by their destitute families or who were found by traveling Shakers. Converts joined because of dedication to an ideal, hope for salvation, or escape from marital or economic trouble.

Becoming a Shaker was a gradual commitment. At the first level, novitiates could keep marital and family ties and live with the Shakers, who asked only for an acceptance of faith. The junior class usually contained unattached children. Finally, seniors had made a complete dedication of time, talents, and property. The communal structure was alien to the world.

Pleasant Hill flourished for a time. For many years, Shakers prospered financially. They sold garden seeds, butter and cheese, cattle, cloth, and brooms to the world. As time passed, the Shakers could no longer profit from the sale of their wares because industrialization made production cheaper and more large-scale in the outside world.

Eventually, the Pleasant Hill community disintegrated. Their youth left the village, and the leaders became aged and unable to work. Vagabonds in search of a winter home safe from poverty joined the community temporarily. With them came theft and dishonesty. Mother Ann Lee's utopian dream ended and left the last Shakers in religious and physical ruin.

In September 1910, the last twelve Pleasant Hill Shakers deeded their land over to a Harrodsburg resident with the provision that they be cared for until their death. In 1923, the last Pleasant Hill Shaker died. With her fell one part of the religious experiment of a pure society in a tempting, materialistic, pleasure-seeking world.

*Jennie Bare
Perryville, Kentucky*

The Gilded Age and a New Century

With the coming of the Gilded Age in the years after the Civil War, women played an increasing role in the life of both church and society. Earlier in the century, Catholic women in the Kentucky "Holy Land" had established three sisterhoods that were among the first such religious communities in the nation: the Sisters of Loretto (1812); the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (1812), early led by the resourceful Catherine Spalding; and the Dominican Sisters at Springfield (1822). By the period after the war, these groups, joined by several others throughout the state, had several hundred of their numbers active in schools, orphanages, and hospitals. The sisters had especially and memorably endeared themselves to the population for their nursing care of the wounded of both sides during the Civil War.

It is an often forgotten fact that many of the earliest hospitals in Kentucky were not publicly owned; rather they were in great measure built, administrated, and staffed by women of various religious faiths. This is not only true of the Catholic religious communities (who built four major hospitals in Louisville alone). Methodist women were instrumental in building Louisville's Deaconess Hospital, and Jewish Hospital in the same city was early directed by a woman as well. When Kentucky went into near political anarchy in the aftermath of the assassination of Governor William Goebel in January 1900, united churchwomen gathered to call for calm counsel and cool heads.

At the turn of the century, the nation as a whole was involved in the "Social Gospel" movement that stressed the imperative role of religious believers in turning society and its citizens in the direction of greater justice and opportunity. With little fanfare, many religious Kentucky women turned their energies to just such a task. In the cities of Kentucky, churches were highly active in poverty relief, settlement houses, and health care for the indigent. More traditionally spiritual forms were not neglected. In Catholic congregations, the annual "mission" served as a time of intensified piety and moral self-examination. Protestants of this era were often touched by urban revivals, such as that held by the nationally renowned Dwight Moody in Louisville in January 1888. Moody preached over sixty sermons in a week and featured such

innovations as sessions billed “for hardened sinners only.” When the ocean liner *Titanic* sank in April 1912, ten thousand persons of all major faiths gathered for a memorial prayer service in Louisville’s downtown armory. Hymns sung on the deck of the dying ship were also used for the service. As Protestant, Catholic, and Jew worshiped together at a time of national grief, a pattern was being set for an ecumenical (interfaith) age to come.

In the early twentieth century, the moral energies of the churches were often directed at such concerns as prohibition, evolution, and gambling. With heavy lobbying by many Protestant ministers, the Kentucky legislature voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment to the Constitution. In 1922, William Jennings Bryan came to Frankfort to address the legislature in favor of a bill forbidding the teaching of evolution. Opposed by many of the Christian educators of Kentucky who feared state dictation in education even more than they feared exposure to the thought of Darwin, the legislation failed to pass.

A Nuclear and Ecumenical Era

With the conclusion of the Second World War, the nation was poised for major social change. Old segregation patterns were challenged in the military; the common danger of nuclear war presented a challenge to all peace-loving people; the experience of the Holocaust as well as the general devastation of the war had shown the horror to be wrought when national energies were turned to hate and greed rather than toleration and justice. In the world of religion, both the founding of the World Council of Churches (1948) and the holding of Catholicism’s Second Vatican Council (1962-65) with strong Protestant involvement helped create a renewed atmosphere in which the faiths could move beyond mere toleration and engage in searching dialogue.

Many religious leaders in Kentucky increasingly joined together in interfaith conversation, prayer, and social activity. The Kentucky Council of Churches was formed in 1947 and would eventually seat representatives from eleven denominations. Kentucky’s first chapter of the National Conference of Christians

and Jews had been founded as early as 1936. In 1971, the Louisville Area Interchurch Organization for Service was established; in 1979 this group invited Jewish membership, becoming one of the first such organizations in the United States to do so.

The ecumenical movement in Kentucky was especially aided by the presence in the area of many seats of higher learning founded under religious auspices. At these centers of learning—such as the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Presbyterian Seminary, Bellarmine College, and Spalding University in Louisville, Lexington Theological Seminary, Kentucky Wesleyan and Brescia colleges in Owensboro, Berea College in the Appalachian area, and Thomas More College in Covington—scholars came together to understand better each other's traditions. Within the individual traditions, as well, reconciliations were taking place. The northern and southern branches of the Presbyterian Church, for example, had merged in 1983. Within four years of this action, the reunited church voted to move its national headquarters to Louisville, a city recognized across the country for the strengths of its ecumenical relationships.

A special light of the ecumenical movement in Kentucky was the internationally known Catholic monk Thomas Merton. Merton wrote prodigiously on a wide range of subjects, including race relations, nuclear war, the arts, justice in society, Oriental religions, interfaith understanding, and Christian spiritualities. When he died in 1968, the *New York Times* in a front-page obituary spoke of Merton as a "writer of singular grace about the City of God and an essayist of penetrating originality on the City of Man."

In the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the new spirit of interfaith cooperation found a special place in which to make its urgent voice heard. Religious leaders were much in evidence during the March 1964 "March on Frankfort" in support of civil rights legislation. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was a featured speaker at the event. Afro-American religious figures such as Bishop C. Eubank Tucker, A.D. King of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, and the Reverend W.J. Hodge of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) assumed roles of special leadership in the ongoing struggle for racial justice. In later years, religious voices—usually reasoned, sometimes intense—were raised in Kentucky on a wide variety of social issues, from systemic poverty to abortion

from military involvement to feminism, from the environment to drug eradication.

Religion Today

Today, the range of Kentucky religion includes sophisticated suburban congregations; country churches; monks intoning the ancient chants of Christianity; snake-handling services in remote mountain hollows; ceremonial foot-washings; professional religious men and women involved in any number of educational, social-service, political, and health-care tasks; impassioned and emotional revival meetings; the earnest preaching of Churches of Christ and Assemblies of God; black gospel choirs; Gothic cathedrals; simple Quaker meeting houses; Jehovah's Witnesses praying in Kingdom Halls; Jews sounding the shofar; Muslims in mosques; Mormons at worship; the chant of an occasional Buddhist assembly. Even the restored stately buildings of the Shakers at Pleasant Hill stand in mute witness to a quiet people who once sought peace within their walls.

According to the Kentucky Council of Churches, in recent years nearly two million Kentuckians (about 55 percent of the population) adhered to specific religious traditions. They worshiped in 6,700 churches, synagogues, and temples. A *Louisville Courier-Journal* poll of 1989 reported that 91 percent of Kentuckians pray occasionally, while 53 percent said that they do so daily. In the 1990 Kentucky General Assembly, all 138 members claimed allegiance to the Christian faith.

The three largest religious traditions in Kentucky today (with numbers rounded) are Baptists (888,000), Catholics (365,000), and Methodists (236,000). The major faiths have dotted the landscape of Kentucky with their institutions of concern for total community good such as colleges, hospitals, retirement homes, poverty relief, and recreation and counseling centers. Within their congregations, the believers continue to worship, build community, attempt self-scrutiny, and serve society. Even those who are critical of organized religion may find among modern-day Kentucky believers many a sympathetic ear and self-questioning spirit.

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Summary

Religion has been a shaping force in Kentucky from the days of the Native Americans down to our own era. In the late eighteenth century, major Protestant traditions as well as Catholicism helped to settle and tame the wilderness. In the early nineteenth century, Kentucky was the scene of major revivals, as well as a center of the dispute over the morality of slaveholding. The Civil War was a divisive force in religion as well as politics in Kentucky. In the postwar years, a new diversity of faith was in evidence, especially in the Jewish immigrants coming to the cities. By the twentieth century, Kentucky not only formed a study in diversity of religion, it also served as a national center of interfaith tolerance and dialogue.

Religion in Kentucky has deep roots and represents a surprising diversity. In their beliefs, rituals, and ethics, the many faiths of Kentucky have contributed mightily in the shaping of a people and their commonwealth.

CHAPTER 7

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Slavery and Antislavery

John David Smith

The history of slavery and the antislavery movement in Kentucky provide important insights into the central dilemma that confronted nineteenth-century white Kentuckians: their national versus their sectional identity. On the one hand, white Kentuckians' identification with slavery linked them culturally, economically, and emotionally to the plantation South. But the very nature of Kentucky agriculture and slavery in the commonwealth made the large majority of whites there less willing to sever their ties with the Union over slavery or states' rights than in the Deep South.

Positioned on the South's border—literally sandwiched between the lands of slavery and freedom—the commonwealth had equally strong ties to the institution of black slavery and to commercial relations with its northern neighbors. Pulled, then, in different directions by conflicting allegiances, white Kentuckians (the vast majority of whom never held slaves) eventually decided to cast their lot with the Union in the secession crisis of 1860-1861. In doing so, however, they never intended to sacrifice slavery and in no sense repudiated the tenets of white supremacy. In the end, Kentucky slavery succumbed to the realities of war. President Abraham Lincoln's emancipation policies ultimately sounded the death knell for slavery in the commonwealth.

Slave Life in Kentucky

Yet less than one hundred years before, in the eighteenth century, the earliest slaves had entered Kentucky accompanying the white pioneers who first settled the state. Most slaves who came to North America from Africa derived from the coastal regions of Angola, the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, and Senegambia. Together with their masters, the slaves cleared paths, planted crops, harvested fields, and constructed the commonwealth's earliest dwellings. Bondsmen along the Kentucky frontier joined Daniel Boone and Benjamin Logan in defending their homesteads from Indian attack. As early as 1777, a census taken at Fort Harrod reported nineteen slaves (including seven children under ten years of age) among the earliest permanent settlers in Kentucky. Over the next decade, the state's slave population experienced extraordinary growth. In 1790, the first federal census reported 11,830 slaves in Kentucky (16.2 percent of its total population). So quickly did its slave population grow that in 1800 bondsmen constituted 18.3 percent (40,343) of the state's population. Three decades later the number of slaves had swelled to 24 percent (165,213) of its population.

After 1830, slavery's growth rate in Kentucky slowed. The state's Non-Importation Law of 1833 outlawed the transportation of slaves into the state for resale to the Deep South. The law was

Table 7.1 Blacks in Kentucky's Population, 1790-1860

| | Blacks | | | | Whites | | | |
|------|---------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|------------|
| | Slaves | % of blacks in slavery | % of slaves to total pop. | Total black pop. | % of all blacks to total pop. | Whites | % of whites to total pop. | Total pop. |
| 1790 | 11,830 | 99.05 | 16.1 | 11,944 | 16.34 | 61,133 | 83.66 | 73,077 |
| 1800 | 40,343 | 98.2 | 18.2 | 41,084 | 18.59 | 179,871 | 81.41 | 220,955 |
| 1810 | 80,563 | 97.9 | 19.8 | 82,274 | 20.24 | 324,237 | 79.76 | 406,511 |
| 1820 | 126,732 | 97.8 | 22.46 | 129,491 | 22.95 | 434,644 | 77.05 | 564,135 |
| 1830 | 165,213 | 97.1 | 24.01 | 170,130 | 24.73 | 517,787 | 75.27 | 687,917 |
| 1840 | 182,258 | 96.15 | 23.37 | 189,575 | 24.31 | 590,253 | 75.69 | 779,828 |
| 1850 | 210,981 | 95.47 | 21.47 | 220,992 | 22.49 | 761,413 | 77.51 | 982,405 |
| 1860 | 225,483 | 95.48 | 19.5 | 236,167 | 20.44 | 919,517 | 79.56 | 1,155,684 |

repealed in 1849. On the eve of the Civil War, 39,000 Kentucky slaveholders (fewer than 30 percent of Kentucky's white families) owned 225,483 bondsmen. In 1860, slaves constituted 19.5 percent of the state's population. But even though its slave population ranked just ninth among the fifteen slave states, only Virginia and Georgia had more slaveholders than Kentucky. (See Table 7.1.) Though most of Kentucky's slaves lived in the fertile, hemp-producing Bluegrass counties around Lexington, the state's slave population was larger and more widely distributed than in the other border states. Many Kentucky slaves resided in Louisville (4,914 in 1860), in Henderson and Oldham counties along the Ohio River, and in Trigg, Christian, Todd, and Warren counties in the tobacco-growing south-central section of the state. Slaves in Louisville's urban setting worked at various jobs, as carriage drivers, wagoners, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, and washerwomen. But whites in large sections of Kentucky rarely encountered slaves. Few bondsmen lived in the mountains of eastern and southeastern Kentucky. The state's small free black population (10,684 in 1860) accounted for only 4.5 percent of Kentucky's Negro population and less than 1 percent of its total population. Kentucky's free black population ranked third among the slave states that remained loyal to the Union in 1861 and seventh overall among the slave states and the District of Columbia.

When describing slavery in Kentucky, proslavery spokesmen as well as generations of later historians have labeled slavery there as "different" from slavery in the rest of the South. To be sure, Kentucky slavery deviated from the institution in the lower South in several important ways.

First, most Kentucky bondsmen lived on farms, not plantations, in units that averaged about five slaves. Only 12 percent of Kentucky's masters owned twenty or more slaves and only seventy persons held fifty or more bondsmen. Twenty percent of Kentucky's slaves, however, labored on large farms with twenty or more bondsmen, largely growing hemp, tobacco, and cereals and tending mules and livestock. Because Kentucky was ill-suited to the plantation crops of the lower South, slavery in the commonwealth had, according to one historian, a "uniquely personal" character. While this may have been so, slavery in Kentucky was no less exploitative and dehumanizing than the institution elsewhere. Indeed, Kentucky was known as a major supplier of slaves

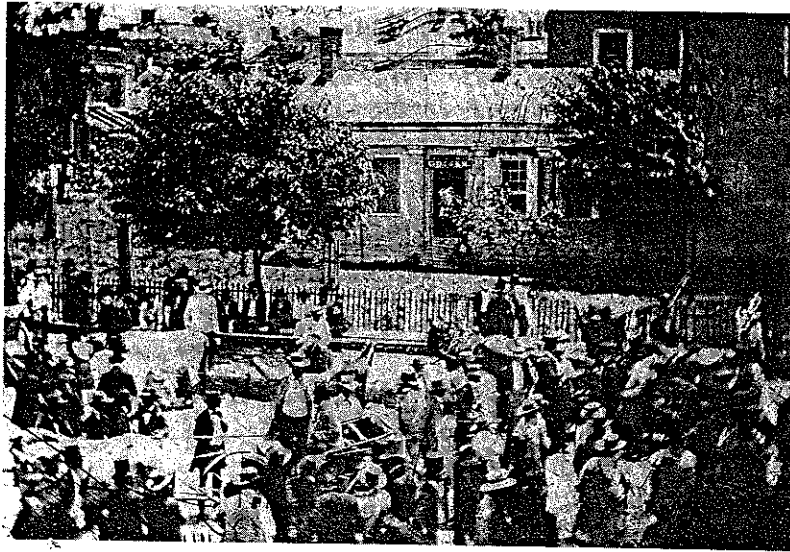


Figure 7.1 A slave sale on Cheapside in Lexington (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

for the domestic slave trade. Estimates for the period from the 1830s to the 1850s suggest that Kentucky exported annually over 2,500 bondsmen. Nonetheless slavery in the commonwealth did differ somewhat from that in other locales.

Concentrated on small farms, Kentucky masters and slaves commonly worked alongside one another in the fields,

barns, or outbuildings. They often labored together clearing land, constructing cabins, and even eating and rearing their families in close proximity. Growing crops on diversified agricultural units, Kentucky bondsmen performed a multiplicity of tasks and thereby were exposed to less of the tedium of large-scale gang labor that plagued their brethren in the Deep South. In order to keep pace with fluctuating market demand and seasonal needs characteristic of agricultural work, many Kentucky masters hired out their skilled slaves as carpenters, blacksmiths, brick masons, coopers, herders, stevedores, waiters, and factory workers. In 1860, roughly one-quarter of Louisville's slaves were hired out. The hiring-out system provided masters with considerable flexibility in utilizing their slave work force. It afforded slaves a sense of freedom and perhaps a small measure of independence.

In his farm book, Robert Wilmot Scott listed numerous slave hire entries for his thousand-acre Locust Hill Estate that straddled the Franklin and Woodford county boundary. Each fall, he hired slaves from neighboring farmers to shuck corn at the rate of approximately \$3.75 per thirty-one shocks (sheaves of grain). A pioneer "scientific" agriculturist, Scott experimented with various crops and breeds of livestock. In 1850, his farm, considered large by antebellum Kentucky standards, contained twenty-six slaves (fourteen females and twelve males) who ranged in age between one and fifty years old. A decade later, Scott held thirty-three slaves (twenty females and thirteen males) who averaged under thirty years old. Though Scott's slaves labored under his

direct supervision, they also worked under white overseers who apparently rarely satisfied their employer. The bondsmen, who frequently were ill, received medical care from a local doctor and were issued store-bought cloth and other clothing supplies obtained from a Frankfort merchant. Scott recorded purchasing "shoes for Nef," "dress for Louisa," and "pantaloons for Bartow."

Although few Kentucky farmers cultivated plantations the size of Locust Hill (farms rarely exceeded six hundred acres), most followed Scott's lead and utilized slaves as diversified laborers. Cotton, the mainstay of slavery in the Deep South, never took hold in the commonwealth. As late as 1840, Kentucky ranked second in the nation in corn production, and slaves engaged in all stages of the corn harvest, including preparing the land, planting, shelling, and grinding. Corn, which could be planted either before or after other crops and was harvested as long as necessary, was cultivated concurrently with hemp, the cash crop most often identified with Kentucky slavery. In 1850, for example, Merit Williams of Scott County produced, among other crops, 6,000 bushels of corn and twenty-four tons of hemp.

A tall, annual herb, hemp produced long strands of fiber and supplied the basic raw material not only for household textiles and cordage but for bale rope and bagging necessary for the South's cotton trade and heavy canvas needed for America's sailing vessels. Hemp was an important staple crop for Kentucky, producing in 1849, for example, 17,787 tons (more than one-half of the national yield). More than 3,500 Kentucky farms and plantations cultivated hemp in 1852. Fayette County, the state's leading hemp producer, consistently held among the highest number of slaves in the commonwealth. In 1860, Fayette contained only slightly more whites than blacks.

"Without hemp," wrote historian James F. Hopkins, "slavery might not have flourished in Kentucky, since other agricultural products of the state were not conducive to the extensive use of bondsmen." Farmers discovered, for example, that slaves generally were less profitable in cropping tobacco than in growing hemp and grains along with tending livestock. Hemp, which required the attention of slaves for only part of the year, thus freed the bondsmen to perform other agricultural tasks. Unlike cotton slaves who labored in gangs, those engaged in hemp cultivation often worked on the task system—performing a specified number of jobs per day. It was the nature of the crops, not the acreage, that

determined the number of slaves and the nature of the work they performed on Kentucky's farms.

Kentucky planters deemed slave labor essential for every stage of hemp production. Slaves broke the soil, smoothed the fields with plows and harrows, and spread the seed. When the plants ripened, slaves cut the ten-foot stalks with knives. After the plants had been rotted by the dew, bondsmen separated the fibers from the stalks with hemp-breaking machinery. Though agriculturists urged Kentucky hemp planters to develop a stronger and more flexible fiber by replacing the dew-rotted process with the water-rotted method, slaves protested, refusing to labor in the stench

Student Essay

Slavery in Kentucky

Webster's New World Dictionary defines a slave as a person who is owned by another person and has no freedom at all. Imagine yourself as a slave. You would be considered the property of your master and you would be completely under his or her control. Imagine what it would be like to be taken away from your parents, not knowing if you would ever see them again. You would have to work six days a week and what time you had to yourself would never be totally your own.

By 1800, there were 40,343 Negro slaves in Kentucky, and this number was increasing rapidly. Slavery was debated throughout our entire country. Some who opposed slavery said it was not right to say that "all men are created equal" and at the same time buy and sell human beings like animals. Some who favored slavery said that "the Bible defended it, and that Negroes are better off in slavery than to remain a savage in an African jungle." The Declaration of Independence states that all men are created equal and have certain rights; yet, slavery existed in our free government and America was among the last major nations to give it up. The right to own property was guaranteed to every citizen, and slaves were considered lawful property. Slavery existed in fifteen states in 1861, and, by the time the Thirteenth Amendment abolished it, only Kentucky and Delaware retained the institution.

The Civil War brought an end to the slavery question and slavery in the U.S. altogether, even though Kentucky refused to end it voluntarily within the state. The antislavery movement in Kentucky was a failure, but Kentuckians can take pride in the presence of some determined citizens who continued to fight for what they believed was right.

*Melinda C. Joseph
Mt. Sterling, Kentucky*

produced by the latter process. To some extent, then, the bondsmen influenced the quality and success of Kentucky's cash crop. Slaves also dominated work in Kentucky's factories that manufactured hemp into coarse linen, bagging, and cordage. Many bondsmen suffered from "hemp pneumonia"—an ailment that afflicted slaves engaged in cutting the fiber.

Describing Kentucky slavery, historian J. Winston Coleman, Jr., wrote that it was "a social order once kindly yet cruel, benevolent though despotic." While on an individual level the institution may have had its "kindly" and "benevolent" aspects, few bondsmen recalled their enslavement with fondness and instead viewed their captivity as oppressive, humiliating, and burdensome. In 1849, Henry Bibb, a Kentucky fugitive slave, described his restless yearning for freedom. "Sometimes standing on the Ohio River bluff," he wrote, "looking over on a free State, and as far north as my eyes could see, I have eagerly gazed upon the blue sky of the free North, . . . that I might soar away to where there is no slavery; no clanking of chains, no captives, no lacerating of backs, no parting of husbands and wives; and where man ceases to be the property of his fellow man."

Despondent as a slave, Bibb believed that he "was in a far worse state than Egyptian bondage; for they had houses and land; I had none; they had oxen and sheep; I had none; they had a wise counsel, to tell them what to do, and where to go, and even to go with them; I had none. I was surrounded by opposition on every hand. My friends were few and far between. I have often felt when running away as if I had scarcely a friend on earth."

Kentucky's 1798 slave code and later revisions defined bondsmen as "chattels," as property, thereby denying them basic rights, including citizenship, education, legal marriages, and control

\$150 REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of Monday the 11th July, a negro man named

T O M,

about 30 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high; dark color; heavy in the chest; several of his jaw-teeth out; and upon his body are several old marks of the whip, one of them straight down the back. I took with him a quantity of clothing, and several hats.

A reward of \$150 will be paid for his apprehension and security, if taken out of the State of Kentucky; \$100 if taken in any county bordering on the Ohio river; \$50 if taken in any of the interior counties except Fayette; or \$20 if taken in the latter county.

july 12-84-tf
B. L. BOSTON.

Figure 7.2 One form of resistance to slavery was escape. Advertisements such as this one dotted state newspapers before the Civil War (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

over property, even themselves. Most slaves lived at the subsistence level—in a one-room, dirt-floor hut, dressed in skimpy, coarse, and ragged clothes. They ate a high carbohydrate diet of meat, meal, and molasses, supplementing this monotonous fare with vitamin-rich greens cultivated in their own garden truck patches. The strength of the slaves' nuclear families and the creation of their own slave communities enabled the blacks to withstand the horrors of forced separation, the sale of family members, and the physical abuse of slave women. Nonetheless, blacks resisted the system and expressed their longing for freedom through several cultural means, including African-inspired religion, humor, crafts, folktales, songs, and dances. Running away provided slaves like Bibb the ultimate form of resistance. They stole themselves to freedom.

A Runaway Slave Writes His Former Master

March 18, 1859

[To] Mr. Wm. Riley, Springfield, Ky. — Sir: I take this opportunity to dictate a few lines to you, supposing you might be curious to know my whereabouts. I am happy to inform you that I am in Canada, in good health, and have been here for several days. Perhaps, by this time, you have concluded that robbing a woman of her husband, and children of their father does not pay, at least in your case; and I thought, while lying in jail by your direction, that if you had no remorse of conscience that would make you feel for a poor, broken-hearted man, and worse than murdered wife and child, and could not be made to feel for others as you would have them feel for you, and could not by any entreaty or permission be induced to do as you promised you would, which was to let me go with my family for \$800—but contended for \$1,000, when you had promised to take the same you gave for me (which was \$660.) at the time you bought me, and let me go with my dear wife and children! but instead would render me miserable, and lie to me, and to your neighbors (how if words mean anything, what I say is so.) and when you was at Louisville trying to sell me! then I thought it was time for me to make my feet feel for Canada, and let your conscience feel in your pocket.—Now you cannot say but that I did all that was honorable and right while I was with you, although I was a slave. I pretended all the time that I thought you, or some one else had a better right to me than I had to myself, which you know is rather hard thinking.—You know, too, that you proved a traitor to me in the time of need, and when in the most bitter distress that the human soul is capable of experiencing, and could you have

carried out your purposes there would have been no relief. But I rejoice to say that an unseen, kind spirit appeared for the oppressed, and bade me take up my bed and walk—the result of which is that I am victorious and you are defeated.

I am comfortably situated in Canada, working for George Harris, one of the persons that act a part in “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.” He was a slave a few years ago in Kentucky, and now owns a farm so level that there is not hills enough to hide a dog, yet so large that I got lost in it the other day. He says that I may be the means of helping poor fugitives and doing them as much good as he does, in time.

... There is only one thing to prevent me being entirely happy here, and that is the want of my dear wife and children, and you to see us enjoying ourselves together here. I wish you could realize the contrast between Freedom and Slavery; but it is not likely that we shall ever meet again on this earth. But if you want to go to the next world and meet a God of love, mercy, and justice, in peace; who says “Inasmuch as you did it to the least of them my little ones, you did it unto me”—making the professions that you do, pretending to be a follower of Christ, and tormenting me and my little ones as you have done—had better repair the breaches you have made among us in this world, by sending my wife and children to me; thus preparing to meet your God in peace; for, if God don’t punish you for inflicting such distress on the poorest of His poor, then there is no use of *having any* God, or *talking* about one. But, in this letter, I have said enough to cause you to do all that is necessary for you to do, providing you are any part of the man you pretend to be. So I will close by saying that, if you see proper to reply to my letter, either condemning or justifying the course you have taken with me, I will again write you.

I hope you will consider candidly and see if the case does not justify every word I have said, and ten times as much. You must not consider that it is a slave talking to “massa” now, but one as free as yourself.

I subscribe myself one of the *abused* of America, but one of the *justified* and *honored* of Canada.

Jackson Whitney

Source: *Douglas’ Monthly*, I (August 1859), 125.

Antislavery Effects

A minority of white Kentuckians sympathized openly with the slaves’ determination to be free. According to historian Lowell H.

Harrison, by the 1820s, a substantial number “shared a sort of comfortable uneasiness about the institution of slavery.” In spite of their state’s clear commitment to slavery as an economic and legal institution, courageous and influential antislavery leaders—some advocating gradual and compensated emancipation, others demanding immediate, uncompensated abolition—voiced fierce and persistent opposition to slavery. They emphasized slavery’s harmful effects on blacks and whites alike and underscored just how far slavery had led their state from the ideals of democracy and social justice.

As early as 1792, for example, David Rice, a Presbyterian minister who emigrated to Kentucky from Virginia, published the commonwealth’s first antislavery tract, *Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy*. In his broad attack on slavery, one that played to whites’ fears of race mixing and denied that slavery was God’s will, Rice tried to influence members of Kentucky’s constitutional convention to emancipate slaves gradually. He urged them to dismiss slavery in the abstract, to devise a means to emancipate Kentucky’s blacks over time, to terminate the importation of slaves into the new state, and, finally, to educate blacks so that upon emancipation they could function as freedmen and freedwomen. “As creatures of God,” Rice declared, “we are, with respect to liberty, all equal.” He reminded slaveholders that blacks, as well as whites, deserved justice, and that slavery ultimately harmed masters just as it hindered their servants. Slavery, he argued, weakens “the foundations of moral, and . . . political virtue” and “produces idleness.” Rice further predicted that if they remained in bondage, the blacks eventually would “subvert the government, and throw all into confusion.” Despite his impassioned plea, slavery received firm protection under Kentucky’s constitution and, ironically, Rice never freed his own slaves.

Early in the nineteenth century, Kentuckians opposed to slavery tended to cluster around two groups—the Kentucky Abolition Society (KAS) and the Kentucky Colonization Society (KCS), the latter a branch of the national American Colonization Society (ACS). Founded in 1808, the KAS damned slavery as “a system of oppression pregnant with moral, national and domestic evils, ruinous to national tranquility, honor and enjoyment.” Advocating emancipationist arguments similar to those that Rice had espoused, the KAS organized local antislavery societies in the commo

wealth (eight were reported in 1827) and published the short-lived *Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine*. Though these societies failed to usher in gradual emancipation, they kept the question of abolition before the public, so much so that *Abolition Intelligencer* editor John Finley Crowe received threats for his safety from proslavery men.

The colonization movement enabled influential slaveholder-politicians like Henry Clay to favor sending free blacks and unmitted slaves back to Africa, all the while distancing themselves from the principle of immediate abolition. Founded in 1816, the ACS appealed to Kentuckians who feared free blacks in their midst in general, and as potential instigators of slave revolt in particular. The KCS, organized in 1829, absorbed colonizationist groups in the state that had surfaced as early as 1823. By 1832, over thirty such societies existed in the commonwealth. Though the KCS condemned slavery "as a great moral and political evil," it was at best a conservative force that backed an impractical solution to a complex moral and social problem. Significantly, few free black Kentuckians wished to leave America, which, in spite of the curse of slavery, had over several generations become their home. As a result, even with some state funding, from 1829 to 1859 the KCS succeeded in repatriating only 658 black Kentuckians to Liberia.

Kentucky public opinion on the slavery question hardened in the 1830s and 1840s. Nat Turner's slave revolt in Virginia (1831), South Carolina's nullification crisis (1832-1833), and William Lloyd Garrison's advocacy of immediate abolition without compensation or colonization alarmed slaveholders. The growing strength of the abolitionist movement in the North after 1830 led many white Kentuckians to fear that their slave property, as well as the South's social and racial order, might be in peril. Such concerns grew in 1833 when Kentucky's legislature outlawed the importation of slaves into the state for sale. Two years later, James G. Birney, a prominent slaveholder from Danville, freed his own bondsmen, denounced colonization, and organized the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society. Slavery clashed with the basic tenets of Christian morality, Birney said. Its immediate destruction was essential for the preservation of the Union. When Kentuckians soon after blocked his attempt to establish an anti-slavery newspaper, he left the state. In 1840 and 1844, Birney ran

unsuccessfully for the presidency on the Liberty party ticket.

Though proslavery politicians repealed Kentucky's Non-Importation Act in 1849, that year more than 150 delegates, including Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee, attended an antislavery convention in Frankfort. Emancipationists in twenty-nine counties polled ten thousand votes in a state election later that year. One abolitionist, Calvin Fairbank, put theory into practice and selflessly assisted fugitive slaves northward to freedom. Kentucky's courts rewarded Fairbank with seventeen years in prison for his courageous acts. The contributions of Clay and Fee suggest the contradictions and diversity of the abolition movement in the commonwealth in the years before the Civil War.

For all his bravado and bloody encounters with proslavery men, the fiery Cassius Clay espoused a moderate emancipationist viewpoint and accepted the legality of slavery. Though in 1840 he proclaimed "*slavery to be an evil . . . an unmixed*



Figure 7.3 Antislavery advocate Cassius M. Clay (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

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A Voice against Slavery

An antislavery talk by the Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge, as reported in the Lexington Observer and Reporter, July 4, 1849.

"Every one of these human beings is, like us, created in the image of God; has, like us, an immortal soul; is, like us, capable of joy and sorrow; will, like us, lie down in the grave; and, at the great day, stand with us before the throne of God. There is in the bosom of all human societies, a desire and a power of ceaseless progress. It has struggled always, it is struggling now, it will struggle to the end. Many failures have passed—many are still to come. Not until men clearly see the real and the only security for their great development, will those failures cease. . . . What is just, what is right, what is good—let them do these, and they will fail no more. What is wrong, what is unjust, what is evil—let them do these, under whatever pretext of political necessity, and they cannot but suffer and fail— . . . Perhaps not today, but soon, Kentucky will take, must take another step in this great school of wisdom. The light that is covering the earth, cannot turn to darkness upon her pleasant hill sides and along her smiling plains. When the day has come for mankind to break their chains and burst open their prisons, she will not select that day to consecrate her soil to eternal slavery, and dedicate her children to eternal wrong."

.....

evil," Clay was slow to free his own bondsmen and held little sympathy for blacks as persons. Clay denounced slavery because of its alleged ill effects on Kentucky's economy, particularly on nonslaveholding whites. As a solution, he advocated a legal process whereby female slaves would be emancipated gradually over time. Far less extreme than Garrison's demands for immediate abolition, Clay's opinions nonetheless appeared to a Lexington editor as "militant and provocative."

In August 1845, Clay's newspaper, the *True American*, outraged Kentucky slaveholders when he suggested easing conditions for the slaves and granting political equality to free blacks. Clay warned that unless whites emancipated their slaves, the blacks would revolt, "for the day of retribution is at hand, and the masses will be avenged!" Lexington authorities, armed with an injunction, seized Clay's press and transported it to Cincinnati, where he continued to publish the *True American* until mid-1846. Years later, after stumping for Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln, Clay was appointed U.S. minister to Russia.

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Kentucky Preserves Slavery

From Kentucky's 1850 Constitution:

ARTICLE X.

Concerning Slaves.

§ 1. The General Assembly 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 such emancipation, a full equivalent in money, for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State. They shall have no power to prevent immigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and to prevent them from remaining in this State after they are emancipated. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandise. They shall have full power to prevent slaves 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 any of these United States from a foreign country. And they 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 provision, to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb; and in case of their 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.

§ 2. The General Assembly shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter immigrating to, and any slave hereafter emancipated in, and refusing to leave this State, or having left, shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof.

§ 3. In the prosecution of slaves for felony, no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary, but the proceedings in such prosecution shall be regulated by law, except that the General Assembly shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

.....

Unlike Clay, Fee held an intense moral and religious abhorrence for the peculiar institution and challenged Kentucky's courts. He favored immediate abolition and flatly refused colonization. "In whatever way we enter our protest against slavery, Fee wrote in 1847, "it must be for the good reason that it is sin against God." Willing neither to associate with slaveholders nor to employ force against them, Fee subscribed to a "higher law" to disprove the legality of slavery. He challenged biblical defenses of slavery and charged that "freedom is the natural state of all men." After starting antislavery congregations in Bracken County, in 1854 Fee moved to Madison County where he established a church, interracial schools, and a college in Berea. Again and again proslavery mobs harassed Fee and his antislavery disciples. The courts offered them no protection. As the Civil War approached, they were forced to flee to Cincinnati for safety.

The Civil War and Slavery's End

Though Birney, Clay, Fee, and other antislavery leaders ultimately failed to rid Kentucky of slavery, they nonetheless kept the question of abolition alive in the commonwealth. Kentucky

entered the Civil War loyal to the Union but thoroughly divided. Kentucky slaveholders trusted Lincoln to protect their property and naively believed that the institution of slavery could survive the stresses and strains of war. In 1862, large numbers of fugitive slaves—property of pro-Confederate and pro-Union masters alike—flocked to Union army garrisons, only to be returned to their owners. Lincoln meanwhile failed in attempts to persuade Kentuckians to accept a plan of voluntary compensated emancipation. The conflict dragged on and the Emancipation Proclamation transformed it into a war of black liberation. Though the Emancipation Proclamation applied only to the Confederate states and not to Kentucky, which remained officially loyal to the Union, slavery's demise became only a matter of time. Increasingly after 1863, Union troops refused to return runaway slaves and, not surprisingly, entire families of slaves ran for the safety of U.S. Army camps. In the spring and summer of 1864, thousands of Kentucky blacks descended upon Camp Nelson and other recruiting posts. By war's end, 23,703 Kentucky blacks (57 percent of the state's black men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five) had entered the army. Among the slave states, Kentucky contributed the second largest number of black troops to the Union cause.

By 1865, the war had so thoroughly weakened the bonds of slavery that the institution in Kentucky lay in shambles. In March 1865, Congress emancipated the wives and children of the state's black troops. But because Kentucky, unlike Maryland and Missouri, refused to emancipate its slaves by state action, the status of thousands of black Kentuckians remained unsettled. The situation was worsened because in February 1865, Kentucky's legislature had rejected the Thirteenth Amendment. Many slaveholders hoped for compensation from the government for the loss of their slave property. It was far too late, however, for compensated emancipation, which was at best a pipe dream. Not until Decem-

Figure 7.4 Camp Nelson on the Kentucky River was a refuge for blacks during the Civil War (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



ber 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, were all blacks in Kentucky finally freed. Slavery remained a legal institution longer in Kentucky than in any other state except Delaware.

.....
The Civil Rights Amendments

Portions of the 13th Amendment (1865) and 14th Amendment (1868) to the U.S. Constitution:

AMENDMENT 13

§ 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

AMENDMENT 14

§ 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

.....
Even though most whites never owned slaves, slavery remained one of Kentucky's most important antebellum social and economic institutions. Slaveholding not only defined wealth, class, and prestige but provided whites with a vehicle for upward mobility and mechanisms of social and racial control. So entrenched was slavery in Kentucky that its abolition required radical means, including federal occupation, the arming of black troops, and a constitutional amendment. Still, no matter how dramatic emancipation was for whites, it paled in comparison with the social upheaval experienced by the blacks. As free men and women, Kentucky's blacks walked steadfastly forward, ever mindful, however, of their state's long tradition of racism, intolerance, and greed.

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Summary

White Kentuckians struggled throughout the antebellum decades over the institution of black slavery. While slavery linked them to southerners in the cotton South, the exploitative labor system alienated their neighbors to the North and marked Kentucky as a state committed to a biracial social, economic, and political ethos. Ironically, for all of the defenses whites uttered in favor of their peculiar institution, most Kentuckians held no slaves. The majority of Kentucky bondsmen resided on small farms where they labored in a variety of crops, including hemp, corn, and tobacco. Perhaps because of Kentucky's location, and because of the state's dependence on free as well as slave labor, a strong antislavery movement evolved after 1820. Such well-known Kentuckians as Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee attacked slavery on a variety of moral, religious, and economic grounds. Despite the abolitionists' best efforts, slavery and white supremacy were so central to antebellum Kentucky society that it required a civil war to end it. The resistance of Kentucky's slaves underscored the barbarity of enslavement and the determination of black men and women to be free.

CHAPTER 8

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Race Relations after 1865

George C. Wright

Though scholars have often tried to present the view that the racial problems Afro-Americans encountered in postwar Kentucky were not as severe as what they experienced in the Deep South, the facts argue differently. Simply stated, race relations in Kentucky have consistently mirrored the rest of American society, meaning that at no point was the state a "haven" from whatever deplorable situations existed elsewhere.

What makes the plight of Kentucky's black citizens all the more significant and telling is that, by comparison with the Deep South, the black population in the Bluegrass State was much smaller and less of a threat to the white status quo. In Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, and elsewhere, where the blacks made up a higher proportion of the population, whites could claim with a semblance of truth that unless steps were taken to "keep blacks in their place," they could possibly obtain total equality and ultimately domination. In Kentucky, no such claim could be made; but Afro-Americans faced racial discrimination nevertheless from the end of the Civil War through much of the twentieth century.

The First Decade of Freedom

Not surprisingly, the end of the Civil War found the ex-Confederates embittered over their defeat, and, perhaps more significantly,

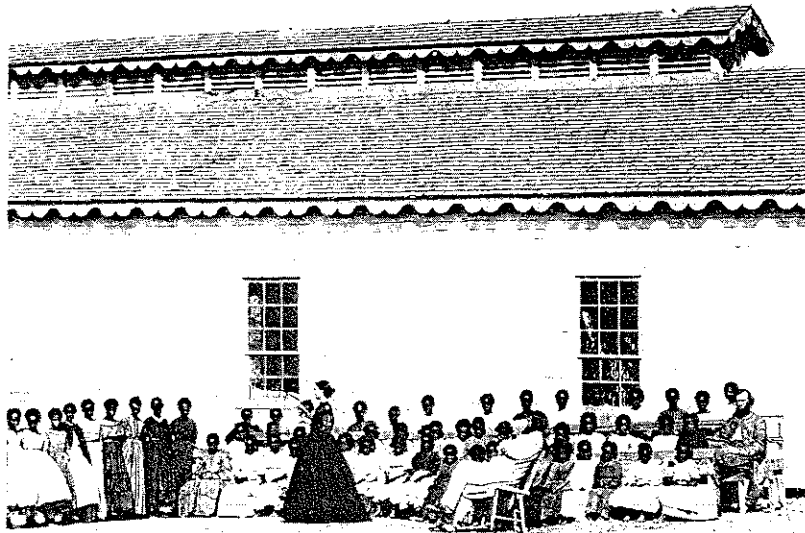
some whites who had fought on the victorious side were bitter as well—in their case, over the destruction of slavery. Beyond protesting loudly, there was actually nothing either group could do about the actions of the federal government. But, as subsequent events demonstrated, whites could direct much of their anger at Afro-Americans.

After state officials voted against the Thirteenth Amendment and refused to recognize fully that blacks were entitled to equal rights, the federal government extended the Freedmen's Bureau to the state. The victorious North organized the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in the transition from slavery to freedom and to ensure that blacks received fair treatment. Kentucky was the only loyal state to have the Bureau, and some Kentucky whites were angry over its presence. Unquestionably, by the end of 1865, Kentucky whites were united in a way that they had not been at the outbreak of the Civil War. Furthermore, they were determined to create a new racial order, one that in reality resembled the old. Kentucky whites not only voted overwhelmingly against the Thirteenth Amendment but soundly defeated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and for several years refused to take steps leading toward Afro-Americans being part of the political system or having public schools.

While whites debated "What should we do with the Negro?" the freed slaves worked to create a life of their own in the years immediately after emancipation. Making their struggle for uplift all the more remarkable is that by and large the ex-slaves were poor and propertyless and labored without the encouragement or support of whites. A large number of black churches sprang up all over the state in the first ten years of freedom. The churches provided spiritual and moral leadership and much more: often, the churches were the only place homeless blacks could turn for relief from hunger and a place to stay. With state officials unwilling to start public schools for blacks—a posture that remained in effect for years—the ex-slaves created schools for members of the race, first through their churches and then with the assistance of northern missionary groups and the federally supported Freedmen's Bureau. In various parts of the state, blacks opened hospitals and orphan homes that provided essential care to the aged, the orphaned, and the infirm.

Instead of applauding black efforts to uplift themselves, Kentucky whites often perceived these positive actions as threats to the status quo and attempted to undermine them. During the Reconstruction years, the destruction of black school buildings and churches became commonplace. On one occasion, a group of white men entered a black church in Georgetown, firing their pistols and totally disrupting the religious service in progress. In other places, gangs of whites shot out the windows and destroyed the pews and furniture in churches. Whites targeted the Afro-American church because it was an institution created and controlled by blacks, a place for political rallies and educational pursuits.

Figure 8.1 *Freedmen's Bureau School at Camp Nelson (University of Louisville Photographic Archives).*



Records of the Freedmen's Bureau indicate that schools operated by and for Afro-Americans were destroyed by whites even more often than were black churches. Simply stated, whites viewed blacks' desire for education as leading to racial equality.

More than a dozen school buildings constructed by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies were destroyed in 1867. In every part of the state, including Louisville, then the largest and presumably most enlightened city in the state, only the presence of armed guards prevented schools from being destroyed before opening. The director of the Freedmen's Bureau education program

in Kentucky explained in a letter to his superior in Washington that whites burned schoolhouses for no other reason than because "instruction is given to . . . freedmen." Teaching at black schools proved to be a hazardous occupation, resulting in social scorn and threats of violence.

The first ten years of freedom witnessed a new phenomenon: lynchings. The execution of people without benefit of trial was largely unknown during the slavery period, occurring at most on a handful of occasions. The killing of a black by a white mob served as a warning to Afro-Americans everywhere of what would happen to them for certain transgressions. As explained by a militant lawyer/journalist, Robert Charles O'Hara (R.C.O.) Benjamin, the lynching of blacks resulted from a determination by whites to keep blacks at the bottom of society: "It is only since the Negro has become a citizen and a voter that this charge has been made. It has come along with the pretended and baseless fear of Negro supremacy." Tragically, Benjamin, who moved to Lexington in 1897 to assume control of a weekly newspaper, was killed in a manner that suggested a lynching; and that nothing was done to his assailant was a clear indication of white disregard for black life.

At least 117 lynchings can be documented for the years 1865-1875. This number (which at present exceeds that of any other state for these years because of a lack of scholarly research into violence in the Deep South) undoubtedly undercounts the large number of blacks whose murders were covered up out of fear of federal intervention. By contrast, in the period from 1890 through 1920, white mobs often killed blacks in public ceremonies witnessed by crowds that sometimes numbered in the thousands. In these years about 170 lynchings occurred in Kentucky. There was no fear of arrest and prosecution, especially when whites proclaimed that blacks had committed rape or attempted rape. The fact that less than 25 percent of the people lynched had even been accused of rape—and that the lynching prevented a court hearing—seemed to be immaterial. In the final analysis, the only "crime" many lynched victims had committed was being black in a society that held little regard for black life.

A Segregated Society

Racial segregation, like violence, came to characterize black-white relations in Kentucky. Rural blacks working as tenant

farmers lived in close proximity to whites; but white landowners and black tenants were far from being neighbors in any sense of the word. In small towns and cities, blacks lived close to but not in white neighborhoods. Usually, the railroad tracks, the business and warehouse district, or a creek separated black and white residential areas. Without question, in the cities of Lexington and Louisville, the end of slavery witnessed the beginning of all-black neighborhoods on their outskirts.

Significantly, however, in the years from 1865 to 1890, when venturing into many areas of society, blacks did not always experience racial exclusion or segregation. After a six-month boycott of the streetcars in Louisville in 1870-71, blacks gained the right to ride and sit wherever they desired. Though solid evidence is lacking, Lexington's Afro-American citizens could also ride the streetcars without being relegated to the back. For more than a decade after the Civil War, blacks in Kentucky's largest cities were often admitted to the theaters, saloons, race tracks, and baseball fields on an equal basis with whites. But, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, blacks in these same cities were denied service in white restaurants and hotels. Meanwhile, there seemed to be no relief from racial exclusion in Kentucky's smaller towns and rural communities, as Afro-Americans were usually prohibited by local custom from entering any establishment that provided services to whites.

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The Day Law Segregating All Kentucky Schools

CHAPTER 85.

Act to prohibit white and colored persons from attending the same school.

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

§ 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person, corporation or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of the white and negro races are both received as pupils for instruction: and any person or corporation who shall operate or maintain any such college, school or institution shall be fined one thousand dollars, and any person or corporation who may

be convicted of violating the provisions of this act, shall be fined one hundred dollars for each day they may operate said school, college or institution, after such conviction.

§ 2. 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.

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Beginning in the 1890s and carrying over to the new century, Afro-Americans witnessed increasing segregation in the state. In this regard, Kentucky whites agreed with southerners that segregation should exist in every conceivable way and even in places where it seemed unnecessary. Racist legislation ensured that state-supported institutions for the mentally insane and the blind were segregated. (See Chapter 18 for a discussion of segregated schools.) The facilities for Afro-Americans were inferior even though the law clearly called for "separate but equal." The 1911 report of the state inspector of the asylums illustrates conditions blacks found common in state facilities. The building for blacks at Eastern State Hospital in Lexington was so overcrowded that many patients were required to sleep in the basement, a place that was highly unsatisfactory. The building was supported by props and would probably collapse with the first heavy wind, the report concluded.

Kentucky blacks found themselves excluded from most public facilities, even though like whites they too paid taxes. Every city that had a library denied blacks admission. This attitude was in total opposition to the philosophy of a library as a symbol of learning and refinement in a community. It is true that in Henderson whites made sure that blacks had access to a few books, but the small room provided for this purpose was a library in name only. Blacks were excluded from public hospitals even in life-threatening emergencies. Numerous instances can be cited of how denying black patients admission and care at white hospitals led to their deaths or extended their suffering. Indeed, in 1911, a black man was struck by a railroad train in Frankfort. Refused admission at the white hospital, because of his race, he was then carried to a workhouse and left to die. A number of towns operated segregated orphan homes. Consistently, the facilities set aside for

black children compared unfavorably in every respect with those for white children.

By the turn of the century, public places of amusement either excluded blacks entirely or relegated them to a very restricted area. Blacks attending the race track were confined to the worst bleacher seats. The same was true at baseball games. Barret Park in Henderson had been integrated for years, but in 1903 city officials called for limiting blacks to a very specific area within the park. During this same time, leaders in Hopkinsville designated three playgrounds and two parks for whites and one park for blacks. By the 1920s, blacks in both Lexington and Louisville were also relegated to specifically designated all-black parks.

When riding on the trains throughout the state, Afro-Americans found no relief from racial segregation. In January 1892, State Senator Tipton A. Miller of Calloway County introduced a bill calling for racial separation on the railroads. Though it took several months, the bill passed the Senate in late March. Again, though it moved very slowly—owing in part to black opposition at every turn—the measure passed the House and was signed into law by the governor on May 29. The key provision of the Separate Coach Law stated that “each compartment of a coach divided by a good and substantial wooden partition, with a door therein, shall be deemed a separate coach within the meaning of this act, and each separate coach or compartment shall bear in some conspicuous place appropriate words in plain letters indicating the race for which it is set apart.” Failure to abide by the law would result in railroad companies being fined up to a thousand dollars.

One part of the Separate Coach Law was never implemented—the provision calling for equal facilities for blacks and whites. That whites failed to provide black travelers with equal accommodations clearly indicated that segregation was designed to be a “put-down” to the self-esteem of blacks. Indeed, as a final reminder that blacks were to remain in “their place” at the bottom of society, the law contained a provision whereby a black servant traveling with his or her white employer could ride in the “white car.”

Kentucky’s black citizens were clearly relegated to separate and inferior schools. The vast majority of whites viewed black education as a burden, spending only the minimum required by law, if in fact that small amount. The results were predictable.

very short school years, inadequate facilities (or, as was so often the case, the absence of libraries and science laboratories), and the absence of high schools in most places. There were only nine black public high schools by the mid-1910s.

Not surprisingly, Kentucky State College for Negroes, the state's lone public college for blacks, did without the resources and funding that white colleges took for granted. From its inception in 1886, the institution limped along on a "shoestring" budget, lacking anything approaching adequate financial support. Because of its limited funding, Kentucky State operated with a deplorable physical plant. For years, the library had only a few general books and no reference materials. A 1908 report of the school said, "In spite of very recent addition of several hundred books, the library facilities are woefully inadequate. No books bearing upon the industries are to be found in the collection, and but few on science and education." Finally, students in the mechanical department were not given instruction in the operation of machines. "What little machinery there is in the mechanical department stands idle for want of a boiler," the 1908 report concluded.

Because white Kentuckians viewed racial segregation as both normal and desirable, it made sense to them to enact a law relating to the most private aspect of someone's life, saying who they could and could not marry. Kentucky law explained clearly that "marriage is prohibited and declared void between a white person and a negro or mulatto." For performing such an interracial marriage, a judge or minister faced imprisonment for up to twelve months and a thousand-dollar fine. The same penalties applied to any clerk who knowingly issued a marriage license to an interracial couple. On several occasions, black men were sentenced to jail for marrying or cohabiting with white women. The law was seldom enforced, however, on the few occasions when a white man lived with or married a black woman.

The wording of the Kentucky law against interracial marriage is worth noting. Writing the word "Negro" with the lower case "n" was another way of keeping blacks in "their place." By the turn of the century, "Negro" was written in upper case in common usage except by those who wanted to remind blacks that they were not the equals of whites.

Black Kentuckians have a long tradition of challenging lawlessness and racial discrimination, with the formation of statewide

teachers' and religious groups in the 1880s, the Anti-Separate Coach Movement in the 1890s, the Negro Outlook Committee in the early 1900s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1910s, and the National Urban League branches in the 1920s. Though these organizations often failed to accomplish their goals, they were committed to bringing about changes for black people. The NAACP, of all the organizations, has been the most enduring and the driving force of the Afro-American civil rights movement in Kentucky. The national organization was founded in 1909, and five years later a branch started in Louisville after the city passed an ordinance segregating city housing. The NAACP and its Louisville branch worked together for three years until the Louisville Residential Segregation Ordinance was overturned by the U. S. Supreme Court in November 1917. Because this important victory had ramifications for housing discrimination all over the country, it was one of the key victories of the NAACP during its infancy, and it sustained the organization for years. Efforts by the Louisville branch in the late 1910s prevented the showing of highly inflammatory racist films in several Kentucky cities. And it was the Frankfort NAACP that lobbied for the passage of "an act to suppress mob violence and prevent lynching." This anti-lynching law passed the Kentucky legislature in 1920 without a dissenting vote.

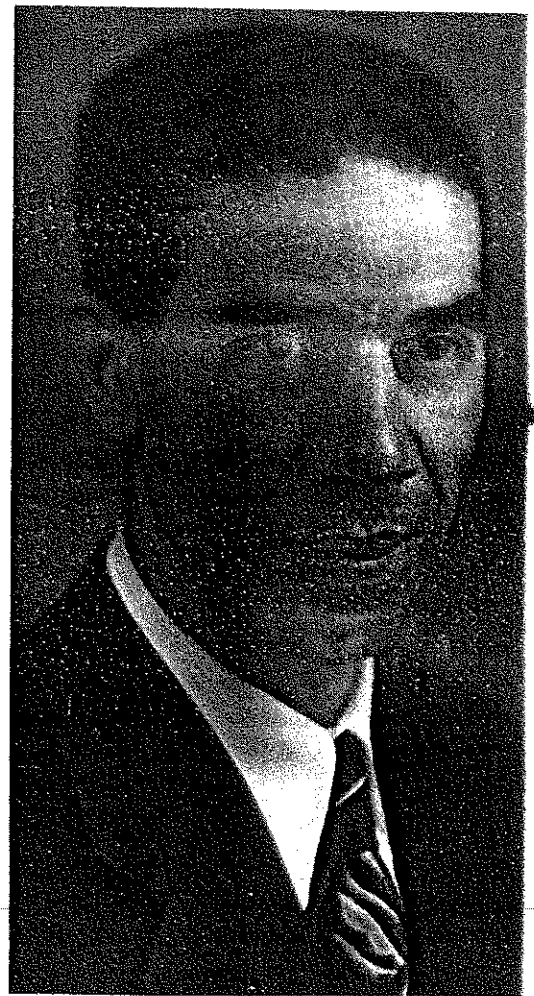
Tearing Down Segregation, Building Equality

In 1935, the NAACP began a fifteen-year struggle against "separate and unequal" college segregation in Kentucky. For years, attempts to desegregate higher education failed, largely because of opposition from the governors and other state officials and because of the staunch determination of the University of Kentucky's presidents, key administrators, and board members to maintain an "all white" state university. Establishing the tone was Governor "Happy" Chandler, who has often been incorrectly described as a person committed to civil rights for black people. Each time

black delegations approached Chandler about integrating the state university, he denounced them in strong terms and gave appropriations to Kentucky State College for Negroes, attempting to convince the courts that separate but equal was a reality in Kentucky's colleges. Other governors adopted Chandler's tactics of evading the law, denying Alfred M. Carroll's attempt to attend the University of Kentucky Law School in 1939 and Charles L. Eubank's effort to attend U.K.'s school of engineering in 1941.

Louisville schoolteacher Lyman T. Johnson applied for admission to the graduate program in American history at the University of Kentucky in 1948. By this time, desegregation of higher education had occurred in a number of southern and border states, and anyone with a sense of vision could see that in time the state of Kentucky would be compelled to admit blacks to white colleges. Yet, the governor and U.K. officials came up with a new dodge. Within a few months after Johnson had applied for admission, new courses were being offered at Kentucky State. Professors from U.K. traveled to Frankfort to teach Johnson and the other students who enrolled in courses. This feeble attempt to evade the law failed. On March 30, 1949, Judge H. Church Ford of the U.S. District Court reached a very quick verdict, ruling in favor of Lyman Johnson and the NAACP. "How can anyone listen to this evidence without seeing that it is a makeshift plan?" the judge asked. The University of Kentucky was under an obligation to admit qualified black students, Judge Ford forcefully explained, since the state had failed to provide graduate and professional schools for blacks that in any respect equaled the university for whites. That same summer, Lyman Johnson and thirty other Afro-Americans integrated the University of Kentucky. Other colleges later admitted black students.

Figure 8.2 Lyman Johnson
(University of Louisville
Photographic Archives).



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The Best of All

When black leader Lyman T. Johnson began teaching at Central Colored School in Louisville, the schools were rigidly segregated. Black and white students did not even compete against each other in sporting events. Johnson, who served as business manager for Central's ball teams in addition to teaching at the school, was disturbed that Central's powerful teams had only small black schools to play against.

Central usually came out winning, but how could we know that we were champions? We were only allowed to play other black teams. On the other hand, how could the white teams call themselves Kentucky champions? They could only play other white teams. I've always told my students: "Don't brag about being the best *black* players in town. Be the best. Then you can brag." No one can know who is best till he's taken on all comers.

Before the schools were integrated, however, we got a chance to prove which teams were best. One year a white team from the eastern end of the state won the "state championship" in basketball. Prompted by the Central team's business manager, one Lyman T. Johnson, our students began writing letters to the paper, saying, "How can this white team gloat about being the state champions? They haven't played all comers." Before long I heard from that "championship" school. "Dear Mr. Johnson," they wrote, "we've read the letter from your students saying we can't be sure we're state champions till we've played all challengers. Put us on your schedule next year. We'd like to see how we rank." So we played them the next year and tore them to pieces! After that I told my students they could brag. But till you've taken on all comers, you can't brag. You can't brag that you're the best *black* anything! You can't brag that you're the best *white* anything! You can only brag when you're the best of all!

I've tried to apply that principle at all times inside the classroom as well as outside. One semester the son of the editor of the *Louisville Defender*, our black paper, wrote a paper in one of my classes about his professional ambitions. He thought he'd done a good job. He was smiling with pride when he came up to my desk to pick up his paper. I handed him the paper and said: "Son, just tear it up. Throw it in the trash can." He said: "But Mr. Johnson, I thought I wrote a good paper. I put in a lot of time on it. What's wrong with my paper?" I said, "Read the first sentence." He read, "This paper will show why I plan to be the best Negro journalist in the United States." I said: "Now stop. That's what's wrong! Son, I don't want you to be the best *Negro* journalist in

the United States. I want you to be the best journalist. I've just had my appendix taken out by a Negro surgeon, not because he's one of the best Negro surgeons in town, but because he's one of the best surgeons. I certainly didn't choose him to put me to sleep and start chopping inside me because he was black!" I've always taught my students that one-race standards—whether black or white—are not good enough.

Source: Wade Hall. *The Rest of the Dream: The Black Odyssey of Lyman Johnson*. Lexington, 1988.

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With the success of college desegregation, Kentucky black leaders, like their counterparts who controlled the national office of the NAACP, next challenged segregation in the public schools in the early 1950s. Even though the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* declared school segregation unconstitutional in May 1954, Kentucky's dual school system remained intact for at least two years for a number of reasons. In 1956, the national office of the NAACP encouraged the Kentucky branches to move aggressively to end segregation. As Roy Wilkins of the national office explained, "Kentucky is one of the key states. We expect it to move off in good fashion, helping to bring pressure on public opinion against those loudly publicized areas which are resisting the Court's opinion."

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No Separate but Equal

The United States Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) ended segregated schools.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

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Working as one, the leaders of Kentucky's NAACP branches carefully investigated all the school districts and then filed suit against the Columbia (Adair County) School District. Their success in having the United States District Court order the immediate integration of Columbia's all-white high school went

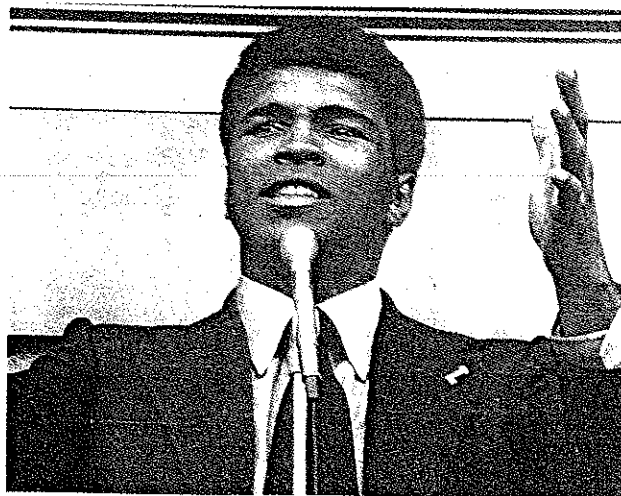
a long way toward convincing other areas to begin drawing up and implementing public school desegregation.

Integrating the public schools was far from the only goal of the black civil rights movement that gained momentum after the *Brown* decision. These years witnessed efforts to achieve equal access to restaurants, hotels, and downtown shopping areas in the various cities of Kentucky. This proved to be a difficult struggle in Lexington and Louisville, the most "liberal" cities in the state, taking more than five years. Black leaders, realizing that discrimination would continue in smaller cities without intervention by state officials, called upon Governor Bert Combs, who had consistently expressed sympathy, for support. He responded by issuing an executive order ending racial discrimination in all establishments and by all professions licensed by the state.

The struggle to achieve access to public accommodations foreshadowed the strong opposition blacks encountered when protesting discrimination in two very significant areas: employment and housing. Many white Kentuckians who had been sympathetic to the movement to end public accommodation discrimination assumed that employment opportunities were based on education and merit, not race, and that once blacks acquired the right skills they would face no problems securing high-paying jobs. They disagreed with the idea that employment discrimination had so effectively kept blacks out that other methods, such as employers adopting affirmative action programs, were needed. Regarding housing, many were unconvinced that discrimination

excluded blacks from white communities. They reasoned that, despite any evidence of discrimination uncovered by blacks, it simply was not in the economic best interest of realtors to refuse to sell homes to any persons willing to pay the price to move into certain neighborhoods. With little white objection to black exclusion in these two key areas, black gains in employment and equal access to housing have been limited, often with blacks making little more than token progress at best.

Figure 8.3 Louisville native and former heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali (University of Louisville Photographic Archives).



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Summary

It is extremely difficult to make a definitive statement regarding race relations and whether or not blacks have true equality in Kentucky, and indeed in the nation. Without question, when using 1865 as the starting point, there have been numerous positive changes in virtually every area for blacks. Yet, as the lack of equal employment opportunities, deplorable housing in all-black communities, and the large number of ill-prepared black youths all attest, Afro-Americans have yet to achieve equality.

Perhaps what is most significant concerning blacks and race relations in Kentucky is that one should be optimistic, given the changes that have occurred. Racism has not ended. But the civil rights movement in Kentucky and elsewhere brought hope that, having successfully challenged Jim Crow laws, mob violence, and the like, Kentuckians can conquer other vestiges of racism as well.

CHAPTER 9

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At War, 1776-1991

James Russell Harris

Twenty-three-year-old Israel Boone, dead or dying from wounds received at the 1782 Battle of Blue Licks, was left behind by the Kentucky militia's disorganized retreat. More fortunate, twenty-one-year-old Johnny Green, also wounded, could leave the 1862 Battle of Shiloh with his Confederate Fourth Kentucky Infantry. Decades later, in a famous incident of World War II, nineteen-year-old Franklin R. Sousley helped raise the American flag on Mt. Suribachi in the 1945 fight for Iwo Jima. He was later killed in the battle. Since frontier times, the choices made by Kentuckians like these three volunteers or by their societies again and again have placed young lives in danger. The story of Kentucky at war is a chronicle of how voluntary decisions, some long before a war, have determined life or death for thousands.

Those who decided to settle frontier Kentucky, the "dark and bloody ground" of legend, challenged not only the several Indian nations who claimed the land but also Great Britain, ally of many Indians and itself the world's most powerful country. Nevertheless, the unstoppable flood of homesteaders was the decisive factor in the twenty-year war begun when large numbers of pioneers chose to live west of the Appalachian Mountains.

The Frontier Era

By 1776, increasing conflict between settlers and Indians threatened the pioneers' survival. Bold Kentuckians like twenty-four-

Wilkinson's 1791 efforts, achieved little. Others—Josiah Harmar's in 1790 and Arthur St. Clair's in 1791—were destroyed. Not until Anthony Wayne's 1794 victory at Fallen Timbers were the Northwest Indians militarily beaten. The 1795 Treaty of Greenville drew a line between white and Indian territory, but, as in the past, settlers eventually pushed into Indian lands. The threat of another large-scale frontier conflict began to build. During the next few years, hatreds among homesteaders, Indians, and British again built to a dangerous level.

The War of 1812

In Kentucky, the long, dark years of hating and killing made resentment of the British and Indians common feelings. Such strong emotions caused Kentuckians to react angrily to any American dispute with these old enemies. For example, British interference with U.S. ships at sea had no direct effect on Kentucky. And the attack by Northwest Indians on troops commanded by William Henry Harrison (Battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811) occurred in Indiana Territory, not in Kentucky. But Kentuckians' prejudiced interpretation of such events led them to choose a violent course. They saw these moves by the British and Indians as real and immediate threats.

The commonwealth's citizens found new ways to express old hatreds: seizing Canada and beating back the Indians became goals for most Kentuckians. The state's militia, however, was not ready for war. It suffered from poor training, loose discipline, inexperienced officers, and shortages of weapons, equipment, food, clothing, and medicine. After President James Madison asked Congress for a declaration of war against Britain and after hostilities were declared in June 1812, many Kentuckians rushed to volunteer for service in the War of 1812.

Soon, two thousand Kentucky militia, led by a very unpopular Tennessean, James Winchester, marched to reinforce an American army at Detroit. That army's quick surrender hurt the Kentuckians' spirits, but Private Elias Darnell later recalled other problems the militia faced: "water in the wagon-ruts was the only drink" available, and sleds of baggage were pulled through snow

by ill-fed animals and men. By December, all hope of “conquest was entirely abandoned.” The possibility that an army in such condition would win a war now seemed remote.

Kentucky’s political leaders knew, based on past experience, that Kentucky’s soldiers would fight much better under a leader they respected. Although not a native of the state, William Henry Harrison—the hero of Tippecanoe—was very popular in Kentucky. Through pressure on the U.S. War Department from Congressman Henry Clay and other politicians, Harrison was named overall commander of the Northwest Army. Enthusiasm for the war rose but soon fell sharply when a large part of the army so carefully adapted to the state’s military preferences met disaster.

Frustrated by bad weather and food shortages, Winchester and about thirteen hundred troops left the army’s main body and, on

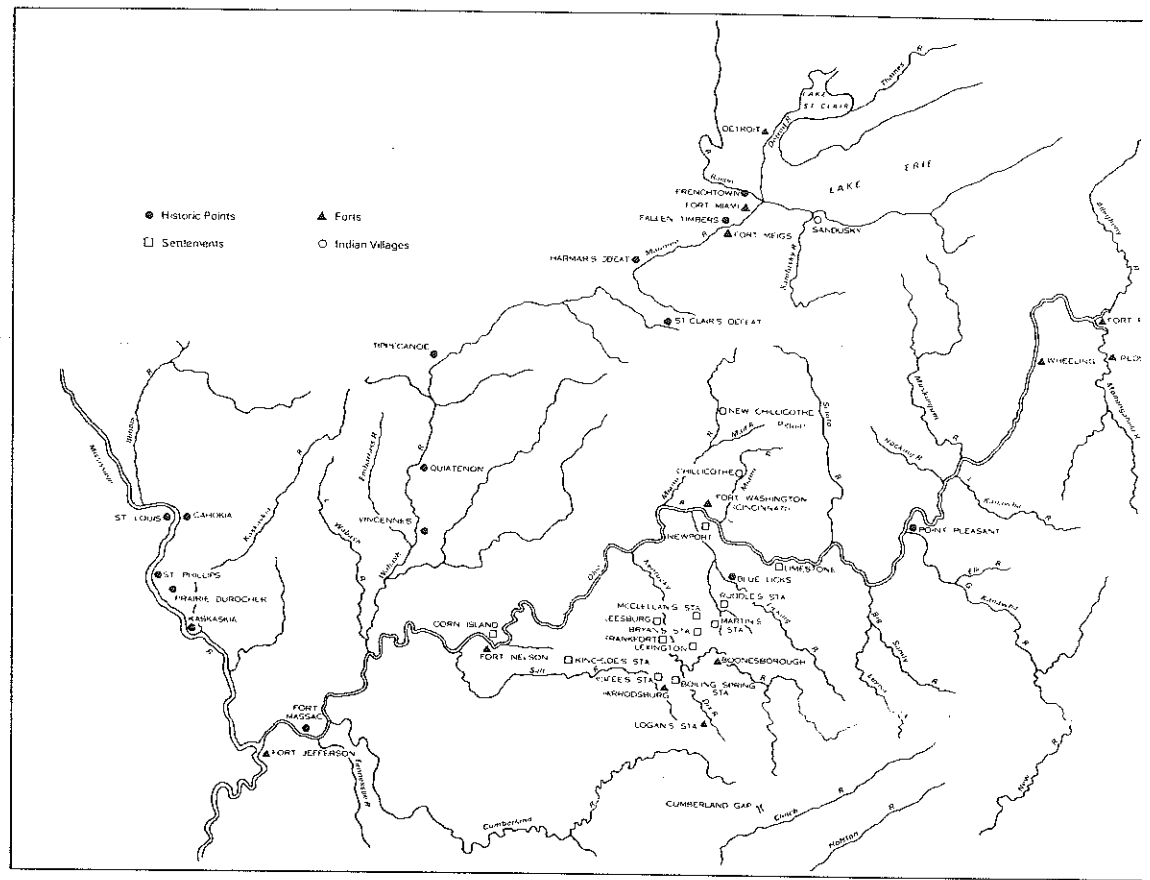
January 18, successfully struck the British supply depot at Frenchtown on the River Raisin in Michigan. Great despair in Kentucky and a halt to Harrison’s northward progress followed the January 22, 1813, rout of Winchester’s force and the massacre of at least 60 prisoners, nearly all of whom were Kentuckians. Harrison then placed the remainder of his force (expirations of terms of service also



Figure 9.2 The victorious charge of Kentucky militia against the British at the 1813 Battle of the Thames (National Guard).

reduced his numbers) at Fort Meigs on the nearby Maumee River.

The fort withstood a British-Indian siege, but the loss of about 700 captured militia (Dudley’s Defeat, May 5) and the massacre of about 40 American prisoners once again shook Kentucky support for the war. Volunteering declined sharply. In response, highly respected Governor Isaac Shelby proposed a sixty-



year-old George Rogers Clark wanted to take military action without the time-consuming matter of sending to Virginia for aid or approval.

When Kentucky became a Virginia county, young Clark became a major in the militia and the leader of Kentucky's military. To oversee the militia, which included most males eighteen to fifty, Clark organized a Board of War. At this council's first meeting, conflict arose between Kentuckians. Captain Benjamin Logan, from a central Kentucky fort, argued for quick pursuit of Indian raiders. Clark, however, refused to use Kentucky's small numbers of fighting men (121 total) on an expedition that could be destroyed or badly damaged in a single ambush. Instead, he sent scouts, or "spies," across the Ohio River into the Illinois country. Some settlers deeply resented this decision, because Indian attacks continued in Kentucky.

Yet, at this dark time, Clark's caution paid off. The "spies" he had sent to the Northwest reported that an attack to capture the

Figure 9.1 The Virginia-Kentucky Militia Sphere of Action, 1774-1813

[Source: Richard G. Stone, Jr. *A Brittle Sword: The Kentucky Militia, 1776-1911*. Lexington, 1977.]

towns of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes probably would succeed. Clark now left the militia and led a different kind of unit, called the Illinois Regiment. In summer 1778, they quickly seized the towns. Later, in September, the central Kentucky fort, Boonesborough—its strength not wasted in the rash militia exploits Clark had forbidden—fought off a ten-day siege by British soldiers and Indians. This successful defense of a major settlement boosted the pioneers' sense of security. A more important result of this victory, however, was that it allowed Clark to keep American soldiers in the Illinois country. Therefore, U.S. claims to the Northwest were significantly strengthened.

In December, the British recaptured Vincennes. Two months later, Clark marched from Kaskaskia and, after a brief fight, defeated the English and their Indian allies. The American victory at Vincennes was one of the Revolution's most important battles. The significant results of this action included the capture of Henry Hamilton, leader of Detroit (headquarters of British-Indian military operations); delay of English frontier strategy; stronger U.S. hold on the Northwest and the Mississippi River; and increased safety in Kentucky, where older settlements grew in size and new ones began.

A few months later, proud of their strength in numbers, the Kentucky militia—now commanded by John Bowman, the county lieutenant—even assaulted the Shawnee town Chillicothe in Ohio. About this time, Clark's fortunes began to sour. Because of inadequate support from Kentucky and Virginia, he had to drop plans for an expedition against Detroit. In August, he and most of the Illinois Regiment came south to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville).

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Frontier Military Problems

[Jefferson County, Kentucky] August 11th, 1781

Dear [Colonel William Preston, Montgomery County, Virginia],

I am greatly perplexed about the distressed situation of this Country & I am really doubtful we shall [not] fall prey to the Savages. There is a constant invasion of this country. . . . Our whole [Jefferson County] Militia is now about three hundred & twenty, and one hundred of these are preparing to go into the interior parts of the state. Fort

Jefferson is abandoned for want of provisions. All the [Illinois] country is in possession of the enemy or which is the same thing our troops withdrawn from it except forty men at St. Vincents [Vincennes] & they sent for to the Falls [Louisville]. . . .

When the troops arrive from St. Vincennes, we shall have upward of 100 regulars, but a considerable part of these will be discharged next month owing to their having served out the time for which they were enlisted. The settlers here are waiting with the greatest impatience to hear what [Virginia's] government will do for the preservation of this place, and if we are so unfortunate as to be taken no further notice of, it seems to be prevailing opinion that a great majority will go down the Mississippi to the Spanish settlements, being unable for want of horses (which the Enemy has taken from them) to go back by Land. . . .

I am dear sir your affectionate Friend & obt. Servt.

[Colonel] John Floyd

Source: Draper Manuscripts, 17CC138-39 (microfilm), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

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After the "Hard Winter" of 1779-80, which limited military operations, Clark went down the Ohio River and built Fort Jefferson, near the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi River. The new fort more firmly established American presence there. Meanwhile, central Kentuckians bitterly criticized Clark's placing military strength west of most settlements. (However, Clark's responsibilities, as Illinois Regiment commander, included the Illinois country as well as Kentucky.)

In June 1780, Ruddle's and Martin's stations in central Kentucky were captured by a British-Indian force. Settlers wanted revenge. Even though many disliked him, in emergencies all Kentuckians depended on Clark's military abilities. To strike back, he led the Illinois Regiment and the militia on a large raid against the Shawnee town Piqua (August 8, 1780).

The year 1781 brought more troubles for all Kentuckians. Now a brigadier general, Clark was forced, because of inadequate support, to cancel another strike against Detroit. Worthless Virginia currency and food shortages forced abandonment of Kaskaskia's garrison and Fort Jefferson. In addition, Indian ambushes took more lives.

But the year's most important military event was the September council of militia leaders and Illinois Regiment officers. This meeting called for a new defensive strategy instead of the offensive expeditions Clark preferred. Since he had direct authority only over the Illinois Regiment, and since he was outvoted, Clark reluctantly agreed. Although Kentucky's war effort lacked cooperation, the fighting temporarily died down. British aid to Indians declined greatly after the American victory in October in Yorktown, Virginia.

The "year of blood," 1782, proved that Kentucky's war was not yet finished. More British-backed Indian raids produced a series of militia defeats, the worst of which was the Battle of Blue Licks on August 19, in which about 60 men were killed. For this disaster, militia commanders blamed each other and Clark, who had no part in the battle. Even worse, the massacre stirred such fear in the settlers that many left Kentucky for safer, eastern homes. Now, as they had done in 1780, Kentuckians turned to Clark. Even militia leaders who had tried to get him in trouble with the Virginia government volunteered to fight under his command. Clark led a large attack on Chillicothe (November 10). But the raid destroyed more property and crops than it produced real military results.

Sadly, war with the Indians burned on for years. In 1785, about 100 Wilderness Road travelers were killed. In 1786, Clark and Logan each led militia raids on Indian towns. Logan succeeded; Clark's militia mutinied. Between 1783 and 1790, an estimated 1,500 Kentuckians died in Indian conflicts. The ambushes, captures, and massacres continued until after Kentucky became a state.

Kentucky's Revolutionary War efforts obviously did not resolve homesteader-Indian problems. But the deeds of Clark and the militia did prevent their opponents from launching a frontier-based campaign against the eastern states. More importantly, Kentucky's military provided periods of relative calm, like 1779, in which to found forts, stations, and stockades. By the Revolution's end, seventy-two such settlements in the Lexington area alone and an estimated Kentucky population of twelve thousand were far too many for any foe to drive out.

Nevertheless, the 1790s held more conflict. Several expeditions struck the Northwest Indians, still supplied and encouraged by the British. Some campaigns, such as Charles Scott's and Jam

campaign of mounted volunteers, which he himself would lead—just the kind of expedition Kentuckians liked. But enlistments were slow until after the successful, and heroic, September defense of Fort Stephenson, led by twenty-two-year-old George Croghan (nephew of George Rogers Clark).

The victory of Shelby's Kentuckians and Harrison's Northwest Army (about 5,000 total) at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, shattered the Indian confederacy (led by Tecumseh, who died in the action) and thus ended British threats to the land south of Canada. It also convinced Kentuckians that their war responsibilities had ended. Only a British invasion threatening New Orleans produced a large volunteer force, but one without enough arms or clothing. Between 800 and 1,000 Kentuckians under John Adair found weapons and helped repel the enemy in the famous January 8, 1815, Battle of New Orleans. About 200 Kentuckians in a small, related action had to retreat.

Although exact numbers are unknown, about 18,000 Kentuckians served in the war. The number killed, probably small, is also undetermined. Nevertheless, tales of the volunteers' heroics and fighting abilities were repeated, and exaggerated, so much that by the declaration of war with Mexico in 1846, Kentucky saw its military vices as virtues.

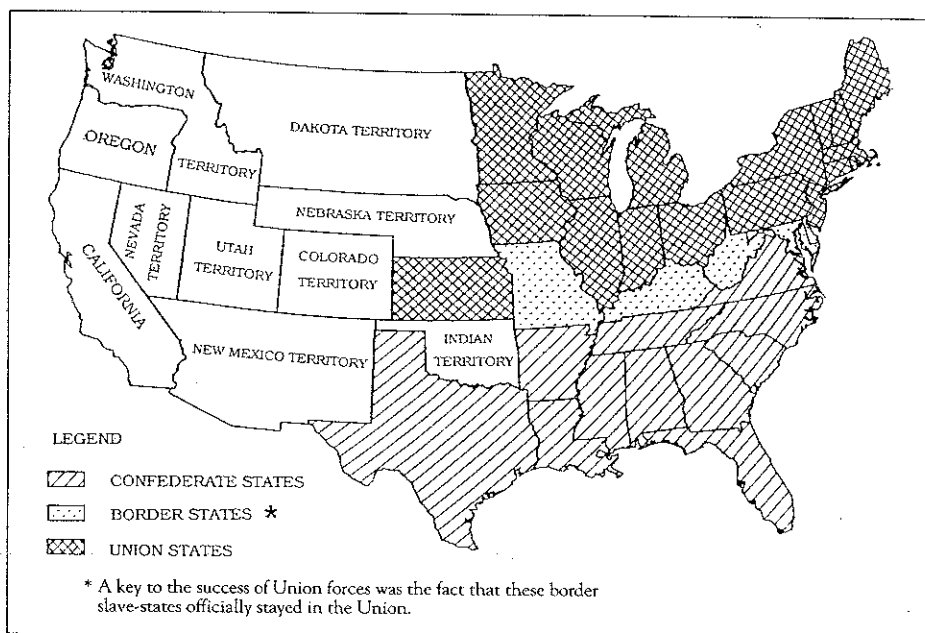
The Mexican War

Kentuckians believed the war with Mexico could be fought, as the 1812 war had been conducted, with more enthusiasm than preparation. Consequently, about 5,000 badly equipped, poorly trained, and ill-fed Kentuckians served. One volunteer cavalry, three volunteer infantry regiments, and one militia infantry regiment (plus one U.S. infantry battalion) marched from Kentucky to Mexico. Less than 100 were killed in action; several hundred died from accident, disease, and the commonwealth's mistaken ideas about war. For example, victories in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War had turned characteristics of the militia/volunteer units that had fought them into principles of war. Although their military history contradicted them, Kentuckians, like other Americans, believed armies could

be organized successfully after war's declaration; independence and rashness had more military worth than discipline; careful training and supply programs remained unnecessary; and the short, triumphant campaigns would not outlast public support.

War's reality threw doubt on all these ideas, but too many Kentuckians of the 1850s thought war a reasonable alternative to the seemingly endless conflicts of slavery versus abolition, secession versus union, North versus South. Perhaps those fond of war would not have been so eager if they had seen the dangerous position in which armed struggle would place Kentucky. With social customs linking it to the South, political loyalties tying it to the North, and economic relations extending in all directions, the commonwealth represented a middle ground between warring sections. And both sides wanted Kentucky for its large population, agricultural and manufacturing wealth, and militarily significant assets like railroads, rivers, and horses.

Figure 9.3 Civil War Loyalties, 1863
[Source: Kentucky: A Geographical and Historical Perspective. Lexington, 1989.]



The Civil War

In May 1861, the Kentucky legislature declared the state would take “no part” in the Civil War. The commonwealth would instead keep a “strict neutrality.” At the same time, individ.

Kentuckians traveled to neighboring states to enlist. Many inside the commonwealth formed armed bands, with weapons smuggled into the state by both the North and the South. Soon, recruiting camps, such as the Unionist Camp Dick Robinson or the rebel Camp Boone (just inside Tennessee) operated openly. In September, Confederate forces seized Columbus, and Union forces, Paducah. Neutrality was gone, but the short time of not officially joining either Union or Confederate war efforts had a great advantage: Those valuing Kentucky's long attachments to the Union had enough time to organize themselves; June and August state elections gave Unionists strong control of state government. Kentucky would not secede.

The commonwealth did not, however, escape another pain of Civil War, divided families. Famous kinship groups like the

Student Essay

Between North and South

Kentucky's position in the Civil War was similar to the positions of Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri. These four border states played important roles in both the Confederacy and the Union.

By 1850, national problems—especially the problem of slavery—began to have an effect on Kentucky's political attitude. Two Kentuckians, Henry Clay and John Jordan Crittenden, worked to solve these problems on state and national levels. When war broke out in 1861, two of Kentucky's sons, Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, led the opposing forces in the "War Between the States."

The state was further divided when some 100,000 men joined the Union army and 40,000 entered the Confederate forces. Kentucky remained neutral until September 1861 and then officially supported the Union. Frankfort remained the capital. However, the pro-Confederate government was set up with its capital in Bowling Green. That group elected a governor and sent representatives to the Confederate Congress. In 1865, Kentucky sided with the South in rejecting the first Reconstruction amendment and in resisting federal activities. As a result of this action, the Democratic party became dominant and a Republican governor was not elected until 1895.

The position of Kentucky as a border state was important geographically and politically in the Civil War. The Bluegrass State is well remembered for its efforts and position in the Civil War.

*Robin Oxnard
Ashland, Kentucky*

Breckinridges and the Crittendens, plus thousands of less well-known families, had members in each contending army. Also split were churches and businesses, as each Kentuckian sooner or later chose sides. Symbolic of the commonwealth's divisions, two rival administrations—Confederates under Governor George W. Johnson at Bowling Green and Unionists under Governor James F. Robinson in Frankfort—claimed to be the state's rightful government. (Although Kentucky remained in the Union, the Confederacy admitted Johnson's rebel government in December 1861.)

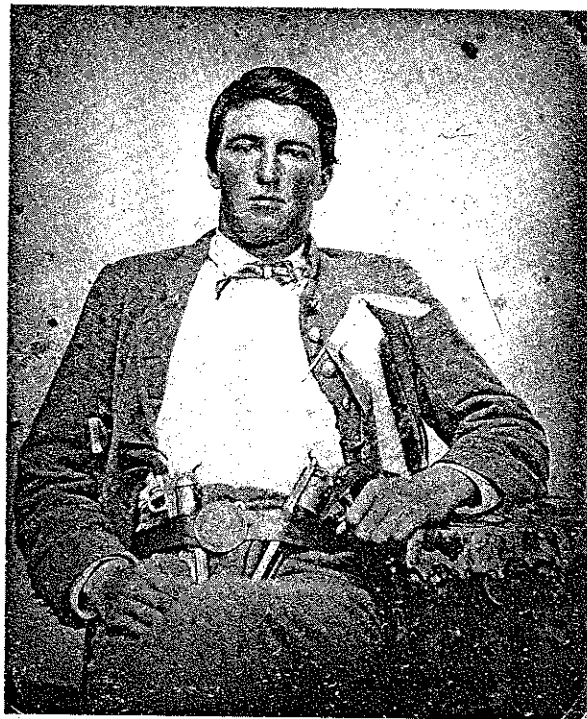
The Confederate army's line of positions, hurriedly assembled after September, weakened following the Union victory at Mill Springs (January 19, 1862), near Somerset. When rebel forts not far below the state line on the Tennessee (Fort Henry) and

Cumberland (Fort Donelson) rivers fell to Yankee gunboats and troops (February 6-16, 1862) the Confederate commander in Kentucky, Albert Sidney Johnston, had to order all his forces to retreat to Tennessee. The rebels counterattacked the pursuing Yankees at Shiloh (April 6-7, 1862) in the largest battle fought in America to that date (over 100,000 troops fought). At this engagement, as in all Civil War battles west of the Appalachians, Kentuckians played a significant part. General Johnston and Governor Johnson, both killed, were but 2 of the 1,400 Kentucky casualties. Eighteen Kentucky regiments—thirteen Union, five Confederate—fought there. And, in a tragedy typical of western combats, Kentuckians fought each other at several points in the battleline. (Shiloh's casualties—24,000 total; 3,500 killed—were larger than the toll for all American wars

before 1862, but later Civil War battles were even larger.)

After Shiloh, the rebels tried to regain Kentucky. Beginning in summer 1862, cavalry raids led by Kentuckian John Hunt Morgan crisscrossed the state, encouraging southern sympathizers and requiring many Yankee soldiers to defend important locations. In the fall of that year, two Confederate armies enter

Figure 9.4 Confederate soldier James M. Barlow of Bourbon County enlisted at age 16 and died of disease four months after this image was made (Kentucky Historical Society).



Kentucky. Edmund Kirby Smith's Army captured Richmond, Lexington, and Frankfort. Braxton Bragg's army took Munfordville, inaugurated Richard Hawes as the new Confederate governor in Frankfort, and fought a large Union army under Don Carlos Buell (Battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862). Perryville, noted for its blundering generals, short duration, and high rate of casualties, was the last major battle fought in Kentucky.

But the shock of the action, like the war itself, remained a sharp, painful memory in the minds of Kentuckians for decades afterward. Years later, recalling what he saw as a twelve-year-old at a Perryville field hospital on the day after the battle, William McChord wrote of the scene's horror:

The house, tents, and yard were full of wounded Federal and Confederate soldiers. I can never forget the groans, wails, and moans of the hundreds of men as they lay side by side, some in the agony of death, some undergoing operations on the surgeon's table in the corner of the yard. Near the table was a pile of legs and arms; some with shoes on, others with socks, four or five feet high. . . . [T]he dead were . . . in a row three hundred feet long, every one with eyes wide open with a vacant stare.

The Confederate army left Kentucky after Perryville. For the next two and one-half years, the commonwealth's war was one of harsh Union military rule, frequent raids by Confederate guerrillas, and bitter political conflict. In 1863, martial law—order enforced by military instead of the civil courts—was placed on Kentucky. Many Kentuckians were arrested, jailed, or sent across rebel lines because they were suspected, with or without proof, of sympathizing with the Confederates. Also, the Union army often interfered with state and national elections in Kentucky. To influence election results, Union soldiers pressured voters with required loyalty oaths, removal of some candidates from the ballot, and threats of arrest or property seizure.

In addition, raids by Confederate cavalry under Nathan Bedford Forrest or guerrillas like Marcellus Jerome Clarke ("Sue Mundy") or William Clark Quantrill caused Union officials to arrest, and sometimes execute, Kentuckians said to be pro-Confederate. Political pressure by Kentucky Unionists like Governor Thomas

E. Bramlette removed army officials responsible for the worst abuse. But the freeing of slaves and the recruitment of blacks in the army created the commonwealth's biggest political crisis since secession days. Opposition by prominent Kentuckians, including the governor, however, did not stop 24,000 Kentucky blacks (the second-biggest black recruitment total in the nation) from joining the Union army.

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After the Battle of Perryville

Louisville, Ky. Oct. 12, 1862

Dear Daughters

Yesterday evening the last services were paid to the remains of poor [Perryville casualty Brigadier General James S.] Jackson, his body was put in a vault at Cave Hill Cemetery and awaits the order of his friends. . . . I am sickened with this cursed strife and most heartily wish it was ended. I cannot attempt a discription [sic] of the battlefield the poor dust covered ghastly looking fellows dead in every posture, some with heads half shot off and some with their knapsacks under their heads and hats over their faces evidently adjusted by themselves before death altogether there is a horrible sickening feeling produced beyond any thing I ever before felt. . . .

Your affectionate father,
[Lieutenant] S.M. Starling

Source: Lewis-Starling Collection, Box 8, Folder 1, #47, ms. 38, Western Kentucky University

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The Civil War caused Kentucky an enormous loss. Property damage was extensive, but the cost in lives was beyond counting. Of the 100,000 Union soldiers and the 25,000 to 40,000 Confederates from Kentucky, about one-third died from battle wounds, accidents, or disease. Most who died were young. All were mourned with a bitterness that influenced Kentucky's politics and culture for decades. Like the Revolution, the Civil War touched every Kentuckian. Unlike the generations after the War for Independence, those who remembered "the brothers' war"—and its split families, battle slaughter, and racial conflict—found it somewhat difficult to think of war as something glorious.

The Spanish-American War

Some ideas that war was a grand adventure did survive. At the time of the war with Spain in 1898, the national government required Kentucky to send a quota of troops. The three infantry regiments of the Kentucky State Guard (the renamed militia) filled the required number. But later, a fourth regiment of volunteers and two cavalry troops were assembled. Like Kentucky volunteer/militia forces before them, those serving in the brief war lacked arms, equipment, training, and medical care. The federal government deserved blame for many of the soldiers' problems. But Kentucky had produced, as it had many times before, more volunteers than material support. Regardless of which government and society was responsible, 89 of the 6,065 Kentuckians who served died from accident or disease in U.S. camps that had epidemics, bad food, and filth in abundance.

World War I

By the time of America's 1917 entry into World War I, the command and control of U.S. military operations, completing a trend begun in the 1790s, had passed entirely to the federal government. By then, the national authority had also assumed the burdens of providing the troops' arms, equipment, clothing, and medical care. Kentucky's role was to produce manpower. In several months of patrolling the Mexican border in 1916 and in the world war itself, the Kentucky National Guard, the renamed Kentucky State Guard, served as regulars of the U.S. Army. Guard units even converted from three infantry regiments to the 138th Field Artillery, the 149th Infantry, and two machine-gun battalions. The 38th Division, made up of the Kentucky, Indiana, and West Virginia Guards, went in September 1918 to France, where it funneled replacement troops to divisions in combat. Of the 84,172 Kentuckians who served, 41,655 went overseas. Black Kentuckians in service numbered 12,584. Kentucky losses were 890 killed in action and 1,528 dead from accident or disease.

By war's end, federal control of military operations had firmly established Kentucky's wartime national policy role: a source of

troops and political support. Because the national, not the state, government directed the effort, the commonwealth's experience of the next war included relatively long training periods, mountains of supplies, war-long tours of duty, stricter discipline, and much prewar planning. Unlike World War I, which had a limited impact on the state, World War II deeply affected the state, and placed in uniform the largest number of Kentuckians in history.

World War II

More than two years before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. authorities increased the size of the nation's National Guards. Reorganized and given more training, Kentucky's Guard was "federalized" before 1941 and again joined the 38th Division for active duty and more extensive preparations out of state before its overseas duty. (The Kentucky Active Militia substituted in the commonwealth for the absent Guard.) For months before Pearl Harbor, cities across Kentucky conducted drills for air raids, fire, and sabotage. Also, Fort Knox was enlarged and construction was begun for a huge ammunition production complex (in Charlestown, Indiana, near Louisville). Other announcements for planned construction in Kentucky came from Washington: a new army base (Camp Campbell) and ammunition storage and communication operations.

After 1941, Kentucky's strong support for the war reached most parts of everyday life. Ever-present reminders of the conflict included the absence of most young men, the frequent air raid drills, and community activities like war bond drives, salvage drives, and blood-donation drives. The continued construction of large war-related facilities like Camp Breckinridge and Louisville Medical Depot and Nichols Hospital demonstrated the unprecedented size of America's war.

Figure 9.5 Nineteen-year-old Franklin R. Sowsley of Fleming County (second from left) helped raise the American flag at Iwo Jima in 1945. He was killed before the battle ended (AP/Wide World Photos).



program. Until the end of hostilities, more than 100,000 Kentuckians labored in big factories and small shops.

The worldwide struggle took Kentuckians to countless far-away places and involved them in a wide variety of types of service. Some Kentuckians became well-known: Husband Kimmel commanded the fleet at Pearl Harbor, Simon B. Buckner, Jr., died in action while commanding army forces on Okinawa, and Edgar Erskine Hume served as military governor of Rome. Other less renowned, and mostly young, Kentuckians fought and died. Perhaps two can represent the thousands who made the ultimate sacrifice. Edwin L. Puckett, of Glendale, perished aboard the U.S.S. *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor. A few hours later, Robert L. Brooks, a black man from Sadieville, was killed in a bombing attack on the Philippine Islands. Sadly, many more of the commonwealth's youths followed these two in death.

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Bombing Tokyo

April 18th [1942]

... We were all sweating the first plane off. As the engines turned up to there [sic] maximum rpm, the plane [a B-25 bomber on the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Hornet*] set there and quivered and shook as though it were nervous and wanted to go. . . . [B]efore one could bat an eye the [first] plane was in the air. There was applause and shouts as it cleared the deck. . . . We were No. 10 [to take off]. . . .

At approximately 2 o'clock we started our run. We thought at first it was going to be easy, but a surprize [sic] was in store for us. . . . [When the bombing run began] I heard the co-pilot's voice over the interphone saying there were pursuits over us. . . . [Bombardier Lieutenant Horace E.] Crouch dropped the bombs [on Tokyo] and all I could see was dust and flying debris. The pursuit was getting rather close. . . . and the A.A. [anti-aircraft guns] also had our range. [Pilot Lieutenant Richard O.] Joyce then dived for the ground. . . . [He] opened the throttles and really flew. . . . It seemed when the Japs saw the tracers [from Larkin's machine guns] coming after them, they were afraid to come closer. We were finally able to climb to the clouds and lose them.

Source: Arville L. Funk, ed. "The Doolittle Raid Journal of Sgt. George E. Larkin, Jr., 1942." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 108-22.

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Of the 306,364 Kentuckians in service (6.6 percent of whom were black), 7,917 died. Fatalities by branch of service were Army/Air Corps, 6,802; Navy, 755; Marines, 356; and Coast Guard, 4. Prisoners of war, including a former Harrodsburg National Guard tank company that was involved in the Bataan "Death March," fought a special kind of war and displayed a unique type of valor.

None of the fighting in World War II took place in Kentucky. But this latest disaster—like the frontier war and the Civil War—for a time seized control of every Kentuckian's life. Like the two earlier ordeals, World War II influenced for decades how Kentuckians viewed the world. For example, one of the war's most important effects was many nations' opposition to the spread of communism, a position that led to the commonwealth's participation in two more wars.

The Korean War and the Vietnam War

In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded South Korea, citizens of the commonwealth generally supported United Nations' efforts to repel the aggressors. Although little choice was involved, Kentucky reservists in all service branches returned to active duty. In addition, ten Kentucky National Guard units (1,860 men) were ordered to serve with the regular army, and the 623rd Field Artillery Battalion fought in Korea. Individually, Kentuckians like seventeen-year-old Jack Browning saw Korean combat. Browning, part of the famous Task Force Smith, which first met the invaders, became a prisoner of war and endured the one-hundred-mile Tiger Death March. Many other Kentuckians also saw Korea. Of the 123,000 Kentuckians who served, 868 were killed in action, 157 died from accident or disease, and 2,545 were wounded.

More than a decade and a half after an armistice in Korea, one of the most public choices about military service for Kentucky soldiers occurred. In May 1968, the Kentucky National Guard's 2nd Battalion, 138th Field Artillery was called to active duty in Vietnam. Reflecting America's divided mind on the war, 105 Guardsmen in the unit challenged the legality of the call-up

Spokesman for the petitioners William S. Johnson called their action "not [one] to oppose the war in Vietnam or America's participation in [it]." Instead, they questioned the constitutionality of the U.S. law that permitted Guard units to serve overseas in undeclared wars such as the Vietnam conflict. In October, the U.S. Supreme Court set aside lower court orders blocking overseas shipment of reserve, and Guard, units.

The 2nd Battalion (543 men) arrived in Vietnam later that month. During this one-year tour, eight members were killed in action (five while defending Firebase Tomahawk from a June 1969 attack). About 125,000 other Kentuckians served during the Vietnam War. Of that group, at least 1,072 died and were honored with an elaborate monument in Frankfort. But many wounds of this longest American war resist such efforts at healing.

The Persian Gulf War

After Iraq occupied neighboring Kuwait in August 1990, the United Nations' reaction included a U.S.-led alliance authorized to oust the invaders. In the next few months, with strong support from most Kentuckians, thousands of military personnel left the commonwealth. On their way to the Middle East were some 21,500 regulars from Fort Campbell and Fort Knox; roughly 600 Army, Navy, and Marine Reserves; and about 1,400 men and women from the Kentucky Army National Guard, plus individuals from the Kentucky Air National Guard. Soon, they joined the massive allied operations, Desert Shield (August 2, 1990-January 14, 1991) and Desert Storm (January 15, 1991-February 28, 1991).

The nine units of the state's National Guard saw a wide variety of duties. For example, the 1/623rd Field Artillery Battalion gave fire support during Desert Storm to the coalition's forces. The 2123rd Transportation Company advanced heavy equipment deep into Iraq. And military police units processed prisoners of war. Following the cease-fire, the 475th Mobile Army Surgical Hospital treated Iraqi civilians and POWs.

Like earlier military endeavors, this campaign claimed young Kentucky lives. Reginald C. Underwood, a Marine pilot from

Fayette County, was killed on a bombing mission over Iraq. Additionally, five other Kentuckians, most in their twenties, perished far from home. The six regulars and their Guard/Reserve comrades were all volunteers. To quote a phrase often repeated during the war, they chose to go “in harm’s way.” That some do not return from such journeys clearly remains an unchanging part of war.

Summary

Legend calls Kentucky the “dark and bloody ground.” History records that this land’s military past truly is dark, bloody, and long. Since the start of the frontier era, Kentuckians have been at war for a total of 49 years. (Major conflicts include the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, and Persian Gulf War.) In these conflicts far more than 60,000 Kentucky soldiers, most of them teenagers or young adults, have died. Early in the state’s history, militia/volunteer campaigns led by men like George Rogers Clark and Isaac Shelby achieved military adventures and occasionally an important victory. As a result, the public came to believe all wars could be fought as those of the militia years had been conducted—with a minimum of preparation and sacrifice. The great disaster of the Civil War, however, proved—at least for some—that a large war could no longer be fought without significant loss. Additionally, the federal government’s increasing control of military operations changed Kentucky’s role from that of a supporter of militia-type conflicts to a source, in the twentieth century, of troops and political backing for national wars. Despite America’s recent, relatively swift military successes like the Persian Gulf War, Kentucky’s military history demonstrates that armed conflict rarely demands so little in time or blood. Kentucky’s dead, on battlefields from Blue Licks to the Middle East, offer silent testimony to war’s high cost and enduring pain.

CHAPTER 10

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Violence

Robert M. Ireland

Native American tribes called the area that is today Kentucky the “Dark and Bloody Ground.” For the first 110 years of Kentucky’s statehood, its inhabitants seemed to be trying hard to justify that name. They killed each other at a rate more than twice that of today and often did so for the most trivial of reasons.

Honor and the System of Justice

The code of honor had much to do with the high rate of killing in Kentucky in the nineteenth century. A custom rather than a formal law, the code of honor affected men much more than women. Under the code, a man’s reputation was very important, so much so that when his reputation was insulted he was compelled to seek an immediate apology. If an apology was not offered, then the offended man sometimes attempted to kill the person who had insulted him.

The habit men and boys had of carrying concealed weapons, usually pistols and knives, was one reason so many Kentuckians were killed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Also, too many men drank too much whiskey, a deadly pastime when combined with notions of honor and the habit of carrying concealed weapons. Another reason for so much killing was the failure of the criminal justice system to punish the killers. This failure only encouraged others to kill because they did not fear being punished for their wrongdoing.

In order for a criminal justice system to work well, sheriffs and policemen needed to arrest the wrongdoers: too often they did not do that in the nineteenth century. Sheriffs had too many other duties such as collecting taxes; they did not have enough time and were not paid enough to arrest criminals. Policemen, who were the law enforcement officers in the larger towns and cities, were too often chosen as law enforcers because of politics rather than talent and therefore lacked the courage and ability to arrest killers. Not all sheriffs and policemen were poor at law enforcement, but enough of them were to keep the system from working as well as it should have.

After someone is arrested for supposedly committing a serious crime, such as murder, he or she is taken before a grand jury, which decides whether or not that person should be prosecuted. The grand jury consists of twelve people chosen by jury commissioners and a court clerk from lists of voters and taxpayers. In the nineteenth century, most killers and all of the grand jurors were men. For the most part, grand juries in Kentucky did a good job indicting (charging with a crime) those who were suspected of murder or other serious crimes. However, another jury, the petit jury, which tries those accused of crimes, was less severe in the nineteenth century, especially in trials involving accused murderers. This leniency was partly because the men of nineteenth-century Kentucky most capable of understanding the case seldom served on juries that tried murder cases. They escaped jury service because they had read about the killing in the newspaper. For much of the nineteenth century, knowledge of the killing meant that a person called for jury duty could avoid jury service because the judge feared that persons with previous knowledge of the case might use that knowledge for or against the defendant (the person on trial for supposedly committing a crime). The people who had not read about the case, and thus were eligible for jury service, were too often illiterate and rather ignorant. Critics argued that ignorant and illiterate jurors could not fully understand the law and evidence of cases and were more easily influenced by clever lawyers who defended those accused of killing.

Judges also are an important part of the criminal justice system. Trial judges act as umpires at the trials of those accused of committing crimes. In the nineteenth century, these judges too often were underpaid and overworked, which meant that the bes

lawyers did not want to be judges. For much of the century it was a simple matter for a defendant to "swear a judge off the bench," which meant that the judge could not hear the case and someone else would be chosen (sometimes a secret friend of the defendant). For these and other reasons, the quality of trial judging in nineteenth-century Kentucky too often left much to be desired.

If someone is convicted (found guilty) of a crime at a trial, that person has a right to appeal the verdict (the finding of the jury) to another court, called an appellate court. In Kentucky there was no right of appeal from a conviction of a serious crime until 1854. After that date, the court that heard such appeals, the Court of Appeals, began to create a criminal law for Kentucky. In the case of murders, that law was too often very lenient, making it easier for people to be found not guilty if they were tried for murder. For example, in one case decided in 1870, a member of the Court of Appeals wrote that it was all right for a person whose life had been previously threatened by another person to shoot that person in the back in self-defense. Although the Court of Appeals soon afterwards backed away from this ruling, Kentucky's rule of self-defense was known as one of the most lenient in the nation and was said to have contributed to the state's large number of killings.

Lawyers are also important members of the criminal justice system. Some of them serve as prosecutors, known as commonwealth's attorneys, who decide, along with grand juries, who should be charged with crimes and then try to convict those persons in trials before petit juries. In the nineteenth century, commonwealth's attorneys were also too often overworked and underpaid, and, as a result, good lawyers usually did not want the job. This meant that prosecutors were often young and inexperienced or old and not very good. Those accused of killing often hired very good lawyers who were better at their work than the prosecutors, another reason that it was difficult to convict accused murderers.

The governor of Kentucky played an important part in the criminal justice system in the nineteenth century. Today when someone who is imprisoned for a crime wants to be freed before his or her sentence has been served, that person seeks a parole from a parole board. There was no parole system during most of the nineteenth century in Kentucky, and the only way to gain an early release from prison was to get a pardon from the governor. Many people complained that the governors too often pardoned

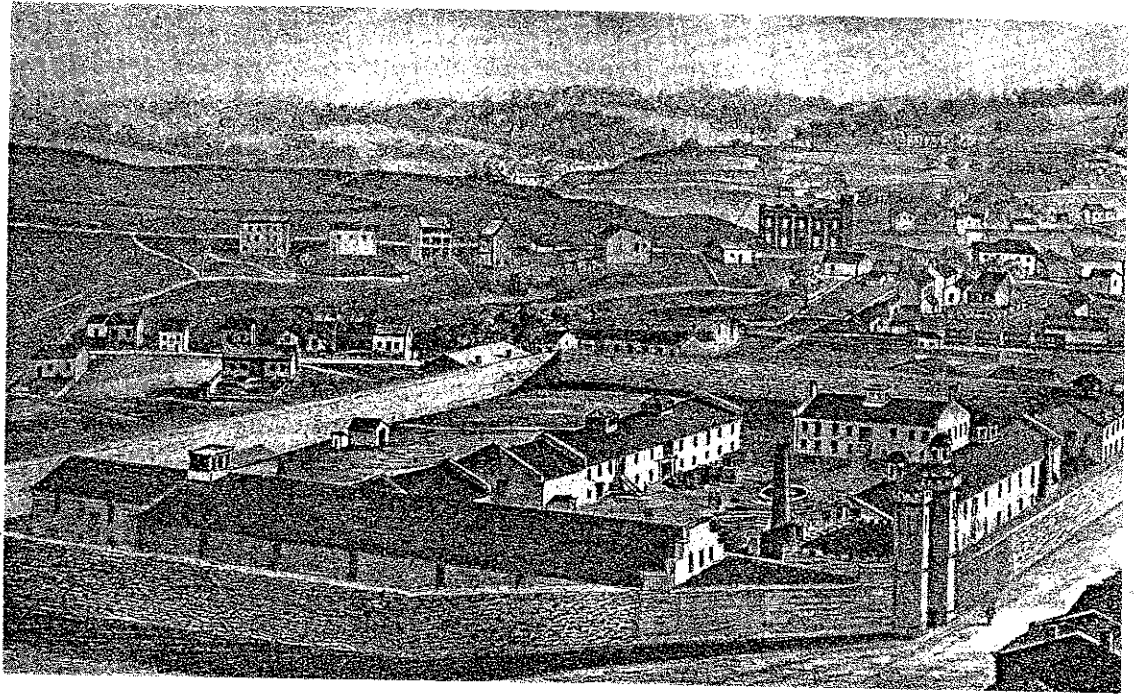


Figure 10.1 *The Kentucky penitentiary in Frankfort around 1860 (Kentucky Historical Society).*

convicts, including killers; sometimes they even pardoned killers who had not yet been tried. Kentucky's generally lenient pardoning system was therefore another reason for the high murder rate during the nineteenth century.

In their defense, some governors pardoned convicted killers and other prisoners because Kentucky's only penitentiary was overcrowded to the point of becoming a health hazard. Two prisoners commonly occupied a cramped cell that was less than four feet wide. Overcrowding not only caused certain governors to pardon prisoners freely but was only one of several reasons that the penitentiary never became a place where criminals were reformed as those who founded the penitentiary had hoped. Instead of becoming better citizens, many of those prisoners who survived the hardships of their imprisonment became even more criminal in their behavior. Thus, the penitentiary became another reason for Kentucky's high murder rate. The opening of a branch penitentiary in 1888 only partially solved the problem.

Kentucky's violence took various forms. It sometimes resulted when two or more men had a disagreement and one of them, believing his honor had been insulted, challenged the other man to a duel. Until just after the Civil War, Kentuckians fought

approximately forty-one formal duels, some of them resulting in death. Although the practice was illegal in Kentucky, few were ever prosecuted for dueling. Those who used the duel to settle their differences followed a definite set of rules known as the *code duello*. Under this code, those who would fight the duel and their friends made sure that the duel was fair. During the process of agreeing on the rules of the fight, the would-be duelists and their friends sometimes settled the disagreement and called off the duel. Thus the *code duello* not only insured that no duelist had an unfair advantage in the fight but also sometimes led to the peaceful settlement of disagreements.

The Rules of Duelling

The Person Insulted, Before Challenge Sent

... If the insult be by blows or any personal indignity, it may be resented at the moment, for the insult to the company did not originate with you. But although resented at the moment, you are bound still to have satisfaction, and must therefore make the demand. ...

Never send a challenge in the first instance, for that precludes all negotiation. Let your note be in the language of a gentleman, and let the subject matter of complaint be truly and fairly set forth, cautiously avoiding attributing to the adverse party any improper motive. ...

When your second is in full possession of the facts, leave the whole matter to his judgment, and avoid any consultation with him unless he seeks it. He has the custody of your honor, and by obeying him you cannot be compromised. ...

Second's Duty Before Challenge Sent

... Use every effort to soothe and tranquilize your principal; do not see things in the same aggravated light in which he views them; extenuate the conduct of his adversary whenever you see clearly an opportunity to do so.

Source: John Lyde Wilson. *The Code of Honor; or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds in Duelling*. Charleston, S.C., 1858. [Author's Note: Although Wilson resided in South Carolina, his pamphlet was widely read throughout the South and may be supposed to have influenced dueling in Kentucky and to have reflected custom in that state.]

Most men who fought to settle their disagreements did not fight duels but rather used any available weapons and often fought unfairly. There were no efforts to settle disagreements before the fight, the results of which were often deadly. The deadly affairs of Charles Wickliffe in 1829 illustrate the two kinds of fight. In March of 1829, Wickliffe argued violently with the editor of Lexington's leading newspaper over some letters the editor had published about Wickliffe's father, who was the wealthiest man in the area. At the height of the argument, Wickliffe drew his pistol and shot the editor in the back as he tried to flee. Even though the fight was clearly not fair, a Fayette County jury found Wickliffe not guilty by reason of self-defense. Several months later, Wickliffe got into another argument with the new editor of the newspaper and challenged him to a duel. This time the fight was fair, each duelist being armed with the same kind of pistol, and Wickliffe was killed. The killer was not prosecuted even though dueling was illegal. These incidents also illustrate the all-too-forgiving nature of Kentucky's criminal justice system that seemed to encourage men to kill one another in order to avenge the honor.

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Homicidal Self-Defense

The appellant, John W. Carico . . . indicted for murder in killing . . . David Smith . . . was found guilty by a jury. . . . He urges a reversal of judgment for alleged error in instructions. . . . [Carico] attempted to excuse the homicide by [proving] . . . that Smith . . . became extremely hostile to him; assaulted him more than once with deadly weapons; . . . and the evening before the catastrophe said that he would kill him before the next night. About four o'clock in the morning succeeding that last threat, Smith, after passing [Carico's] office on his way to his own stable, was shot in the back and killed by [Carico]. . . .

Now, if a man feels sure that his life is in *continual danger*, and that to take the life of his menacing enemy is his only safe security, does not the *rationale* of the principle as thus defined, allow him to kill that enemy whenever and wherever he gives him a chance, and there is no sign of relenting? . . . Why should he be required still to wait an assault . . . when he might at any moment become the victim of his own forbearance, and when self-defense might be impossible or un-

availing? . . . For the foregoing causes the judgment of conviction is reversed, and the cause remanded for a new trial.

Source: The opinion of Justice George Robertson for the Kentucky Court of Appeals in the case of *Carico v. Commonwealth*, 7 Bush 124 (1870).

Assassinations

Sometimes Kentucky's murderous violence involved the assassination of public officials. In 1879, Thomas Buford shot and killed a member of the Kentucky Court of Appeals because the court had ruled against Buford in a dispute over a farm in Henry County. Buford put on his hunting clothes and walked up to Judge John M. Elliott in downtown Frankfort, leveled a shotgun at him as he was entering a hotel, and blasted him in the back, killing him instantly. Buford's first trial resulted in a guilty verdict, but this was reversed on appeal. The jury in the second trial found him not guilty by reason of insanity. He was confined in the insane asylum at Anchorage but escaped to Indiana where he spent most of the rest of his life. Many regarded the episode as another example of Kentucky's inability to deal effectively with its epidemic of violence.

Kentucky's most sensational assassination occurred in 1900 following a bitter campaign to elect a governor. The results of that

Figure 10.2 The assassination of Governor William Goebel in front of the Old Capitol in 1900 (Kentucky Historical Society).

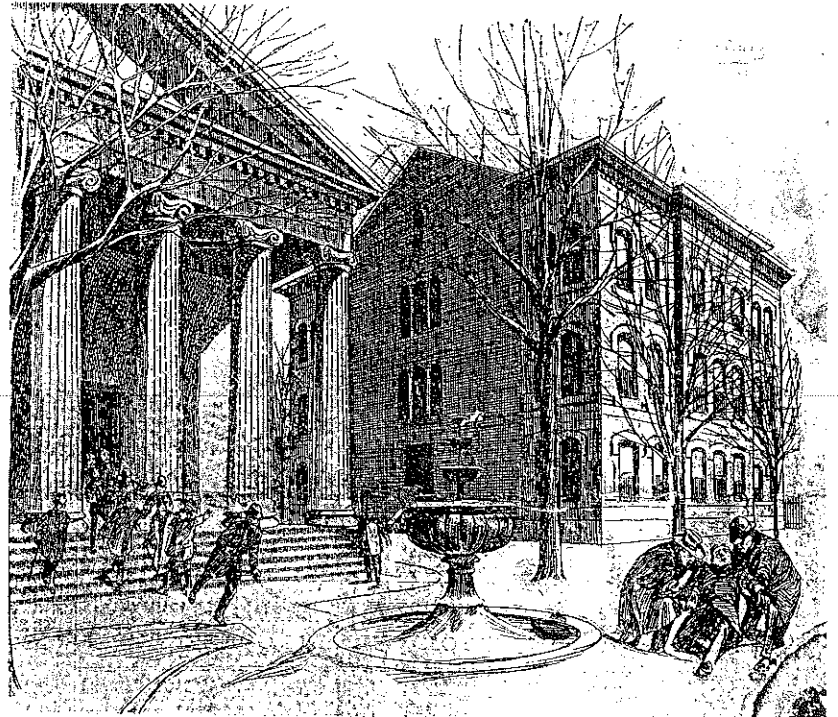




Figure 10.3 Kentucky militia, with their Gatling Gun, protecting the governor's office during the Goebel affair (Kentucky Historical Society).

election appeared to favor the Republican candidate, William S. Taylor, who claimed victory by more than 2,000 votes, but the Democrats, who controlled the legislature, seemed about to declare that their candidate, William Goebel, had been elected governor. Each political party threatened violence, and, on January 30, 1900, one of those threats was made good when a rifle shot killed Goebel as he approached the capitol. For a time following Goebel's assassination, Kentucky seemed on the verge of civil war as Democrats and Republicans armed themselves for battle. Eventually, responsible leaders from both parties, including the Republican candidate for governor and the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, agreed to let the Court of Appeals decide who had won the election. The Court of Appeals ruled for the Democrats, and their candidate for lieutenant governor took the office. Goebel's assassination once more convinced many Americans that Kentucky was nothing but a hotbed of violence.

Goebel's was not the first death associated with a political contest in Kentucky. Election days in nineteenth-century Kentucky normally produced a number of killings that resulted from violent arguments between members of opposite political parties. It should also be noted that Goebel himself had killed a man in a gunfight in 1895.

Feuds

Kentucky's most sensational examples of violence involved feuds between families and their friends. Although some feuds took place before the Civil War, most were fought after that event and sometimes because of it. That war divided not only the nation but the state as well. Disagreements caused by the war boiled over in the postwar period. In Carter County, a feud between the Underwood and Stamper families that began during the Civil War reached warlike proportions in the 1870s and was only ended when the governor sent in the state militia (the predecessor of today's National Guard).

One of the bloodiest feuds took place in Rowan County between 1884 and 1887. A spirited contest between the Republicans and Democrats for the office of sheriff caused its outbreak. On election day, several fights broke out between the two sides, resulting in the death of a leading Republican and the wounding of another. Several months later in a barroom, while both were under the influence of liquor and carrying concealed weapons, John Martin, a prominent Republican, killed Floyd Tolliver, a leading Democrat.

To their credit, county officials arrested Martin and, hoping to avoid vengeful friends of the dead Tolliver, jailed him in nearby Clark County. Not to be outsmarted, the Tolliver family and friends forged an order calling for Martin's return to Rowan County and presented it to the Clark County jailer. Despite Martin's pleas that he was about to be murdered, the jailer released him to the impostors, who carried their victim to the railroad train to Morehead, the seat of Rowan County, and en route shot him down in cold blood.

Martin's assassination sparked a war in Rowan County. In April 1885, the Martins and Tollivers waged a battle in downtown Morehead. At this point, the governor sent in the highest military officer of the state to arrange a truce between the warring parties. Both sides promised to give up fighting but quickly abandoned the agreement almost as soon as the officer left the county. During the next year the Martins and Tollivers fought several battles, the most serious of which took place in July 1886. This time the governor sent in the state militia, which restored order and

arranged for another truce. As soon as the militia left the county, warfare once more broke out, resulting in victory for the Tollivers, who seized control of the county, driving out more than half the population of Morehead. Craig Tolliver, the leader of the Tolliver gang, unleashed a reign of terror and used the courts and juries to punish his enemies.

Finally, in desperation, Boone Logan, a member of the Martin gang, appealed to the governor for further military assistance. The governor declined but did not object when Logan said that he would form his own private army in order to restore law and order in Rowan County. Logan purchased several hundred rifles in Cincinnati and distributed them to his friends. On June 22, 1887, Logan and his army attacked the Tollivers in Morehead and waged the greatest battle in Kentucky since the Civil War. Logan's army won a decisive victory, killing all the Tollivers and achieving peace in Rowan County for the first time in three years. Logan's victory is an example of vigilante justice, a process whereby private citizens take the law into their own hands when the established officers of the law are unable to maintain law and order. This particular victory generally was for the good, although there are numerous other examples of vigilante justice in Kentucky and elsewhere that have resulted in more harm than benefit.

Kentucky's most celebrated and remembered feud concerned two families, one from Kentucky, the McCoys, and the other from neighboring West Virginia, the Hatfields. The feud began in 1878 over the ownership of a hog and increased in violence on election day of 1882 when, appropriate to the occasion, some McCoys killed a Hatfield during a knife fight. Local officials sought to enforce the law by arresting the McCoys who had done the killing, but a band of armed Hatfields intercepted the posse and took possession of the prisoners. Seeking to avenge the death of their dead family member, they tied the McCoys to trees and massacred them with gun fire. The feud raged for eight more years and finally ended in early 1890 with conviction of nine of the Hatfield gang, one of whom was hanged.

Historians have offered a variety of explanations for the prevalence of Kentucky feuds following the Civil War. The code of honor, excessive consumption of alcohol, and the wearing of concealed weapons certainly were basic causes of most, if not all feuds, just as they were reasons for the general epidemic of murd

throughout the state. Additionally, conflicts during the Civil War and heated political battles following the war played important roles in the feuds. Most feuds occurred in eastern Kentucky, which, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was isolated from the rest of the state and nation and had a particularly poor educational system. Isolation and lack of education, in turn, intensified family loyalties and hostilities, which formed the basis of many feuds.

In some feuds, such as that between the Hatfields and the McCoys, the pressures of economic change and business rivalry increased the passions of conflict. Certainly too, the failure of the criminal justice system to respond effectively to the feuds contributed to their continued existence and duration. In the early twentieth century, the railroad and the highway began to connect eastern Kentucky to other parts of the state and nation. A somewhat improved educational system and a more effective criminal justice system also served to restrain the angry spirit that produced feuds.

The beginning of the twentieth century signaled not only the end of most of the feuding in Kentucky but also the gradual decline of the code of honor, the wearing of concealed weapons, the relatively high consumption of alcohol, and, as the result of these declines, the rate of murders in some but not all parts of the state. (Harlan County suffered the highest murder rate in the nation in the 1920s.) Yet the tradition of violence persisted in other ways. Instead of personal affrays of honor and feuding families and friends, larger groups of violent men fought one another over the price of tobacco and the wages paid coal miners.

Tobacco Wars

While most of Kentucky's feuds took place in eastern Kentucky, the tobacco wars were fought in western and central Kentucky. The price of tobacco had by 1904 fallen as low as four cents per pound, less than it cost the farmers to produce it. The farmers blamed the low price of tobacco on the "tobacco trust," a monopoly created by the American Tobacco Company and the European companies associated with it. Since the monopoly

manufactured most of the tobacco products, it bought most of the tobacco sold in Kentucky and could control the price of the crop. It was clearly to the advantage of the monopoly to keep the price low, which it did.

In order to fight the monopoly, many of the farmers in western Kentucky formed the Dark Tobacco District Planters' Association in September 1904. The main purpose of the association was to persuade the tobacco growers to store their tobacco in association warehouses so that it would be withheld from the market and eventually be sold to the monopoly at a higher price than could be obtained if the growers dealt individually with the monopoly.

Such a plan needed the cooperation of most of the tobacco growers. At first, the association attempted peacefully to persuade growers to cooperate, but when a number of farmers resisted, some members of the association began to use violence as a means of persuasion. Disguising themselves with black masks or false beards, these members rode by night, thus gaining the name "night riders." The night riders first warned uncooperative farmers that they faced violence if they refused to cooperate with the association. If the farmers still refused to cooperate, the night riders whipped them and burned their barns, warehouses, and crops.

The night riders of western Kentucky committed most of their violence in Trigg, Caldwell, and Lyon counties, although their most spectacular terror occurred in Christian County in the town of Hopkinsville. In December 1907, about 250 horsemen rode into Hopkinsville, burned two tobacco warehouses and the office of the local newspaper, which had been critical of the association, and generally shot up the community. After they had finished their frightening business, the riders rode out of town singing "My Old Kentucky Home."

Also faced with low tobacco prices, farmers in central Kentucky organized the Burley Tobacco Society in 1906 in an effort to copy the tactics of the Planters' Association of western Kentucky. Some of these farmers also resorted to violence, riding at night and terrorizing farmers who did not cooperate with the society's efforts to increase the price of tobacco. Although their destruction ranged far and wide, the night riders of central Kentucky were most active in Bracken County.

Call Out the State Militia

A pale face peered out the doorway, and a trembling hand steadied the shaking body of Henry Pace. Henry's worst fears had come true. Facing Henry were the masked faces of five men, who were mounted upon black horses.

"Come out here, Henry Pace," a harsh and carefully disguised voice yelled.

Henry slowly went out onto the front porch, but his attention quickly jumped from the faces of the masked men to an area behind where they were standing. The tobacco barn that he and his father had built years ago was on fire!

"You were warned, Pace. You were told not to sell your crop, but you did anyway. We're burning your barn, and we aim to make you see that the night riders mean business," snarled the leader.

With those words hanging in the cool night air, Henry Pace was dragged from his front porch and given the whipping of his life. . . .

When young people of today think of a "night rider" they probably think of Kit and his talking car from the television show "Knight Rider." However, Kentucky had its own night riders, and they carried out missions just like the one that Mr. Henry Pace was unfortunate enough to experience.

The night riders organized during the years of 1907 through 1909. The group was a type of union that tried to control the prices that farmers received for their tobacco. In the years leading up to 1907, farmers received barely enough money from their tobacco to pay expenses. In fact, Mr. Raymond Story, a ninety-one-year-old man who remembers how horrible conditions were, still tells the story of how his father traveled to Paducah, Kentucky, to sell his tobacco. The crop brought so little that he had to call home for enough money to pay for his trip back.

Another story involved the tobacco crop of Mr. Jim Kindred. When Mr. Kindred's father died, the selling of their tobacco was left to fifteen-year-old Jim. Jim made the overnight trip, carrying their crop on a horsedrawn wagon. After he paid the sales expenses and one-half of their taxes, Jim had enough money to buy one piece of candy. When he got home with the news of the low sales, his mother had to sell her turkeys to pay the rest of the taxes on the farm.

The experiences of Mr. Story and Mr. Kindred were common. Farmers argued that the only way to raise the price of tobacco was to control the market, which was the beginning of the association. First, farmers were asked to hold their crops, to let supply and demand take care of their problem. However, the only way it would work was if everyone joined the association. If a farmer refused and sold his crop anyway, the results were similar to those experienced by Mr. Henry Pace.

Eventually, support prices were worked out, and the law controlled the activities of the night riders. Even though the night rider years left a "black mark" on Kentucky, the people worked through their problems and survived the difficult times.

*Mac Rae Coleman
New Concord, Kentucky*

Through peaceful and violent means, the tobacco farmers of western and central Kentucky succeeded in withholding enough tobacco from the market to raise the price of tobacco somewhat. However, some of the night riders used the issue of fair prices for tobacco as an excuse to commit criminal acts against innocent victims. Some Afro-American farmers in western Kentucky, in what were clearly racist attempts to drive them out of the region, suffered whippings and burnings even though they cooperated with the Planters' Association. Acts such as these caused public opinion to turn against the night riders, and this change of attitude, plus the determination of a newly elected governor to stop the violence, put an end to night riding by 1909. The federal government dissolved the tobacco monopoly shortly afterwards, ensuring that a somewhat higher price for tobacco would continue.

Coal Conflicts

Eastern Kentucky was once more the scene of violence between 1931 and 1939 in a bloody dispute between coal-mine operators and miners in Harlan County over the attempts of the miners to gain recognition for their labor union and, with that, higher wages and better working conditions. The miners also wished to end the complete control the operators maintained over the economy and politics of Harlan County, which included ownership of most of the housing and domination of almost all the offices of government. To oppose the miners and their labor union, the operators enlisted the support of two successive sheriffs and their deputies, many no more than thugs with criminal records. During the period of the conflict, 1931-1939, four miners and five deputy sheriffs were killed. Finally in 1939, bolstered by federal prosecution of some of the strikebreakers who had worked for the operators, the miners secured recognition of their union and a better labor contract. Since the war of the 1930s, violence has periodically erupted in Kentucky's coal fields, especially in 1964 and 1977-1978.

Today, Kentucky's homicide rate is about the same as the national average, and its tradition of violence, so common in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has declined. The code

of honor has largely passed from the scene, as has dueling, and most men do not wear concealed weapons. Homicidal feuds between families and friends are largely a thing of the past. This is not to say that violence no longer occurs in Kentucky. Some counties of southeastern Kentucky continue to report alarmingly high rates of homicide. The epidemic of drug use has produced a wave of killings in both Kentucky and the nation. Certainly, too, murderous violence within families continues to be a problem, as do occasional outbursts of violence during labor disputes in the coal fields. One has to wonder whether Kentucky residents today are safer from violence than the Kentuckians who lived a hundred years ago.

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Summary

Honor, concealed weapons, and alcoholic consumption sparked Kentucky's epidemic of nineteenth-century violence. Duels accounted for a small number of fatalities and actually offered combatants an opportunity to escape killing. Informal fights contributed many more deaths. After the Civil War, feuds broke out in several counties of eastern Kentucky, killing and wounding many and causing widespread turmoil. In the early twentieth century, western Kentucky night riders and eastern Kentucky coal miners produced further episodes of mayhem. In each instance the failure of the criminal justice system to respond effectively contributed to the persistence of violence. Today, drug-related killings, periodic unrest in the coal fields, and high rates of homicide in southeastern counties undermine the notion that violence is a thing of the past in Kentucky.

Figure 10.4 Violence in Kentucky brought one newspaper's revision of the state seal (Kentucky Historical Society).



CHAPTER 11

Economics

Jack C. Morgan

People who live outside the commonwealth often associate Kentucky's economy with thoroughbred horses, coal mining, whiskey, and burley tobacco. In reality, the state has a diversified economy, thanks to the productivity of its people, rich soils, abundant coal deposits, and natural beauty. Sometime after World War II, Kentucky was transformed from an agricultural state to one of manufacturing. Today the economy is even more varied, with service industries, travel and tourism, mining, horseracing, and timber production as important industries along with agriculture and manufacturing.

Kentucky is one of the leading coal-producing states and ranks second in the cash value of tobacco produced. Kentucky's two largest chartered corporations, Ashland Oil, which refines and markets petroleum products, and Brown-Forman, a marketer and manufacturer of fine consumer goods, are among the "Fortune 500" largest industrial corporations. With economic diversity, people are less dependent on any one particular industry. In contrast to the diversification of business and industry to be found in most areas of Kentucky, parts of eastern and western Kentucky are still almost totally dependent on the demand for coal. When coal mining is depressed, there are pockets of unemployment as high as 25 percent, bringing about cruel and devastating poverty.

Manufacturing

In Kentucky, the present economy is diversified with the manufacture, assembling, or production of automobiles, bricks, heav

machinery, food, food processing machines, clothing, chemicals, air pollution control equipment, and consumer appliances, among a growing list of products. While manufacturing plants are located throughout the state, concentrations of such plants exist around the population centers of Louisville, Lexington, Bowling Green, Paducah, Glasgow, Covington, Newport, Hopkinsville, Ashland, and Owensboro. On the other hand, several Kentucky clothing manufacturers are located in smaller towns. Some of the larger manufacturing firms have more than one plant in the state. The Kentucky manufacturers employing the largest number of people are, in descending order, General Electric (home appliances), Fruit of the Loom (textiles), Ford (automobiles and trucks), Philip Morris (food and tobacco), Armco (steel), and Toyota (automobiles). In 1990, manufacturing establishments in Kentucky employed 286,900 people at an average pay of \$428 per week.

Unlike many other states, Kentucky has actually experienced growth in manufacturing, and this growth has been related in great part to the expanding automotive industry. In Bowling Green, for example, General Motors produces twelve Corvettes an hour and employs over 1,200 skilled workers. Ford produces small and heavy-duty trucks at two Louisville plants, and Toyota produces the Camry at its Georgetown plant.

Toyota provides an opportunity to look at the secondary effects of a manufacturing plant. Approximately three thousand persons are employed by Toyota at the Georgetown (Scott County) plant, and it is estimated that each one hundred jobs will generate an additional forty-four secondary jobs in related industries. These secondary jobs may be in sales, services, or expanded employment in police and fire protection and other government areas. Other Kentucky firms provide more jobs by making parts for the Camry, which are then purchased by Toyota. In addition, demand has increased in the Scott County area for utilities, transportation, streets and roads, fire and police protection, schools, and other goods and services. New employees are important to economic development. They result in the construction of new homes, the purchase of new home appliances, and the increased demand for more retail stores.

In contrast, as new homes and businesses have been constructed, land available for farming has declined. New homes and businesses and the demand for more public services result in more

tax revenues for providing these services. As you can see, all sectors of the economy are interdependent and interrelated.

Agriculture

Of all the industries in Kentucky, agriculture ranks among the most important. Sales of crops and livestock total almost \$3 billion annually. Although tobacco has declined in importance because of reduced marketing quotas and reduced price supports, it still is Kentucky's largest cash crop. Kentucky ranks second behind North Carolina in the export of tobacco. The other leading crops in order of importance are hay, corn, and soybeans.

Similar to other forms of diversification in Kentucky's overall economy, farming itself has become more diversified with the addition of beef cattle along with the more traditional agricultural products. Kentucky has become the fourth leading state in the export of meat and live animals. The counties best known for raising livestock are Barren, Bourbon, Christian, Fayette, Nelson, Shelby, Union, and Warren. Other commodities that are growing in importance in Kentucky agriculture are hay, poultry, and canola (a relatively new cash crop used for cooking oil and for livestock meal). Kentucky farmers also produce dairy products, hogs, wheat, barley, rye, eggs, and horses.

Kentucky ranks fourteenth among the states in the production of corn, fourteenth in the production of soybeans, eighteenth in the production of winter wheat, ninth in the production of hay, twelfth in the production of milk cows, and fourteenth in the production of hogs. Commodities of lesser importance that indicate increased agricultural diversity include sheep, grain sorghum, catfish, vegetables, and ornamental plants. Another important but lesser known area of agriculture in Kentucky is fruit orchards. Peach orchards can be found in Henderson, McCracken, and Trimble counties, and apple orchards are numerous around Jamestown, Ashland, and Paducah.

As in the rest of the United States, the number of Kentucky farms and full-time farmers has been declining. With 96,000 farms, the average farm size in Kentucky is about 150 acres; however, two out of three farmers work on the farm only part

time. Often these part-time farmers hold full-time jobs in small-town factories or businesses. A 1986 survey of Kentucky farmers estimated that 70 percent of the farm families had at least one family member working away from the farm.

Full-time farmers concentrate more on grain and dairy production, while part-time farmers tend to restrict themselves to tobacco and beef cattle. Although average annual gross farm income is \$31,000, net annual farm income is only \$8,700. Farmers who leave farming do so for a variety of reasons, including the need for large capital investment, better pay with shorter hours in off-farm jobs, and the inefficiency of small-scale farming. Other reasons for leaving the farm are higher standards of living and less financial risk in off-farm jobs. Farmers who left farming in the late 1980s because of the 1983 farm drought and the farm recession were generally younger, more educated, and less experienced in farming than those preceding them.

What is life for the full-time farmer like? Let us examine the life of a young farmer in Oldham County. Kevin Jeffries, like one of every three Kentucky farmers, farms full time. A thirty-year-old University of Kentucky graduate, he is the fourth generation of his family to operate a farm. He says he wanted to be a farmer since he was big enough to get on a tractor. He has served on the board of directors of the Kentucky Farm Bureau, was president of the Oldham County Farm Bureau for three years, and has been chairman of the Soil Conservation District.

Kevin and his father own 350 acres, rent another 650 acres, and have \$1 million invested in equipment. They raise beef cattle, selling the calves to others to be fattened; they raise their own hay and grow corn, soybeans, and wheat. Most years they are able to "doublecrop" the wheat and soybeans—in other words, combine the wheat in late spring and early summer and plant soybeans on the same ground for a fall harvest. In most past years, they have participated in government programs that assist farmers. They have a tobacco base, which is a percentage of all their tillable land, but have leased it to other tobacco farmers for several years because of the intensive labor required to raise tobacco.

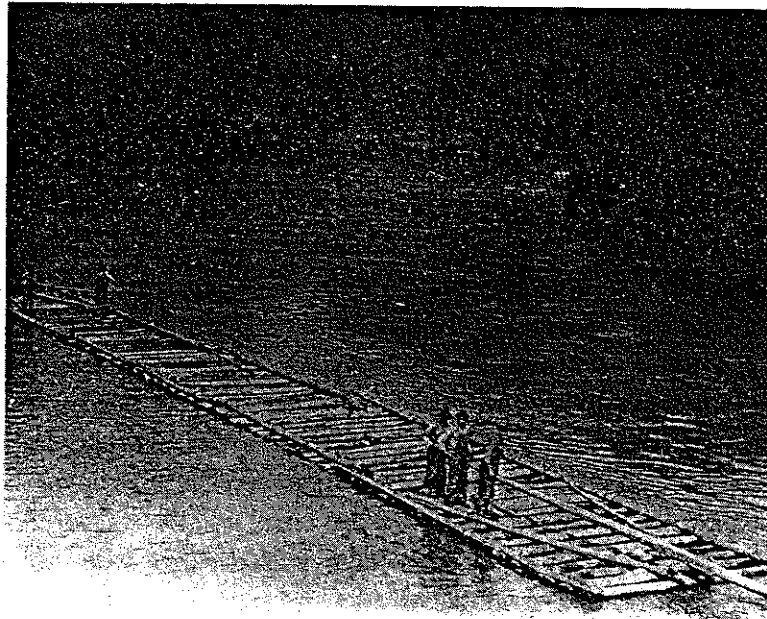
Kevin enjoys farming and explains that today's successful farmer has to be an accountant, a chemist, and a mechanic, as well as a farmer, because of all of the responsibilities and variety of jobs.

Although he enjoys his life as an active farmer he expressed concern about a number of problems, such as requirements for handling and using chemicals, government programs, property and income taxes, the risks of the weather, and urban encroachment. Regarding urban encroachment, there are now subdivisions of homes on three sides of his farm, possibly making the land more valuable for the development of homesites than for farming. In fact, Kevin is one of only six to eight full-time farmers currently farming in Oldham County.

Timber

Timber is another important Kentucky industry, employing about 24,000 people and adding around \$900 million to the economy each year. One-half the area of Kentucky—12.4 million acres—is timberland, and this acreage is owned by some 400,000 landowners. Although five hundred million board feet of lumber are

Figure 11.1 Rafting logs down the river provided income to many Kentuckians (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



harvested each year, distributors and foresters encourage conservation and timber management practices among forest owners, and, today, timber is growing faster than it is being cut. Most of Kentucky's forests are hardwoods, consisting of ash, walnut, hickory, yellow poplar, and various types of oak trees. In fact, Kentucky is the fourth leading state in the production of hardwood timber—possibly an important reason that Scott Paper Company decided to build a new plant near Owensboro. Other plants

that contribute to Kentucky's timber industry are pulp mills, pallet mills, furniture facilities, sawmills, and veneer mills.

The Heyday of Quicksand

"Money flowed like water and everybody felt rich, and all the clouds appearing on the horizon were clouds of prosperity." This statement by Junis Showden, a bookkeeper for the Mowbray and Robinson Lumber Company, depicts the economic boom resulting from the logging industry that had sprung up in Quicksand, Kentucky, around 1916.

Quicksand was first settled in 1896 and just twelve years later, the pioneer settler Miles Bach sold 15,000 acres of virgin timberland in the surrounding counties to Mowbray and Robinson. At about that same time, 1910 to be exact, a railroad spur was built from the end of the line at Jackson to Quicksand. These two incidents touched off one of the largest economic booms ever witnessed in eastern Kentucky.

By 1913, three large sawmills were in operation. The bottomlands were filled with huge piles of logs and lumber, smokestacks were evident everywhere, and small worker cottages lined the hillsides of Quicksand. By 1916, the population had reached 5,000. There were five privately owned general stores and one company store. Wages were high for that time—30 cents per hour or 35 cents per hour for skilled workers.

From 150,000 to 200,000 feet of lumber were cut each day. The logs were floated downstream in rafts or hauled in by "dinky" trains—narrow-gauge railroad trains running throughout Breathitt, Perry, and Knott counties on company-constructed spur lines.

Lumber sawed at Quicksand was used to make flooring to be shipped around the world. Some of the flooring was used in the best hotels in Paris. Some of the timbers used for ship construction during World War I were sawed at Quicksand.

By 1922, 15,000 acres of virgin timberlands had been harvested, and the lumber was moved to Quicksand from the surrounding countryside. At that time, Mowbray and Robinson offered their deforested landholdings to the University of Kentucky for use in agricultural experimentation. The sawmills were torn down, railroad spurs were torn up and the railroad beds used for road beds, and the land was cleared of any remnants from the logging and sawmill days.

Today, Quicksand is a community of approximately two hundred residents. It serves as the home of the Robinson Agricultural Experiment Substation of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture and is one of the more highly coveted residential areas in Breathitt County.

*Michael Paul Herald
Quicksand, Kentucky*

Coal

Along with timber, bituminous coal is extremely important to Kentucky's economy and has an annual value of over \$4 billion. Kentucky is one of the leading coal-producing states, mining about 17 percent of the coal produced each year and employing 31,000 workers. The biggest economic disadvantage of coal is the dependence of local communities on one industry. The coal industry offers a good illustration of the problem of lack of economic diversification and the interaction of supply and demand. In parts of Appalachia and western Kentucky, coal is practically the only industry in the area. When demand for coal is good, as it was during the Arab oil embargoes of 1973, 1978, and the early 1980s, the local economies are prosperous. As a direct result of the high price of petroleum products, the price of coal doubled in the early 1980s. When demand for coal slackens, prices fall—as they have done since 1982—and the local economy becomes depressed, resulting in as many as one out of every four coal miners becoming unemployed.

Figure 11.2 *The underground coal miner* (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



In the past, coal was used primarily to provide heat, but today its most important use is for coal-burning power plants that supply half of the electricity for the entire United States and 95 percent of the electric power for Kentucky. Coal is also used to make coke, an essential raw material used in the manufacture of iron and steel.

There are two basic kinds of coal mines: surface and underground. In Kentucky, 53 percent of the mines are surface and 47 percent are underground.

Throughout the commonwealth's history, coal mines often caused soil erosion and flooding. Underground mining was especially dangerous. In modern practice, after the surface mining is completed the land must be reclaimed (returned to its original condition as much as possible). Both surface and underground mining now use more heavy equipment, which has taken over much of the extremely hard work formerly done by miners. Although mine safety has improved and fewer miners lose their lives, coal mining is still considered a hazardous occupation with the dangers of explosions, lung disease, and collapsed underground mines. Eastern Kentucky tends to have more independently owned mines and fewer unionized workers; western Kentucky has more miners who are members of unions and who work for mines owned by large corporations.

Kentucky also produces some natural gas and oil in the northeastern and south central parts of the state, although those products are less significant to the economy than coal. Other minerals that contribute to the commonwealth's economy are clays, crushed stone, sand and gravel, zinc, and fluorspar. The value of all minerals produced in 1988 was \$4.7 billion.

Transportation

The Ohio River and Kentucky's strategic location provide important advantages for the sale and distribution of Kentucky's products. As **Figure 11.3** shows, Kentucky, located in the center of the eastern and central United States area pictured, is about the same distance from northern manufacturing and the eastern seaboard as from the southern gulf ports. This area includes twenty-eight states which contain 68 percent of the population of the United States,

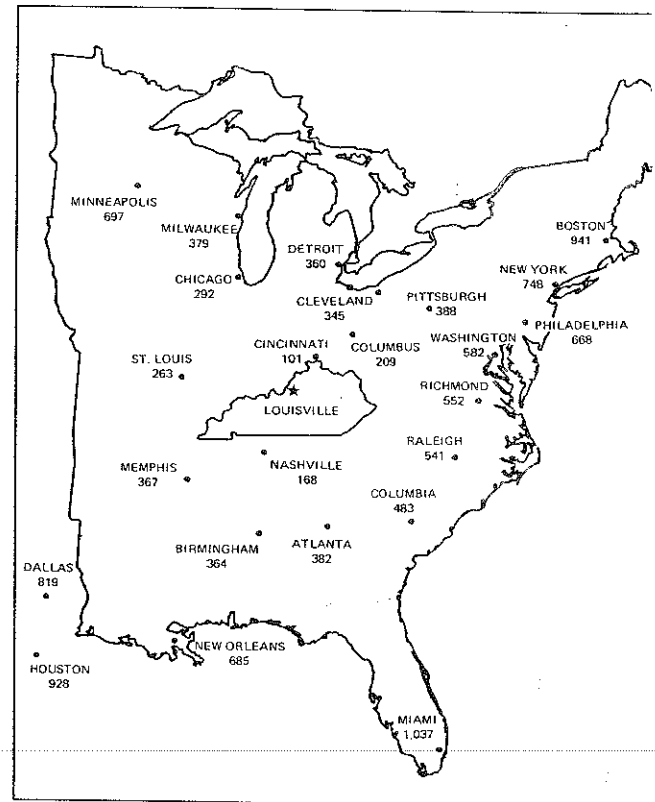


Figure 11.3 Mileage from Louisville to some U.S. cities (Kentucky Facts, 1988 ed.).

69 percent of the nation's income, 68 percent of the retail sales, and 71 percent of the nation's manufacturing employment. Kentucky's highways provide efficient connections with roads leading to all major commercial centers in the eastern and central United States. In addition, Kentucky has over 1,100 miles of commercially navigable waterways, 3,300 miles of railroad track, five operational riverports with four more planned, and five commercial airports. All these transportation factors place Kentucky in a good competitive position for selling its products and attracting new industries.

Service Industries

Services, work performed to satisfy consumer demands, include the instruction provided by teachers, the music of an orchestra, haircuts and styling by barbers and beauticians, the preparation and serving of information provided by computers, and the financial functions of banks, to list a few. In the United States—a in Kentucky—services have become increasingly important. Service industries account for 67 percent of our nation's Gross National Product. Service industries tend to be more "labor intensive" than manufacturing and farming; that is, service industries usually require a large number of workers in relation to machines and equipment. The importance of services was emphasized by one Kentucky economist who explained that, in the long run, for significant economic growth to occur, there must be more service industries. These industries would provide more jobs, thereby giving Kentuckians more purchasing power.

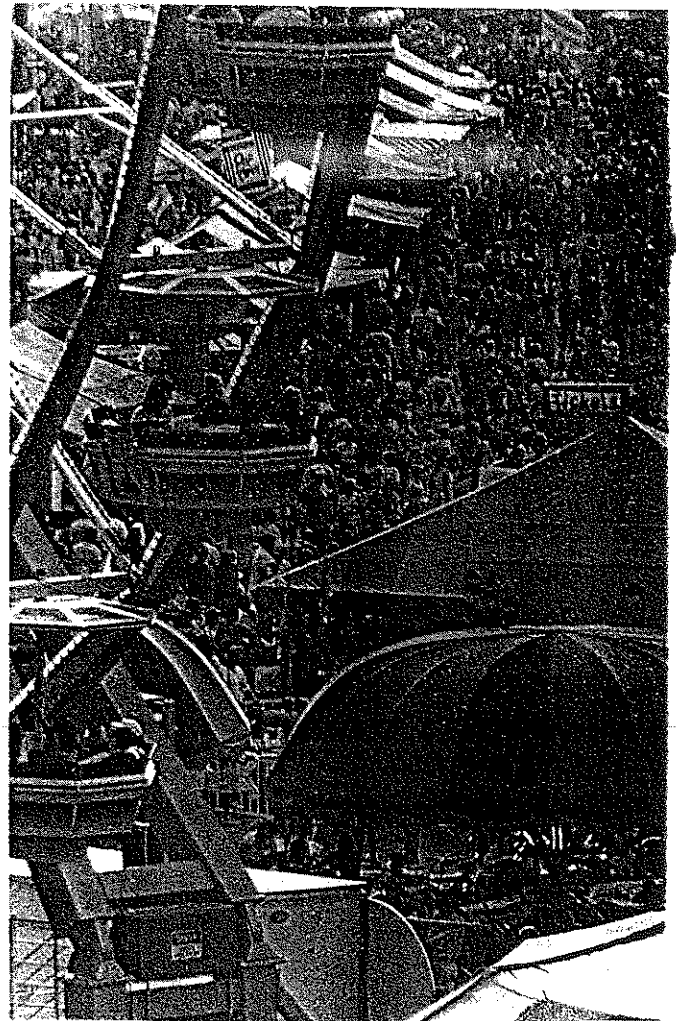
At present, several important service industries exist in Kentucky, with jobs ranging from the low-paying, part-time position of the person behind the counter at your favorite fast-food restaurant to the highly paid position of the computer programmer. In 1988, Kentucky had 522 shopping centers, providing numerous service-related jobs. In Louisville, the National Processing Center, a subsidiary of First National Bank, employs between two and three thousand persons who process credit card payments for oil companies and many other firms that issue credit cards. Approximately one out of every four pieces of first-class mail coming to Kentucky go

to the National Processing Center. General Electric employs 230 Kentuckians full-time to answer the toll-free telephone calls of consumers inquiring about how to use, install, or repair home appliances. Humana employs over three hundred workers in telemarketing to promote health insurance sales by phone. And Sears catalog service in Louisville has about eight hundred people who handle catalog orders by phone from all over the United States. Other significant service firms include Dollar General Stores, which has a major distribution center in Scottsville, Computer Services, Inc., in Paducah, and Kentucky Central Life Insurance in Lexington.

Figure 11.4 The midway of the Kentucky State Fair (Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center).

Tourism and Travel

Most Kentuckians think of tourism and travel only as sources of pleasure, enjoyment, and relaxation; however, they contribute a significant amount of income for 120,000 Kentuckians. The tourism and travel industry adds over \$4 billion annually to Kentucky's economy and results in over \$300 million in tax revenues for state and local governments. Kentucky has over 750 miles of interstate highways, 62,000 miles of rural roads, and 7,500 miles of urban roads, making travel easy and vacation spots accessible. Tourism and travel also attract thousands of vacationers and travelers who reside in other states. Look at the license plates of cars the next time you visit one of Kentucky's outstanding state parks. You are likely to find vehicles from all over the country.



Kentucky has many outstanding recreation and vacation attractions, including state parks, national forests, horse farms, caves, lakes, camping grounds, historic sites, outdoor theaters, the state fair and county fairs, and sports events. Tourists spend money with airlines, service stations, travel agencies, car rental agencies, hotels, restaurants, craft shops, and a multitude of other retail enterprises, employing many Kentuckians. Over 65,000 Kentuckians are employed in the hotel and motel business alone. The multiplier effect of tourism and travel employment is extremely important. Employees in these industries earn incomes that create demand for more goods and services.

The building of new hotels and motels creates demand for new carpets, furniture, air conditioners, plumbing, lighting, and decor. Travelers' demand for food in restaurants increases the demand for food producers, processors, and distributors. Because of this multiplier effect, many nontourist industries experience more business than would otherwise be possible.

Labor

The labor force of Kentucky consists of over 1,700,000 workers in a great range of jobs from unskilled beginning workers to those who are managers, professionals, and entrepreneurs. Pay varies greatly and is determined by education, training, skills, supply of workers (the number of workers available for a job), and demand for workers (the number of workers employers are ready and able to hire). Approximately 56 percent of Kentucky's population is employed, with 74 percent of the men in the labor force and 51 percent of the women in the labor force. Kentucky ranks forty-seventh and forty-ninth respectively in the percentage of men and women in the labor force. This relatively low ranking is owing to the lower education levels, lower pay in many Kentucky industries, and high unemployment in some areas. While some counties have virtually no unemployment, a few counties in eastern and western Kentucky have unemployment rates as high as 15 to 25 percent, especially when coal mines are idle. These great disparities result in major income differences around the commonwealth. In 1988, Kentucky ranked forty-second in personal income

at \$12,822 per capita. The situation is made worse because the areas of low per capita income are areas of less purchasing power and fewer retail stores and service industries. The declining birthrate, which began around 1950, is a concern for many economists because of the need for young, skilled workers.

Approximately 16 percent of Kentucky's labor force is organized in unions, paralleling the current percentage of unionized labor in the United States. Industries with strong union representation are mining, automobile production and assembly, and steelwork. Approximately 100 of Kentucky's 120 counties have one or more unions, and many different businesses and industries are at least partially unionized. Some letter carriers, nurses, construction workers, clothing workers, and distillery workers belong to unions. Many of these local unions are affiliated with state, national, and international labor organizations.

In 1984, the Kentucky Labor Cabinet was formed. Among the functions of the Labor Cabinet are enforcement of regulations and laws regarding child labor, wages and hours, training, rights of the physically handicapped, and wage discrimination based on sex. It is the Labor Cabinet, for example, that enforces rules about how late teenagers may work at night in fast-food restaurants. The Labor Cabinet also enforces occupational and health standards and assists in the settlement of disputes between labor and management.

International Trade

International trade is growing in importance to Kentucky's economy. You need only look at the number of foreign-made products in homes and stores to see how this is true. From automobiles to electrical appliances, from electronic games to clothing, almost everyone buys foreign-made items or component parts that go into the final products.

Kentucky exports many products because of relatively cheap transportation costs as a result of its location on the Ohio River and its relative closeness to major population centers. Exports expand the markets for Kentucky's industrial output. Soybeans and other farm crops can be loaded on barges, moved down the

Ohio, the Mississippi River, and on to the Gulf of Mexico for shipment abroad. In fact, Kentucky exports two of every three bushels of its soybeans and one-half of its wheat and tobacco to foreign countries. Corn is used in distilling whiskey, much of which is exported. Agriculture makes up only 18 percent of Kentucky's exports, with manufactured products making up 59 percent of the total dollar value of exports. Other exports are chemicals, 14 percent; coal, 4 percent; and all other exports, 5 percent.

The production of goods for export, whether corn or steel valves, provides jobs for thousands of Kentuckians, and exports have been growing at an increasing rate over the past few years. An increase in exports recently prompted a Tompkinsville lumber firm to add fifty employees and create a separate company to handle exports of timber.

One reason for increased exports is the direct foreign investment in Kentucky of the Toyota plant and other foreign-owned automotive parts plants. In 1989, European countries accounted for 45.1 percent of the direct foreign investment while Japan accounted for 42.5 percent. Over 1.2 million acres of Kentucky land is owned by foreign companies, and over 1.6 million acres of minerals are owned or leased by direct foreign investment in Kentucky. Direct foreign investment in Kentucky should continue to grow, given the commonwealth's geographic location and relatively cheap labor costs. Just as foreign companies invest in Kentucky and other parts of the United States, some Kentucky companies invest in foreign countries.

Taxes

Taxes affect the economic lives of all Kentuckians. Taxes provide the many services that individuals want but do not provide individually. The two pie charts in Figure 11.5 show where Kentucky's state government obtained its general fund revenue and how it spent this revenue of about \$3.5 billion during the 1990 fiscal year, the period from July 1, 1989, through June 30, 1990. The largest source of state revenue is the sales tax, which was increased to 6 percent of sales as of July 1990. The individ

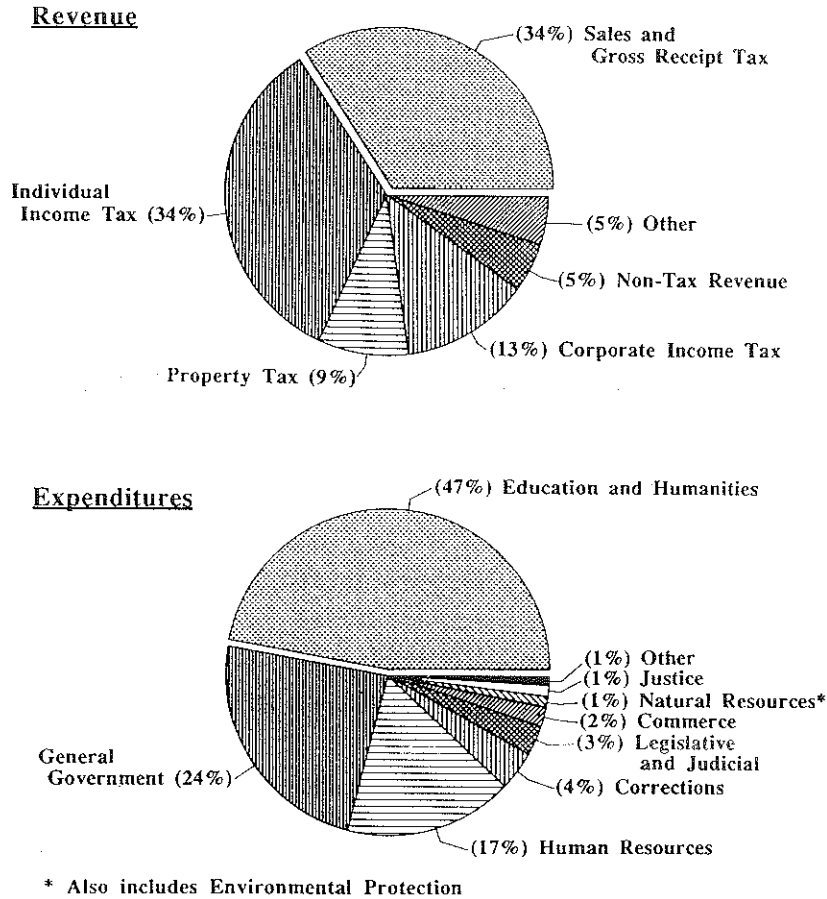


Figure 11.5 Kentucky General Fund, Fiscal Year 1990

income tax provides about one-third of total general fund revenues. Corporate income taxes, which were also increased in 1990, and property taxes are next in importance. The coal severance tax, which was passed in 1972 to replace the sales tax removed from groceries, is based on the amount of coal mined.

The largest expenditure function for state government is education and humanities. Education is also the largest expenditure for local governmental units. In 1990, the Education Reform Act committed additional funds to education.

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Summary

The health of Kentucky's economy tends to follow the health of the United States. To a considerable extent, this is because of the

interdependence of Kentucky's economy and that of the United States. On the positive side, manufacturing industries have experienced employment growth, largely thanks to automobile manufacturing and related industries that have located in Kentucky. Also, export markets for Kentucky products are strong, and Kentucky enjoys some transportation advantages when shipping its products. On the negative side, the growth in the number of jobs in Kentucky has not been as great as the increase in jobs nationally. In addition, as we have seen, parts of Kentucky are tied to one industry, coal. When coal is depressed, as it has been in recent years, high unemployment and regional poverty result.

The future health of Kentucky's economy will depend on several factors, including how diversified the economy is, the health of the United States economy, whether service industries and manufacturing industries grow or locate in Kentucky, the growth or lack of growth of the commonwealth's population, the skills and education of future generations, the demand for Kentucky products and services nationally and abroad, and how we will maintain the environment while promoting economic growth.

CHAPTER 12

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Women's Quest for Reform

Carol Crowe-Carraco

I'm not denyin' that women are fools; God Almighty mad'em
to match the men!

Eliza Calvert Hall, 1897

From statehood to the present, Kentucky women have dedicated their energies and wisdom to improving the conditions under which all Kentuckians live. They often rejected traditional roles and labored for causes that affected the powerless and the poor. Wearing yellow ribbons to identify their allegiance to the suffrage question, they sought legal rights for women and fought for humanitarian causes. For some reformers the franchise was an end in itself; for others the ballot marked only the beginning.

Early Struggles for Women's Rights

Kentucky occupies a unique position in the American women's rights movement; it is the only state where women lost the right to vote after obtaining it. In 1838, Kentucky became the first state to permit any kind of women's suffrage. Legislation allowed widows who had school-age children and lived in rural school districts to vote for school trustees. In 1888, the law was extended to allow "tax-paying widows and spinsters"—again only in rural

districts—to vote on school taxes. Kentucky's limited suffrage, however, fell victim to racial prejudices in the fall of 1902 after it was rumored that far too many illiterate black women had voted in the spring elections.

With the exception of school suffrage, Kentucky lagged behind other states in legal rights for women until late in the nineteenth century. A married woman could not make a will. If a female possessed property when she got married, it went to her husband to dispose of as he wished. A wife did not even own the clothes on her back. If she had a job, her husband could collect and spend her wages. He also had sole guardianship of their children; yet he could not be forced to support them. Although widows and unmarried women paid taxes, they could not vote in state and national elections.

Despite these obvious inequities, Kentucky showed little interest in women's suffrage for many years. The national 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, often regarded as the start of the women's rights movement, merited no attention in Kentucky. The earliest suffrage agitation came after national suffrage advocate Lucy Stone visited Louisville and spoke to a large crowd, and the event received a "full and friendly report" in a local newspaper. Kentucky's first women's suffrage association, with a membership of fifty, blossomed briefly in Glendale (Hardin County) in 1867 but soon disappeared leaving few traces.

The Clay Women

In the late 1870s, Mary Jane Warfield Clay and daughters Mary Barr, Sallie, Annie, and Laura joined the campaign to improve women's status. The Clay women were well-acquainted with the devastating legal position of women in Kentucky. In 1835, Mary Jane Warfield married Cassius M. Clay, the fiery emancipationist and ardent antisuffragist. Because her husband preferred national causes and foreign service to farming, Mary Jane Clay had the responsibility of paying her husband's debts, building and maintaining the family farm, White Hall, and caring for their ten children. Eventually, Clay's indiscretions in Europe and the arrival of his illegitimate Russian son proved the final blow to the

marriage. Mary Jane moved to Lexington, and, in 1878, Cassius sued her for divorce after forty-five years of marriage on the grounds of desertion. Since women had no rights under Kentucky law, Mary Jane received nothing, and her husband even alleged that she owed him \$80,000 for the years she had lived in his home.

Stung by the treatment of their mother, the Clay sisters arranged for suffragist Susan B. Anthony to speak in Richmond in October 1879. Her "Bread, Not the Ballot" speech emphasized that the vote was necessary for the economic protection women needed. Anthony's visit marked the beginning of the Madison County Equal Rights Association, the state's first permanent women's rights association.

In December 1879, the Clays knocked on doors in Lexington to enlist supporters for a women's rights association. Mary Barr Clay got "44 names of ladies and 102 of gentlemen." The female signatures were not always easy to obtain; some would not sign, for they were "afraid of displeasing their husbands." That same fall, only six women attended the organizational meeting of the Fayette County Equal Suffrage Association.

The opposition of mates continued to retard the movement in Kentucky. One husband insisted that his wife return feminist literature because he did not want his "pleasant relations with his wife disturbed by her reading such books." Other men forbade their wives to go to suffrage lectures. The Clays, however, equated women's suffrage with God's will. Laura wrote of her work as "God's causes," and sister Sallie always stopped her husband's opposition to her attendance at suffrage gatherings by reciting her dreams in which the Supreme Being said "Sister, rise!—and go to the meeting."

State newspapers often reflected the struggles between spouses, and they heaped insults and ridicule upon the advocates of the women's rights movement. Editor Henry Watterson constantly attacked suffragists in the pages of the *Courier-Journal*, calling them "silly-sallies," "red-nosed angels," and "Crazy Janes." Scoffers maintained that women were too ignorant of the issues to vote. In response, a southern Kentucky suffragist maintained, "Taxation without representation is tyranny and woman's suffrage is right."

The first attempt to organize a statewide suffrage society came in 1881, when the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA)

met in Louisville, the first such convention held south of the Ohio River. The meeting created considerable interest. One newspaper reported that, contrary to common belief, the convention was not solely a gathering of “strong-willed old maids” and noted that “90% of those in attendance were married, did not have short hair [a sign of radicalism], nor dress in pantaloons.” Taking advantage of the enthusiasm aroused by the convention, twenty-five suffragists founded the Kentucky Woman Suffrage Association (KWSA), the first state society in the South.



Figure 12.1 *Laura Clay led the early women's rights movement in Kentucky (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).*

From 1881 to 1888, Laura Clay served as president of the KWSA. Local groups in Louisville, Lexington, and Richmond affiliated with the state organization, but no new societies were formed. A woman from Carrollton warned, “Woman’s suffrage finds few advocates here.” From Paducah a matron wrote, “With the exception of myself, I know of no woman in Paducah in favor of Woman Suffrage.” Lebanon boasted of two suffragists, but one of them apologized, “Being southerners it is hard for us to advance out of the old routine.”

As the responsibilities of marriage and family claimed more of her sisters’ attention, the unmarried Laura Clay assumed leadership of the Kentucky suffrage movement. In January 1888, she helped to reorganize the Lexington suffrage society into the Fayette County Equal Rights Association. The new organization’s objectives were “to advance the industrial, educational and legal rights of women and to secure suffrage to them by appropriate State and National legislation.”

It advocated “absolute equality with men in the right of free enjoyment of every opportunity that . . . civilization . . . offers for the development of individual capacity.” To achieve this far-reaching goal, the members soon set up committees, some of which—“Hygiene and Dress Reform,” “Industrial Training for Women,” “Bible Study,” “Work among Young People”—were attempts to reach every woman, regard

less of her level of social, cultural, or political awareness.

That same year, Lucy Stone invited Laura Clay to present a paper at the AWSA's November convention in Cincinnati. Clay seized the opportunity to invite all Kentucky suffragists to attend and establish a new statewide association. Delegates from Fayette and Kenton counties answered Clay's call and formed the Kentucky Equal Rights Association (KERA) on November 22, 1888. Like its Lexington prototype, the KERA wanted more than the ballot; it wanted a revolution. It sought equality in every profession and every opportunity available to men. Clay realized that the achievement of this goal depended as much upon changing people's attitudes toward women's place in society as upon changing the laws.

As president of the KERA, Laura Clay faced several tasks. She had to build state membership and organize new auxiliary chapters; she had to lobby for feminist legislation at the biennial meetings of the state legislature; and she had to encourage women to enroll at the University of Kentucky, where they had been admitted since 1880, and the Louisville School of Pharmacy, open to them since 1882.

To achieve the KERA's goals, Clay planned to join forces with Kentucky temperance leaders like Frances Beauchamp of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Both women recognized that there was much more sympathy in the state for prohibition than for women's suffrage, and Clay predicted that temperance workers would become suffragists as soon as they found out they had no power "without the ballot." The greater popularity of the temperance movement certainly proved Lucy Stone's observation that "it is much easier to see a drunkard than it is to see a principle." Temperance and suffrage lecturers believed that the ballot in the hands of women was the surest way to prohibition and other reforms.

Early in 1889, Kentucky suffragists announced the formation of the Kentucky Lecture Bureau to provide free speakers for any civic or women's club anywhere in Kentucky. The most active of these lecturers, Laura Clay spoke often on the question of exact equality before the law, including the right to suffrage of all citizens without regard to gender. After listening to her, the audience "nearly all . . . wore . . . the yellow ribbon, the woman's rights color, with the white, the W.C.T.U. emblem."

Speaking was only part of Laura Clay's suffrage work. She urged every contact available to her to start a KERA auxiliary and to circulate petitions in support of legislation in Frankfort. The task often discouraged her. Lida Calvert Obenchain, a Bowling Green novelist and wife of the local college president, turned down Clay's first pleas to join the work; having two small babies would keep her from attending the meetings, even if someone could be found to form a group. Clay's persistence paid off, and, from 1900 to 1906, Obenchain served as press secretary for the KERA. In this capacity she sent articles on women's rights to one hundred Kentucky newspapers on a bimonthly basis. Because of the frequency of her appeals, Obenchain used at least four pseudonyms to sign her work.

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Votes for Women

Bowling Green, Ky., Feb. 17, 1896

Editors Woman's Journal:

That nervous suffragist who wrote to ask if Mrs. Julia Ward Howe had been separated from her husband is a type of a large class of good people, who might be a little better. What they need to tone up their nerves and strengthen the weak knees . . . is a good dose of pure unadulterated principle. They call themselves suffragists; but, with every breath of adverse opinion, their faith wavers. . . . All they need is thorough conviction of the right and the justice, not the expediency of woman suffrage. . . .

Suppose you try the methods of the mental science people in this matter? Go into a quiet room, sit down, close your eyes, and repeat to yourself: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Say it over and over till the idea is fully assimilated. Then, when some one tells you that a woman out in Colorado sold her vote for a piece of chewing-gum, or that some other woman does not darn her husband's stocking, or that Mary A. Livermore never made a loaf of bread in her life, just shut your eyes, ask yourself "What connection is there between this eternal truth and that petty bit of gossip?" If you have half as much sense as you ought to have, you will be able to answer yourself, "None whatever."

If every woman suffragist in the land were divorced from her husband, still "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and

woman suffrage is right. If every woman suffragist were a poor house-keeper and a neglectful mother, still "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and woman suffrage is right. If all womanly loveliness were embodied in the remonstrants and all womanly unloveliness in the woman suffragist, still "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and woman suffrage is right. The eternal principles of truth and justice are to be our guides and not the fleeting circumstances that seem to confute these principles. . . .

Lida Calvert Obenchain

Source: *The Woman's Journal* (February 29, 1896)

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The Breckinridge Affair

Interestingly, although Kentucky women did not have the right to vote, they played a decisive role in ending U.S. Congressman W.C.P. Breckinridge's political career. In 1894, after a ten-year relationship, Madeline Pollard sued Breckinridge for a breach of promise of marriage in a Washington, D.C. trial that captured the nation's attention. It ended with a \$15,000 judgment for Pollard. A few weeks later, Breckinridge announced his candidacy for a sixth consecutive term in Congress. Women around the country protested his decision. When Breckinridge returned to the commonwealth to campaign, anti-Breckinridge rallies greeted him.

In the months of primary electioneering, incidents multiplied. One wife warned her husband that she would poison herself if he attended a Breckinridge speech. He did and she did. Bluegrass suitors found their romances ended for political reasons. When wearing Breckinridge buttons, they were snubbed on the streets and turned away at front doors by determined women intent upon ending the political career of "Old Billy" Breckinridge. At Stamping Ground, an enthusiastic Breckinridge crowd escorted their favorite to the stage while the band played, "The Girl I Left Behind Me." When the congressman lost his bid for reelection on September 15, the *Courier-Journal* concluded, "The Women Defeated Mr. Breckinridge," adding, "There can be no doubt about that."

Late Nineteenth-Century Statutory Reforms

Gradually, Kentucky adopted women's legal rights legislation. In 1894, the state passed a married women's property bill and a law permitting married women to make wills. Two years later, women secured the right to sit on the board of directors of the state reform school for girls, and, in 1898, women physicians were permitted for women's wards in hospitals for the insane. Women gained the right to their own earnings in 1900. Ten years later, the legislature raised the age of consent—the age at which a girl might marry—from twelve to sixteen. And, in 1910, Kentucky passed a co-guardianship law, which recognized a mother's claim to her own children.



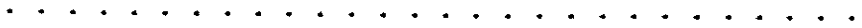
A Woman's Right to Her Property

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

A married woman may take, acquire and hold property, real and personal, by gift, devise or descent, or by purchase, and she may, in her own name, as if she were unmarried, sell and dispose of her personal property. She may make contracts and sue and be sued, as a single woman, except that she may not make any executory contract to sell or convey or mortgage her real estate, unless her husband join in such contract; but she shall have the power and right to rent out her real estate, and collect, and receive and recover in her own name the rents thereof. A gift, transfer or assignment of personal property between husband and wife shall not be valid as to third persons, unless the same be in writing, and acknowledged and recorded as chattel mortgages are required by law to be acknowledged and recorded; but the recording of any such writing shall not make valid any such gift, transfer or assignment which is fraudulent or voidable as to creditors or purchasers.

Approved March 15, 1894

Source: *Kentucky Acts* (1894), 177.





Yet the listing of these victories gives no indication of the years of futile speechmaking, letter writing, and petitioning that accompanied each reform effort. In 1890, for example, the KERA got 9,000 names on a petition asking for property rights for married women, with a Hickman suffragist collecting 2,240 signatures in the far western counties. The proposed measure, however, failed. Likewise, while the Kentucky constitution was being rewritten in 1890-91, the KERA worked hard to incorporate changes beneficial to women. Josephine K. Henry of Versailles made many speeches across the commonwealth and wrote two hundred newspaper articles on property rights and thirty-one on suffrage. But women's rights were ignored in the 1891 document.

Ironically, although women could not vote, they secured public office. Between 1889 and 1897, thirty women were elected to serve as county school superintendents, and, in 1896, when Emma Guy Cromwell of Allen County became state librarian, she was the first woman in the commonwealth elected to a statewide office. All of these officeholders were white women. Records do

Figure 12.2 Kentucky was one of only four southern states to adopt the women's suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

not indicate that Afro-American women sought public office or membership in KERA, giving credence to the theory that the women's suffrage movement in Kentucky, like that of the nation as a whole, was essentially a white, middle-class struggle. Despite their lack of political office, Kentucky's Afro-American women were not ignorant of political clout, and, in 1892, a statewide delegation went to Frankfort to protest the separate coach law segregating railroads. Furthermore, Afro-American women did concern themselves with social reforms in the black community, and they contributed articles and essays on women's rights to several religious periodicals.

Figure 12.3 Madeline McDowell Breckinridge of Kentucky was a national leader of the suffrage fight (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

The Ballot



Laura Clay served as president of the KERA from its founding until 1912. She then chose Madeline "Madge" McDowell Breckinridge, a well-known Lexington reformer and the wife of the *Lexington Herald's* editor, as her successor. Breckinridge dated her interest in women's suffrage to 1908 when she, as a member of the Federation of Women's Clubs, drafted a bill to restore school suffrage to women, insisting that women were needed to direct the education of youth since men lacked interest in that area. A clever debater, she reasoned that although women could still be elected to school boards even if they could not vote, they were as likely to be elected as they were to be struck by lightning. Furthermore, since 1894, she declared, "no woman has been struck by lightning on the streets of Lexington" and "no woman has been elected to the School Board by masculine votes." Breckinridge often deplored the fact

that the women of Kentucky were classed "poetically with whiskey and horses" but "politically with imbeciles and criminals."

As president of the KERA, Breckinridge's plans included increased membership, a speakers' bureau, suffrage marches, information tents at fairs, and monetary awards for college students who wrote papers on equal rights for women. Beginning in 1913, she made a special effort to send speakers to the teachers' institutes held annually in every county, and, as a result, Paducah and Lawrenceburg formed exceptionally strong suffrage groups. In 1913, KERA membership grew from 1,779 to 4,272, and leagues existed in sixty-one counties and twenty-one towns. A year later, members totaled 10,522, and organizations existed in 119 counties.

In January 1914, supporters introduced a suffrage amendment in both the House and the Senate. On January 15, Madeline Breckinridge and Laura Clay became the first women to address a joint session of the Kentucky legislature. Their subject was, of course, suffrage, "the most important political question we are confronted with today." The *Lexington Herald* reported that the arguments of the two suffragists needed no answer and that no man could claim that the women of Kentucky were not equal to the men in "intellect, in courage, and in a sense of duty." Despite these efforts, no bill resulted. Rumors abounded that the liquor interest, fearing prohibition implications, had prevented its passage.

At their 1915 convention, suffragists voted to carry the fight to the legislature again in 1916. They hosted representatives and senators to an elaborate luncheon at the Capitol Hotel, and Breckinridge made another forceful speech on behalf of the ballot for women. The suffrage measure passed the Senate, but it was never reported in the House. Pressure from Kentucky's congressional delegation, who opposed the measure, killed the bill. Refusing to be ignored, Breckinridge warned that a suffrage bill would be offered at every session until it passed or until a federal amendment came before the legislature.

No bill was introduced in the Kentucky General Assembly in 1918 because the National American Woman Suffrage Association asked that all efforts be concentrated on the federal Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The KERA abided by the wishes of the national group although Breckinridge believed that the General

Assembly would have approved the state amendment. Not all Kentucky suffragists supported the federal route, however. Some feared that allowing black women to vote would threaten white supremacy in the state; others believed that a federal amendment would violate states' rights and would allow federal supervision of state elections. Breckinridge supported the federal amendment. Laura Clay, a states' rightist, did not, and she resigned from the KERA in 1919 and organized the Citizens Committee for a State Suffrage Amendment.

Although she expressed regret over Clay's resignation, Breckinridge correctly predicted that Kentucky would ratify the federal amendment. In conjunction with the Women's clubs, the KERA held schools of civics and citizenship around the state to prepare women to vote. On January 6, 1920, by a Senate vote of 30 to 8 and a House vote of 72 to 25, Kentucky ratified the Nineteenth Amendment. A KERA delegation headed by Madge Breckinridge and a group led by Laura Clay were present to witness the ratification. For the first time in the state's history, a measure passed on the first day of the session. Before the end of the session, the legislature also passed a bill granting women the right to vote in the November presidential election.

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Celebrating Suffrage

The following revision of the song "My Old Kentucky Home" was composed by woman's rights leader Madeline McDowell Breckinridge in celebration of Kentucky women gaining the right to vote:

The sun shines bright on my old Kentucky home,
 'Tis winter, the ladies are gay,
 The corn top's gone, prohibition's in the swing,
 The colonel's in eclipse and the women in the ring.
 We'll get all our rights with the help of Uncle Sam,
 For the way that they come, we don't give a _____.
 Weep no more, my lady, Oh, weep no more today,
 For we'll vote one vote for the old Kentucky home,
 The old Kentucky home, far away.

Source: Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge. *Madeline McDowell Breckinridge: A Leader in the New South*. Chicago, 1921.

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Women and Urban Reform

Closely allied with the suffrage movement were other nineteenth- and twentieth-century reform efforts in Kentucky. The questions of temperance, feminine education, settlement house activities for the urban poor, education and health care for the rural poor, maternal and child care for all Kentuckians, and the continued quest for equal rights for women consumed the energies of many reformers in the commonwealth. They combined their suffragists' interests with other reforms until the ballot was secured, and then they used their wisdom and energy to achieve further goals.

The Kentucky WCTU recognized that only through the ballot could the alcohol problem be effectively challenged. While the alliance brought the opposition of the wealthy liquor industry to suffrage, it was a necessary coalition. Although the temperance workers were often the object of jokes, they tried to solve real problems. Heavy drinking and violence were commonplace, and women and children were at the mercy of drunken husbands and fathers. A family could starve while Kentucky law allowed a man to drink up his own income as well as that of his wife. The Kentucky temperance solution was really one of prohibition, to stop the sale and use of alcohol, and women campaigned long and hard for this goal. Temperance workers in almost every town in the state staged parades that included small children, carried placards denouncing the evils of drink, and sang hymns like "Onward, Christian Soldiers."

Although the WCTU shared the goals of Carry Nation, the country's most colorful temperance worker and a native Kentuckian, she often embarrassed the organization with her excesses. Calling her activities "hatchetations," she smashed up saloons all over the Midwest. In July 1904, she was almost killed in an altercation with a saloonkeeper in the Kentucky "bad rum" city of Elizabethtown. She also edited her own publications, *The Hatchet* and *The Smasher's Mail*, which often contained letters from Kentuckians begging her to come home again to try a new alcoholic drink, the Carry Nation Cocktail. These letters and others she published in a column titled "Letters from Hell." Nation's views were shared by thousands who rejoiced at the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1920.

Many of the reform movements were closely tied to the desire for higher education for women. The KERA had advocated higher education for women along with the ballot, and, in 1900, the WCTU engineered an appropriation for women's residence halls at the University of Kentucky. Transylvania opened its doors to coeducation in 1889, but women roomed in town and had their own separate dining room. Berea, founded in 1855, admitted women from its start, and in 1892 Georgetown College and Kentucky Wesleyan decided to admit women. The normal (teacher training) schools in western and eastern Kentucky admitted women from their inception. In 1884, the Southern Normal School and Business College in Bowling Green boasted of more than two hundred women students, and in 1889 the Scientific Course's graduating class of sixteen included four females. They and their male counterparts had mastered a curriculum that included chemistry, physics, geology, botany, trigonometry, and calculus.

Not surprisingly, college women tended to question the legal and social restrictions placed upon women's lives more often than did uneducated women. They also tended to organize themselves both as volunteers and as paid employees, to remedy society's ills. By the early 1900s social service organizations included the Home of Friendless Women, the Flower Mission, the Free Kindergarten Association, the Nugent Improvement Club, the Loyalty Charity Club, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Association of Colored Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the WCTU. Modeled after Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago, Cabbage Patch and Neighborhood and Plymouth settlement houses also provided aid for Louisville's urban poor. So many of the city's reforms fell under the direction of the Hill family that a favorite doggerel asked, "Why is Louisville like Rome?" The answer: "Well—because of its seven Hills! Mildred, Wallace, Mary, Patty, Archie, Jessica and 'Ma-Ma.'"

Likewise, in Lexington, Madeline Breckinridge was the author of a number of civic reforms. She advocated more effective regulation of child labor and school attendance laws, the building of community centers, parks, and playgrounds, the establishment of kindergartens and a juvenile court system, and the offering of industrial training for the disadvantaged. Other reformers in towns around the commonwealth carried out similar projects for residents.

Women and Rural Reform

The reform activities also focused on the rural poor in the Kentucky mountains. Women reformers became concerned because people in eastern Kentucky lacked adequate housing, health care, and education. At the request of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, Katherine Pettit first visited Perry County in 1895; a few years later, she and May Stone founded the Hindman and Pine Mountain settlement schools for eastern Kentucky youth. Among the many women who were drawn to the mountains were New Englanders Alice Lloyd and June Buchanan. With volunteer help and donated money, they built some one hundred elementary and secondary schools. In 1923, Lloyd founded Caney Creek Junior College at Pippa Passes; today the college is a four-year institution bearing her name.

Also taking an interest in education was Cora Wilson Stewart of Morehead. In 1901, she was elected superintendent of the Rowan County schools; ten years later, she became the first woman president of the Kentucky Education Association. Stewart's most famous contribution to Kentucky was the Moonlight Schools, night classes for adult illiterates. She wrote simple texts for adults in a newspaper format; the lessons did not insult their intelligence, and at the same time they provided useful information. Her program gained acceptance around the state, and each county had a moonlight school program. Stewart's legacy lives on in the work of the Kentucky Literacy Commission.

A number of reformers were interested in medicine. In 1908, Linda Neville began her work to eradicate trachoma, an eye ailment that if untreated resulted in blindness. Estimating that the mountains contained about 33,000 cases of trachoma, she set up annual clinics staffed with medical personnel to provide treatments. Then she rode a mule around the area, urging parents to bring the

Figure 12.4 Cora Wilson Stewart set up "moonlight schools" for adults who desired further education (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



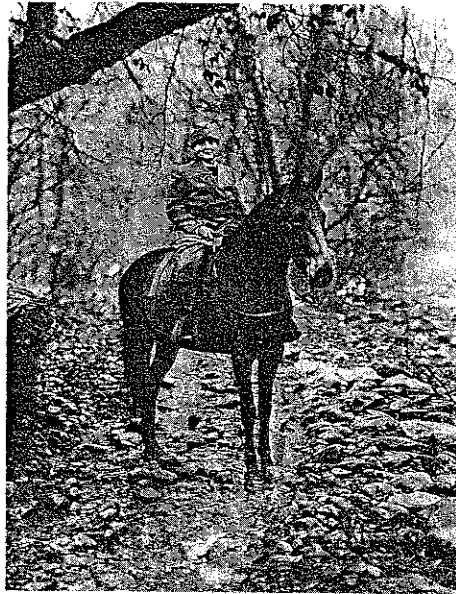


Figure 12.5 Traveling on horseback in rural eastern Kentucky, the Frontier Nursing Service, founded by Mary Breckinridge, provided health and maternal care (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

entire family for eye examinations. Called the Angel of Blindness, she solicited contributions, wrote informational brochures, and opened her home to patients who sought eye treatment in Lexington. In less than a decade, clinics were held around the state.

Using many of the same tactics as her friend Linda Neville, Mary Breckinridge, a cousin of the Lexington Breckinridges, began the Frontier Nursing Service to provide maternal and infant health care in Leslie County in 1925. Dependent upon external contributions and local support, the nursing service soon expanded into a family-centered health care organization that still operates today. By 1990, "Mrs. Breckinridge's nurses" had served over 91,500 patients and delivered 22,816 babies, with a loss of only eleven mothers in childbirth. There have been no maternal deaths since 1952. Breckinridge's idea of the family nurse practitioner was a concept ahead of its time but one that the medical profession reluctantly has accepted.

Recent Reforms

Neville's and Breckinridge's reforming activities have found contemporary echoes in the work of the Mountain Maternal Health League, the Louisville and Lexington Urban Leagues, and the maternal and child health services of the state Human Resources Cabinet. The state's war on poverty in Appalachia rests in part with women like Peggy Kemner in Knox County and Eula Hall in Floyd County. Arriving on Stinking Creek in 1958, Kemner, a nurse-midwife, and Irma Gall, a teacher, established a small clinic and learning center in a mountain hollow. Called the Lend-A-Hand Center, the modern settlement house organization provides clinical diagnosis and home health care to some sixty families in the area. Eula Hall, another activist and a community action advocate, founded Mud Creek Clinic to provide better health care for the indigent, and she picketed the local school board to obtain free and reduced-price lunches for deserv-

ing children. Her efforts in the Floyd County Save Our Kentucky organization exerted enough pressure to stop strip miners from mining hillsides above area homes.

Student Essay

No Longer Catching the Baby

It is often said that the future relies upon the children of today. For eastern Kentucky's children to fulfill this saying, they must be born and live in healthy conditions. Mary Breckinridge (February 17, 1881-May 16, 1965) believed in the mountain people of Kentucky and in improving their living conditions; these beliefs led to her organizing the Frontier Nursing Service.

Mary Breckinridge came from a family of statesmen; she traveled as a child and was well-educated. As a young woman, she was widowed, and her second marriage ended after the death of her two children. Her son, Breckie, had once said that he wished that he could fly; she later wrote, "It is because that I wanted other children to feel that they could fly—as well as fall—that we have the Frontier Nursing Service today."

When Mary Breckinridge went into the remote areas of Leslie, Perry, and Clay counties in eastern Kentucky, she met with unsanitary birthing conditions. It wasn't unusual for a wife to give birth while sitting on her husband's lap or on a bottomless chair—thus the saying "catching the baby." Also, the "doctors" of the area relied upon home remedies; however, it may have been a blessing that they couldn't give prescription drugs.

Mary Breckinridge and her nurses went wherever they were needed; it was said that "if the father can come for the nurse, the nurse will get to the mother." The Kentucky Committee for Mothers and Babies, formed May 28, 1925, was renamed Frontier Nursing Service in 1928 and provided a great service to the mountains. It introduced and provided better health care and better living for young and old in eastern Kentucky.

*Gail Hayes
Tyner, Kentucky*

Over the past two hundred years, Kentucky women have achieved many reforms in the face of overwhelming odds. A number of the commonwealth's female activists, often wearing yellow ribbons, have been in the forefront of the nation's women's movement in their quest for women's rights. Two indications of success were the elections of Georgia M. Powers and

Martha Layne Collins to major public offices. In 1967, Powers was the first female Afro-American to be elected to the state Senate, and in 1983, Collins became governor of Kentucky. Providing strong role models, Kentucky women have contributed, and continue to contribute, to the survival of the state and its institutions. A 1920s Kentucky author may have said it best in homespun poetry when she wrote,

They talk about a woman's sphere
 As though it had a limit. . . .
 There's not a place in heaven or earth
 There's not a life nor death nor birth,
 That has a feather's weight of worth
 Without a woman in it.

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Summary

From statehood to the present, outstanding people have lived in Kentucky, and none are more outstanding than the women reformers. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries feminine reformers such as Laura Clay, Lida Calvert Obenchain, Linda Neville, Cora Wilson Stewart, Mary Breckinridge, and Madeline McDowell Breckinridge devoted their lives to improving the status of the state's powerless who numbered half of the population. These reformers worked for suffrage and other statutory reforms, temperance, and various humanitarian causes. Today Kentucky women are still faced with problems resulting from their ambiguous status as the commonwealth moves into the twenty-first century. Thus the struggle and the work of women reformers go on.

CHAPTER 13

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From War's End to the Great Depression, 1865-1930

Melba Porter Hay

Kentucky emerged from the Civil War in virtual ruin. Although the state had remained in the Union, martial law (law administered by military forces) continued in effect until October 12, 1865—six months after the war had ended. Many felt Kentucky was treated as if it had seceded. As a result of real and imagined abuses of federal power, public attitudes in the commonwealth turned increasingly prosouthern. The state moved quickly to restore civil rights to ex-Confederates and their sympathizers. Governor Thomas E. Bramlette, who had been elected in 1863 as a Union Democrat, issued pardons to those who had been convicted of treason for acts of war.

Postwar Readjustment

During the readjustment period following the war, Kentucky had to deal with the questions of education, civil rights, and suffrage for blacks. In 1866, the legislature passed a code of basic civil rights for the freedmen as well as a bill for black education. Partially as a result of charges of racial violence, the Freedmen's Bureau, which was created by the federal government to assist the ex-slaves in the former Confederate states, was extended to

Kentucky. Many people resented the bureau because they felt it engaged in partisan political activities; others praised the work it did for black rights.

By 1867, former Confederates had gained control of the Democratic party. Their success has often been attributed to Kentucky's conservatism, to the sympathy many Kentuckians felt for their defeated southern friends, and to bitterness over the way the state was treated by the federal government during and immediately after the war. In fact, it has been said that Kentucky seceded from the Union *after* the Civil War.

More recently, however, some historians have placed a different interpretation on these events. They contend that a power vacuum existed in Kentucky following the war and that power groups formed along rival trade, commercial, social, and agricultural lines—Louisville versus Lexington, hemp farmers versus dark tobacco growers, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (L & N) versus the Cincinnati Southern. These power blocs sought to control state government, and they often succeeded. Politics became a game, with the ins opposing the outs as they both scrambled for the spoils of office rather than trying to promote the public good. Since the Republican party was very weak, the conflicts were frequently between factions in the Democratic party. Only when this factionalism became pronounced did Republicans have a chance to win elections.

Railroad Rivalry

In the 1867 Democratic convention, ex-Confederates dominated the action, nominating John L. Helm for governor and John W. Stevenson for lieutenant governor. Union Democrats, led by Governor Bramlette, revolted because they felt that Unionists were being excluded from party leadership. They briefly formed a Conservative party and ran a candidate for governor. Helm, who had become ill during the campaign, won the election, took the oath from his bed, and died five days later. Lieutenant Governor Stevenson then became governor.

Throughout Stevenson's term as governor, the state was ravaged by mob violence, vigilante action, and racial unrest

More than once he sent state militia out to restore order. The 1869 legislature appropriated additional funds for reform schools and asylums and provided for a bond issue for internal improvements. Some additional money was also appropriated for the public schools. In 1871, Stevenson resigned after being elected to the U.S. Senate.

One of the most controversial political issues of this period was a proposal to build the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, which would open up trade from Cincinnati through central and eastern Kentucky to the South but would rival the trade route of the L & N Railroad. A state charter was needed from the legislature in order to proceed with construction. The L & N's powerful lobby twice defeated the proposal when it came before the Kentucky legislature. In 1871, a bill to provide a charter for the railroad was introduced in the U.S. Congress. Central Kentuckians warmly supported the congressional bill, but the Kentucky legislature urged the state's senators to vote against it on the grounds that it was an invasion of states' rights. Faced with the threat of federal action, the General Assembly in 1872 finally granted the state charter. The Cincinnati Southern, which was completed in 1880, ended the monopoly, although the L & N continued to be a powerful force in state politics.

Democratic Party Factions

By the 1870s, two factions had begun to develop in the Democratic party. The conservatives, or "Bourbons," controlled the party machinery and the state conventions. They were opposed by the "New Departure" Democrats, whose leaders included ex-Confederate Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and W.C.P. Breckinridge, later a congressman from Lexington. The New Departure Democrats urged acceptance of the Fourteenth Amendment (which made the ex-slaves citizens of the United States and provided that the states could not deprive any citizen of equal protection of the laws) and Fifteenth Amendment (which gave former slaves the right to vote) and sought to encourage the development of industry and natural resources, to improve education, and to curb lawlessness.

The 1871 gubernatorial election provided a test for the Democratic party factions. Preston H. Leslie had become acting governor upon Stevenson's resignation in 1871. Leslie, a Bourbon, was then nominated for governor by the Democratic state convention, while John G. Carlisle, a New Departure Democrat, was nominated for lieutenant governor. The Republicans nominated the brilliant, six-foot-three-inch John Marshall Harlan. Harlan argued vigorously for an income tax, and for a tax equalization fund to assist education in poorer areas, and he denounced the racism of the Democrats. Although Harlan was the superior campaigner and won nearly twice as many votes as any Republican had ever before received in Kentucky, he was unable to overcome resentment against the Republican national administration.

Once elected, Leslie increasingly turned his administration toward New Departure programs. A bill allowing blacks to testify against whites in court cases passed, as did a bill creating the Kentucky Geological Survey. In the midst of his term, the Panic of 1873 occurred, causing a collapse in tobacco prices and land values. This led to a wave of rural discontent that was increased by the hard-money, gold-standard monetary policy of the federal government in which the value of currency remained high because it was backed by gold bullion. Farmers began to join a national movement called the Grange, which started as a social organization but soon became involved in political and economic reforms. In Kentucky, the Grange exerted influence in the Democratic party, and a number of legislators were elected who were sympathetic to the farmers' demand for cheap, or inflated, money. The Republican party remained solidly in favor of the gold standard.

Presidential Politics

Kentuckians played a significant role in the presidential election of 1876. At the 1876 Republican National Convention, Rutherford B. Hayes won the presidential nomination after John Marshall Harlan swung the Kentucky delegation to him. By this action, Harlan obtained Hayes's gratitude and, in 1877, was appointed t

the new president to a position on the U.S. Supreme Court, where he served for almost forty years. Meanwhile, Henry Watterson served as temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention that nominated Samuel B. Tilden. Tilden carried Kentucky and had a national popular majority, but the electoral votes of four states—Oregon, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida—were disputed, throwing the election in doubt. An electoral commission was formed to decide the disputed states. Watterson, a newly elected congressman, was named to the commission. He advocated accepting the commission's recommendation which gave the disputed votes and the election to Hayes in exchange for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South and the restoration of home rule, that is, the return of self-government to the people of the southern states.

Problems of the Late Nineteenth Century

Democrats continued to be successful on the state level from the 1870s to the early 1890s. They elected for governor James McCreary, Dr. Luke Pryor Blackburn, J. Proctor Knott, Simon Bolivar Buckner, and John Young Brown. Violence, particularly the bloody feuds in the eastern part of the state, continued to be a problem throughout the period. Most governors followed the tradition of issuing pardons too freely, adding to the lawlessness. The state was constantly in need of additional revenue to fund education, provide decent prisons, and support adequate facilities for the blind, deaf, and mentally ill. Perhaps the thing most needed was tax reform. Although the property tax was the state's main source of income, there was no uniform system for evaluating property for taxation. Much property was taxed at a value much less than its actual worth, and corporations often escaped paying taxes entirely. Consequently, the state never had sufficient revenue.

Governor Blackburn attempted to deal with the revenue shortage by asking the legislature to increase taxes. Although taxes were raised, there still was no provision for equal assessment of property. Blackburn also embarked on a crusade to improve the deplorable conditions at the Kentucky State Penitentiary at

Frankfort. When the legislature delayed action because of the cost, he began to issue pardons to decrease overcrowding. In 1884, during Governor Knott's administration, a board was finally created to make certain that property was evaluated fairly, and the legislature funded the building of a branch penitentiary at Eddyville. That same year, a school law was passed that lengthened the school year and made some improvements in education, primarily in areas where local communities were willing to raise additional funds. The state's budget deficit was not relieved even with the passage in 1886 of a new tax law that imposed the first taxes on corporations. The problem became even worse when the legislature later reduced the property tax rate. With the state's coffers empty, Governor Buckner loaned the commonwealth enough money from his personal fortune to keep it going until tax money was collected. Although most of the governors had good intentions, they had little real power. Moreover, as one historian has said, preventing additional taxes was a "magic phrase" in Kentucky politics.

A New Constitution

A frequent topic of debate was the need to revise Kentucky's 1850 constitution. After many attempts, a constitutional convention was called to meet in Frankfort on September 8, 1890. Cassius M. Clay, Jr., of Bourbon County, nephew of the famous emancipationist, Cassius M. Clay, presided at the convention. The convention sat for 226 days and produced a document of some seventy pages. It was very specific, eliminating implied powers whenever possible and attempting to legislate for future generations. It was purposely made difficult to amend and was outdated by the time it was ratified by the voters.

The new constitution did nothing to ease the economic or social problems of Kentucky. The 1890s brought a resurgence of hard times after some improvement during the previous decade. As farm prices again dropped, it was inevitable that the suffering farmers would become involved in political protest. In the late 1880s, they joined the Farmers' Alliance, an organization that became more politically active than the Grange had been. J

1889, the Farmers' Alliance in Kentucky adopted a platform advocating the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold (in order to create inflation), the popular election of U.S. senators, regulation of the railroads, a low tariff, and a graduated income tax. Many of the alliance members joined the Populist party when it was organized in 1890-91. The revolt became so strong that it threatened the uneasy coalition between the Bourbons and New Departure Democrats. This first became evident in 1887 when the L & N lobby attempted to get the legislature to abolish the Railroad Commission. The foes of the L & N Railroad, led by state Senator William Goebel, saved the commission by proving that the railroad lobby engaged in bribery and other corrupt practices. In the 1890s, the Democrats were torn apart over monetary policy, with one group favoring the gold standard while the other endorsed an inflationary money stance based on increased dependence on silver.

Student Essay

Hard Times in Kentucky

Hard times came to Kentucky after the Civil War ended. The hemp industry, in particular, went into decline. After the war's end, a decrease in boat traffic hurt many of the smaller cities along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. But the railroad helped to lessen the depression in Kentucky. Louisville, which had access to both railroad and river, became a major center for the exchange of goods between the North and the South.

In the 1870s and 1880s, horse racing and tobacco brought back some prosperity and wealth to the state, but periodic drops in the price of tobacco slowed that trend. In the 1890s, coal was becoming a major industry in Kentucky in the Appalachian Plateau. Many out-of-state speculators bought land in the region and some of the wealth of Kentucky was funneled out of the state. In the 1900s, a monopoly of the tobacco market existed in Kentucky. A result of the monopoly was the Black Patch War of 1904-1909, in which some warehouses were burned. The monopoly on tobacco was broken, auctions were held to sell tobacco, and economics improved.

When the depression of the 1930s hit the United States, it hit Kentucky hard. Small farmers often lost their farms and had to move to big cities. But that depression followed many years of difficulty.

*Eugene Rector
Lebanon Junction, Kentucky*

With the Democrats in disarray, Republicans in 1895 had their first real chance for victory in the gubernatorial election. They nominated their longtime leader William O. Bradley, who advocated a number of progressive reforms such as improvements in education, a stronger response to violence, and better treatment for blacks. The Democrats nominated "silverite" P. Wat (Parker Watkins) Hardin. Bradley received the votes of many so-called gold Democrats, while the Populist candidate took many traditionally Democratic votes from Hardin. Bradley's victory gave the Republicans the governorship, and they also controlled the House. On joint ballot, the two parties were evenly divided. Since senators were elected not by popular vote but by the General Assembly at that time, this created a stalemate, preventing the election of a U.S. senator in 1896. However, the following year, the Republicans were successful in electing their candidate. Partisan spirit prevented passage of most of Bradley's recommendations.

The Democrats were still divided when they met in 1899 to nominate a candidate for governor. In a riotous nine-day convention in Louisville, they chose state Senator William Goebel on the twenty-sixth ballot. The convention was marked by political deals and failure to follow parliamentary procedure. This caused a serious defection from the party by a group calling themselves "Honest Election Democrats." They held a separate convention and nominated former governor John Young Brown. The Republicans nominated William S. Taylor as their candidate.

The Goebel Assassination

One of the major issues in the campaign was the controversial Goebel Election Law that had been sponsored by the senator in 1898. It was designed to give the majority party in the legislature control over disputed elections, and many felt it was intended to put Goebel in the governorship. Goebel, the son of German immigrants, had already made a reputation fighting for regulation of the L & N Railroad, whose powerful lobby was a corrupting influence in state government. The campaign was bitter, and election day was marked by voter fraud. It appeared that Taylor

was elected by slightly fewer than 2,400 votes, and he was sworn in as governor on December 12, 1899. The Democrats decided to contest the election before the legislature. A number of seats in the legislature were also being contested, and large numbers of people, many of whom were armed, gathered in Frankfort as deliberations began. On January 30, 1900, Goebel was shot in the capitol yard. Soon the legislative committee ruled that Goebel had been elected governor and his running-mate, J.C.W. Beckham, lieutenant governor. Goebel was sworn in as governor but died on February 3, and Beckham was sworn in as his successor. Republicans refused to recognize those actions as legal, and, for a time, Kentucky had two rival governments and the possibility of more conflict. The courts eventually ruled in Beckham's favor, and Taylor fled to Indiana.

In death, the controversial Goebel became a martyr. He has been described as a reformer who challenged corporate interests on behalf of the people and as a political boss motivated solely by a desire for power. His death aroused bitterness that lasted for years. Both parties continued to be more interested in dividing the spoils than in acting for the public interest, and Republicans could win only when the Democratic party split.



Figure 13.1 Governor and Senator J.C.W. Beckham of Bardstown (Kentucky Historical Society).

The New Century

Only thirty years of age when he became governor, J.C.W. Beckham faced the task of restoring order in the state. He secured repeal of the hated Goebel Election Law, approved creation of two state colleges for teacher education (called normal schools), and built a new state capitol. But he failed to deal with the lawlessness resulting from feuds in eastern Kentucky and tobacco wars in the west and central regions. The tobacco conflicts, also called the Black Patch War, occurred when the tobacco trust reduced the

price they paid for tobacco. Farmers attempted to form cooperatives to bring all their crops together so they could negotiate as a unit with the trust. Some, however, used violence and intimidation to try to force all farmers to participate in the cooperative.

The Progressive reform movement swept the country during the early part of the twentieth century. Designed to curb the power and corruption of large corporations, protect workers, and return power to the people, the movement advocated antitrust legislation, direct election of U.S. senators, workers' compensation laws, a graduated income tax, and many other laws to protect people from the effects of unchecked industrialization and urbanization. Some reformers also embraced such moral issues as prohibition of the sale of liquor and the abolition of gambling.

Governor Beckham adopted the cause of prohibition, which had many followers among fundamentalist religious groups in the state. Together with Robert Worth Bingham, who had a reputation as Louisville's clean government spokesman, Beckham and his political strategist Percy Haly succeeded in getting a law through the legislature in 1906, allowing each county to decide whether to allow liquor sales (to be "wet") or to restrict them (to be "dry"). After that so-called county-unit law, the prohibitionists then turned their focus toward statewide prohibition. This injected an issue into politics that proved as divisive for the Democratic party as free silver had been a decade before. An anti-Beckham faction came together, led by Henry Watterson and made up of reform-minded farmers, distillers, and the Louisville Democratic machine. Both wet and dry factions were comprised of such a mixture of ideas and conflicting interest groups that it is little wonder that Kentucky did not sustain an effective Progressive reform movement.

In 1907, Harvard-educated Republican Augustus E. Willson, a Louisville attorney, was able to win the governorship by taking advantage of the Democratic split on prohibition and the failure to deal with the tobacco wars. He used the militia to restore order and vigorously prosecuted those who were charged with crimes in the tobacco wars. Although he did nothing to assist the economic problems of the troubled farmers, he did succeed in quelling the disturbance.

Three Progressive Governors

From 1911 to 1919, Kentuckians elected three fairly progressive governors. Democrat James B. McCreary, who had first served as governor in 1875, won his second bid and established a solid record of reform in contrast to the conservatism of his first administration. He appointed a tax commission to study the state's outdated tax system and ordered the reassessment of corporate property. The legislature passed a bill that allowed voters to select candidates in a primary, a stronger compulsory school attendance law, and a law allowing women to vote in school elections. The bill also created a commission to select textbooks, a state highway department, and a department of state banking.

Democrat Augustus Owsley Stanley, a six-term congressman and Kentucky's outstanding Progressive orator, followed McCreary. Stanley had acquired national recognition in Congress by fighting the U.S. Steel and American Tobacco Company trusts. His opponent was Edwin P. Morrow, nephew of William O. Bradley. Both men were excellent stump orators, and they were personal friends. Their debates produced one of the most colorful campaigns in the state's history. The two called for similar reforms, but Morrow advocated a "general house-cleaning" in Frankfort and emphasized his long-time support of the county-unit law, which Stanley had only recently embraced in preference to statewide prohibition. On one occasion, Stanley had allegedly been eating and drinking too much. As Morrow was speaking in the hot sun, Stanley was overcome and ran to the back of the platform and vomited. He then calmly turned around and apologized to the audience, saying that hearing Ed Morrow speak always made him sick to his stomach! Stanley emerged with a 471-vote plurality, the closest gubernatorial vote in Kentucky's history.

Stanley was able to obtain passage of nearly all aspects of his program—an antitrust law, a workman's compensation law, a corrupt practices act governing elections, an



Figure 13.2 Governor and Senator Augustus Owsley Stanley of Henderson (Kentucky Historical Society).

antilobby law limiting the activities of lobbyists, an antipass act prohibiting railroads from giving free passes to government officials, and a series of tax reform bills. The legislature also approved the Eighteenth Amendment (national prohibition). Stanley was elected to the U.S. Senate and resigned from the governorship in May

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Letters from a President

President Woodrow Wilson's support made possible passage of the woman suffrage amendment. In this letter he was attempting to ensure that Kentucky's new senator would vote for the amendment.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

30 August, 1918.

My dear Governor:

Will you pardon a suggestion about Senator James' successor? The matter of woman suffrage is critically important just now, and I am going to make bold to suggest that it would be of great advantage to the party and to the country if his successor entertained views favorable to the pending constitutional amendment.

Pardon me if I am taking too great a liberty. I am writing this because I know how serious the consequences of a rejection may be.

With warmest personal greetings,

Cordially and sincerely yours,



Hon. Augustus O. Stanley,
Governor of Kentucky,
Frankfort, Kentucky.

During World War I the Kentucky legislature passed a bill prohibiting the teaching of German in the public schools, but Governor A.O. Stanley vetoed it.

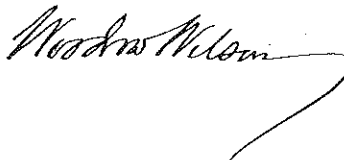
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10 October, 1918.

My dear Mr. Lafoon:

I answer your letter of October 7th with real pleasure. Governor Stanley did seek the advice of the Bureau of Education before vetoing the bill prohibiting the teaching of the German Language in the public schools of Kentucky, and did, in my judgment, act entirely with a view to the general educational interests, and certainly should not be considered as having in that matter been guilty of the least touch of disloyalty of any kind. I have entire confidence in Governor Stanley and should be sorry to see any misunderstanding arise as to his motives in this or any other matter.

Cordially and sincerely yours,



Hon. Polk Lafoon,
Kenton County National Defense,
Covington, Kentucky.

Source: University of Kentucky, Special Collections.

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1919. Lieutenant Governor James Black became governor and served the remaining seven months of Stanley's term. Faced with allegations of extravagance, corruption, and poor appointments made by his predecessor, Black was swamped in the gubernatorial election by Edwin P. Morrow.

The era of limited Progressive reform in Kentucky reached its high point and then came to an end during the Morrow administration. Enacted were a number of laws to improve public and higher education and to remove charitable and penal institutions and the judiciary from politics. The Nineteenth Amendment (woman suffrage) was also ratified. Morrow established stiffer rules for granting pardons and received national recognition for his opposition to lynching.

The Gambling Issue

The only reform to gain steam in the 1920s was the antigambling movement. It had the support of the Louisville Churchmen's Federation, a coalition of Protestant ministers and laymen, and was adopted by Alben Barkley in the 1923 Democratic gubernatorial primary. In his campaign against J. Campbell Cantrill, Barkley targeted the Kentucky Jockey Club, which had been formed in 1918 and owned all the major horse racing tracks in the state. Formed by wealthy Louisville and Bluegrass investors and headed by Johnson N. Camden, the club held a state-sanctioned monopoly on pari-mutuel gambling, in which the odds are set by the amount of money bet. Camden also headed the Kentucky racing commission, which controlled the tracks and set racing dates. The potential for corruption was great and the chance for regulation slim. Moreover, Barkley charged that Democrats and Republicans had formed a "bipartisan combine" composed of gambling, coal, textbook, whiskey, and other interests, which acted together to pervert the political process. Barkley lost the primary. Cantrill, however, died before the election, and a small group of party leaders chose Congressman William J. Fields as the new Democratic candidate. He won the governorship but was unable to unite his party.

J.C.W. Beckham seized the gambling issue in his 1927 bid for the governorship. Presenting himself as the reform candidate, he charged that the Jockey Club and the coal companies had a large slush fund with which to buy the primary for his opponent. He overwhelmed his opponent in the primary, but old-guard Demo-

crats endorsed the Republican nominee, Flem D. Sampson. Beckham was the only Democrat on the state ticket to be defeated.

Sampson, who had been a judge on the Kentucky Court of Appeals, entered the governorship with a weak political base and a Democratic legislature. His most controversial acts were a proposal to build a hydroelectric plant at Cumberland Falls and his rejection of a gift from the DuPont family to buy the falls and convert the area to a park. When he vetoed the bill to accept the DuPont gift, it was passed over his veto. The legislature ultimately stripped Sampson of much of his statutory authority through so-called ripper bills.

Toward the Great Depression

As 1930 drew to a close, Kentucky was sinking ever deeper into the Great Depression, and state government was in disarray. Kentucky politics, with its conflicting interest groups, had prevented true reform on the state level. Even such so-called Progressives as Stanley never really escaped the corrupting influence of special interests. By the 1920s, the automobile and the demand for roads were changing the state forever. Access to isolated areas became easier, and the old provincialism began slowly to break down. More significant was the vast increase in patronage created by the need for construction and maintenance of roads. This greatly increased the influence of state government since the highway commission could command political contributions from the counties and could control the legislature by offering jobs. Certainly, things had changed little since James H. Mulligan had stated in his poem "In Kentucky" that

Orators are the grandest
 in Kentucky;
 Officials are the blandest
 in Kentucky

 And politics—the damnedest
 in Kentucky.

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Summary

Kentuckians faced many challenges at the end of the Civil War—building the state's shattered economy, adjusting to the end of slavery, providing ex-slaves with basic civil rights, creating a new system of public education for both blacks and whites, and restoring law and order. For the most part, the state's politicians seemed unable or unwilling to meet these challenges. The economy continued to be depressed, while special interest groups such as the L & N Railroad and later the coal interests and the Jockey Club frequently controlled government for their own benefit. In addition, Kentuckians' devotion to low taxes prevented the establishment of an adequate system of public education or sufficient charitable and penal institutions. The new state constitution, written and adopted in 1890-91, did not improve matters; rather, it immediately became a burden from which the commonwealth seemingly could not escape. Although blacks were allowed to vote, they continued to suffer discrimination and were often victims of violence. Much of the state continued to be wracked by lawlessness. Bloody feuds in eastern Kentucky at the end of the century and the assassination of William Goebel in 1900 illustrate the magnitude of this problem.

By 1908 there was a stronger effort by the state to stop mob violence, vigilante action, and the tobacco wars. Progressive reformers in the twentieth century were able to achieve some needed changes such as compulsory school attendance laws, a more equal system of property taxation, some regulation of corporations, and a system of normal schools for teacher training. Reformers themselves, however, were often sidetracked by such issues as liquor prohibition and gambling. Democrats continued to control state government most of the time, with Republicans winning elections only when the Democrats split into factions. Because of conflicting interest groups, attachment to tradition, and a restrictive state constitution, neither party was able to provide the sustained leadership needed to meet the challenges of modernization and economic development.

CHAPTER 14

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Literature

Wade Hall

Kentuckians can be proud of their rich literature. Such talented writers as James Lane Allen, John Fox, Jr., Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Robert Penn Warren, Janice Holt Giles, Jesse Stuart, James Still, Wendell Berry, and Bobbie Ann Mason have given Kentucky an important place on the American literary map. It is a literature that has been more than two hundred years in the making. Earlier Kentuckians, however, were too busy taking care of their basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter to have much time for making literature. They read newspapers, political and religious pamphlets and books, the Bible, the almanac—plus a few poems and novels. Occasionally, they might see a play performed. But most of their own creative literary efforts took the oral forms of folk tales, songs, and riddles.

Literary Resources

The job of creating such written literary forms as poems, plays, novels, and short stories was left to later generations. After the land was cleared and settled, there would be more time for such enrichment activities as literature and the other arts. With the coming of statehood in 1792, Kentuckians became increasingly aware of the resources available for writing good literature. By that time, there had been created a large reservoir of history and culture that could be drawn upon for settings and subjects. The

adventures of pioneers like Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and George Rogers Clark, as well as the experiences of ordinary people, provided a fertile heritage and a challenge that writers have heeded down to the present. In fact, recent writers like Janice Holt Giles, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, and Harriette Simpson Arnow have written fiction about the pioneer period. In 1990, Louisville novelist Betty Layman Receveur published *Oh, Kentucky!*, an epic of the early settlement of Kentucky centered on Fort Boonesborough.

As Kentucky's history unfolded, writers were beginning to discover the incredible variety within the boundaries of their state. There were geographical differences, ethnic distinctions, and cultural diversity. Furthermore, it was becoming apparent that Kentucky's location as a border state, sharing traits with both the North and the South, the East and the West, added to its uniqueness. Finally, the fact that Kentucky was the first state created out of the trans-Appalachian wilderness gave the state special significance in the westward movement of the nation. All these subjects—and more—provided writers with an abundance of material.

Early Writers

Few writers rose to meet the challenge of these literary resources, however, until after the Civil War. It is true that many people filled blank pages with essays, biographical sketches, sermons—even some stories and poems. But most of such efforts were by lawyers, doctors, journalists, and ministers who considered literature a leisure-time activity and not a serious vocation. Consequently, most of their writing was imitative and trite. There were, however, some minor exceptions, and Danville has the distinction of being home to two of the state's first serious poets. Thomas Johnson, Jr., published the first book of poems in Kentucky, *The Kentucky Miscellany*, in Lexington in 1796. It contained a poem called "Kentucky," with these surprising lines: "I hate Kentucky, curse the place, / And all her vile and miscreant race." Needless to say, Johnson was not a popular poet in his own state! The second Danville poet was Theodore O'Hara, a soldier and lawyer

who in 1847 wrote what was to become the nation's best-known military poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead." Such lines as these may be found inscribed in bronze in military cemeteries today: "On Fame's eternal camping ground / Their silent tents are spread, / And Glory guards with solemn round / The bivouac of the dead."

By midcentury, Louisville was home to one of the country's most popular female poets, Amelia B. Welby, whose shallow and sentimental poems were national best-sellers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, James Mulligan, a lawyer, editor, and politician, wrote an often-quoted humorous poem, "In Kentucky," which exaggerates the virtues and the vices of the state, where, he says, "taxes are the highest" but "the song birds are the sweetest."

The Civil War Period

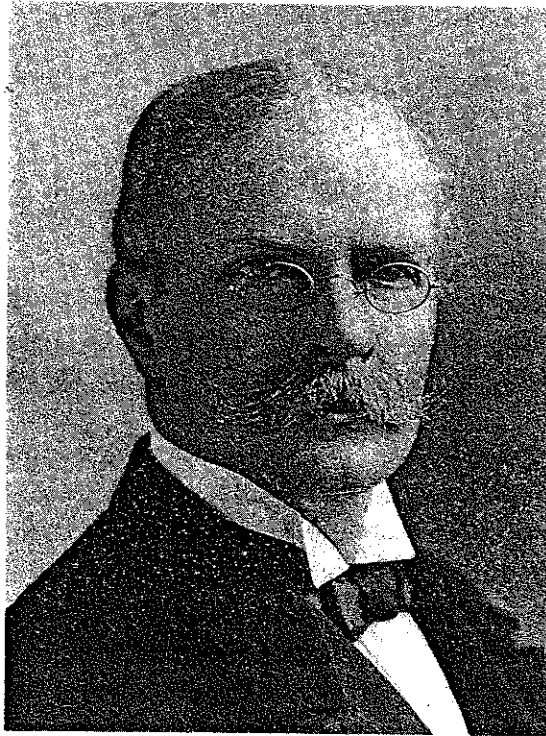
One of the most popular and influential books in American history had Kentucky connections. Although Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896) was never a resident of Kentucky, she visited a number of Kentucky plantations in Mason, Boyle, and Garrard counties while she was living with her family in Cincinnati during the 1830s and 1840s and obtained sufficient background for the setting and many of the characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). This compelling story of the separation of the saintly slave from his family and his sale to a Louisiana owner helped to galvanize opposition to slavery and hastened the coming of the Civil War. When the war finally came, it was presided over by two presidents born in Kentucky—U.S. President Abraham Lincoln and Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Both men possessed considerable literary talent. Lincoln's public speeches are masterpieces of the oratorical art, and Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), is a well-crafted insider's view of the short-lived Confederacy.

The period leading up to the Civil War also produced the nation's first black novelist, William Wells Brown (ca. 1814-1884), who was born a slave in Fayette County but eventually escaped to the North and became an accomplished writer and lecturer for the abolitionist cause. Of his more than twelve

books and pamphlets, his best known is *Clotel; or, the President's Daughter* (1853), a controversial novel about the rumors that Thomas Jefferson had fathered daughters by his slave mistress.

Local Color

Figure 14.1 Kentucky's first great novelist, James Lane Allen (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



Good fiction was being written in Kentucky by the end of the nineteenth century, when James Lane Allen (1849-1925) and

John Fox, Jr., (1862-1919) began publishing "local color" stories and sketches—that is, stories and sketches that emphasized regional speech and customs. Allen, a native of Fayette County, was probably the first Kentucky author to make a living from his writing. His first book was *Flute and Violin* (1891), a collection of Kentucky stories he had published in *Harper's*, *Atlantic*, *Century*, and other national magazines. Although he lived in New York City after 1893, fourteen of his eighteen books deal with Kentucky subjects. His best novel is *A Kentucky Cardinal* (1894), a romantic short novel set in the antebellum Bluegrass that is not only a love story but a study of the natural environment.

Fox was born in Bourbon County near Paris, but he spent considerable time in the Kentucky mountains and gained a national reputation as an interpreter of mountain culture. His novels include *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* (1903), a story of the Civil War that also contrasts the life of the mountains and the Bluegrass. A similar subject is found in *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1908), which treats the love of an aristocratic Bluegrass engineer for an uneducated mountain girl. Both Allen and Fox were immensely popular and paved the way for other Kentucky authors to receive national recognition.

Turn-of-the-Century Writers

By the turn of the century, every section of the state was contributing to the state's literature. Boone County and northern Kentucky were brought into the literary limelight by John Uri Lloyd (1849-1936), whose local color stories and novels are set mainly in the Florence area. In such novels as *Stringtown on the Pike* (1900) and *Warwick of the Knobs* (1901), Lloyd portrayed the dialect, characters, and customs of his corner of the state. Pewee Valley in Oldham County was the home of Annie Fellows Johnston (1863-1931), who created one of the best-known characters in American literature when in 1895 she published *The Little Colonel*, a nostalgic novel that tells the delightful adventures of a little Kentucky girl in the late nineteenth century. Another popular character was created by Alice Hegan Rice of Louisville (1870-1942) with the publication in 1901 of *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*, a sad but comic tale of a poor widow with a household of children with names like Asia, Australia, and Europena. *The Little Colonel* and *Mrs. Wiggs* became even more widely known after they were the subjects of successful motion pictures in the 1930s.

Kentucky was the birthplace of Joseph Altsheler (1862-1919), who wrote some of the most popular boys' stories in American literature. Altsheler, who was born in Three Springs in Hart County, wrote about poor boys who work hard and live virtuous lives and achieve fame and fortune. Three of his novels—*The Young Trailers* (1907), *The Forest Runners* (1909), and *The Border Watch* (1912)—depict the adventures of two Kentucky boys and their friends during frontier times. Kentucky's first widely known black writer was Joseph Seamon Cotter (1861-1949), who was born in Nelson County but grew up in Louisville, where he became an influential educator in the city's black schools. Cotter's short stories, plays, and poems gained him a national reputation during his lifetime. Much of his work, including a play, *Caleb the Degenerate* (1903), was written to encourage better race relations.

Another educator who was also an author was Lucy Furman (1870-1958), a native of Henderson who wrote principally about life in the eastern Kentucky mountains. *Mothering on Perilous* (1913) and *The Quare Women* (1923) are two novels based on



Figure 14.2 Popular humorist and author Irvin S. Cobb of Paducah (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

her experiences as a teacher at the Hindman Settlement School in Knott County. Far western Kentucky contributed one of the most widely read short story writers of his time, Paducah's Irvin S. Cobb (1876-1944), who was also a novelist, an actor, a scriptwriter in Hollywood, and an essayist. His stories were featured in many of the mass-circulated magazines of the day, including the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Cosmopolitan*. Cobb's best-known character is a genial western Kentucky ex-Confederate soldier, Judge Priest, who is the focus of several dozen stories and of *Back Home*, a collection published in 1912.

A Kentucky Renaissance

As we have seen, by the second decade of the twentieth century, many Kentucky writers had gained national fame and respect. During the next two decades, Kentucky was to play a leading role in the rebirth of southern literature (called the Southern Renaissance). A pioneer in the literary flowering was Perryville-born Elizabeth Madox Roberts (1881-1941), who lived most of her life in Springfield and Washington County, which became the setting of her major fiction and poetry. Her best novel is *The Time of Man* (1926), the story of Ellen Chesser, the daughter of farm laborers, and her struggle to live a good life. Her poor parents move from farm to farm doing seasonal work and living in tenant shacks. The novel shows Ellen's heroic, desperate search for happiness and reasonable comforts. She describes her modest dream in these haunting words: "If I only had things to put in drawers and drawers to put things in. That's all I'd ask for a time to come." Against the backdrop of the knobs and rolling fields of pasture, corn, and tobacco land of central Kentucky, Roberts wrote a masterpiece about the desire for human fulfillment. This "Kentucky Odyssey," as she called it, is one of the most beautiful and moving novels in American literature. Another of Roberts's impressive work

of fiction is *The Great Meadow* (1930), a tribute to her own pioneer ancestors as well as to all the early Kentuckians who braved the dangers of the wilderness to shape it to their needs.

Roberts was also an accomplished writer of short stories and poems. In one of her most charming poems, "On the Hill," she uses the voice of a little girl to describe her hometown of Springfield from atop a nearby hill. Here are some lines from the poem:

I saw the field where the big boys play,
And the roads that come from every way,
The courthouse place where the wagons stop,
And the bridge and the scales and the blacksmith shop.
The church steeple looked very tall and thin,
And I found the house that we live in.

Todd County was the home of another major voice of the period, Caroline Gordon (1895-1981), who used her own family and the Kentucky and Tennessee border country in many of her stories and novels. In such novels as *Penhally* (1931), *Aleck Maury*, *Sportsman* (1934), and *None Shall Look Back* (1937), Gordon attempted to show the advantages of a rural life over an urban, industrial society. In 1924, she married fellow Kentuckian Allen Tate (1899-1979) of Winchester, a poet and biographer of Stonewall Jackson and Jefferson Davis. Tate's most famous poem is "Ode to the Confederate Dead," a celebration of all people who die for a cause in which they believe.

Another writer who celebrated the rural life was Jesse Stuart (1907-1984), whose books brought international attention to eastern Kentucky and Greenup County, where he was born and lived almost all his life. Stuart wrote more than fifty books of poetry, fiction, biography, children's stories, and essays about his northeastern Kentucky hill country and its proud folk culture. He gained instant fame in 1934 with the publication of *Man with a Bull-Tongue Plow*, a collection of his country sonnets. Another poetry collection, *Kentucky Is My Land* (1952), contains these often-quoted lines: "Kentucky is neither southern, northern, eastern or western, / It is the core of America. / If these United



Figure 14.3 Highly honored novelist Elizabeth Madox Roberts (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

States can be called a body, / Kentucky can be called its heart.”

One of Stuart’s best-selling novels is *Taps for Private Tussie* (1943), the hilarious story of a soldier in World War II who is mistakenly reported killed in action. Before Private Tussie shows up alive, his family has already spent the insurance money they received for his death. Stuart’s best-known novel, however, is *The Thread That Runs So True* (1949), a salute to the teaching profession that he based on his own experiences as a teacher. Stuart chose the book’s title from a game that Kentucky schoolchildren used to play at recess while singing this song:

The needle’s eye that does supply,
The thread that runs so true,
Many a beau, have I let go,
Because I wanted you.

Many a dark and stormy night,
When I went home with you,
I stumped my toe and down I go,
Because I wanted you.

.....
From *The Thread That Runs So True*

When I walked down the broad center aisle and pulled on the bell rope, the soft tones sounded over the tobacco, corn and cane fields and the lush green valley; with the ringing of this bell, my school had begun. I knew that not half the pupils in the school census were here. There were 104 in the school census, of school age, for whom the state sent per capita money to pay for their schooling. I had thirty-five pupils. I thought the soft tones of this school bell through the rising mists and over warm cultivated fields where parents and their children were trying to eke out a bare subsistence from the soil might bring back warm memories of happy school days. For I remembered the tones of the Plum Grove school bell, and how I longed to be back in school after I had quit at the age of nine to work for twenty-five cents a day to help support my family. If I could have, I would have returned to school when I heard the Plum Grove bell. So I rang the bell and called the Lonesome Valley pupils back to school—back to books and play. For going to school had never been work to me. It had been recreation. And I hoped it would be the same for my pupils in Lonesome Valley.

Jesse Stuart
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In 1954, at the age of forty-seven, Stuart suffered a near-fatal heart attack. Beginning in January of 1955, he kept a journal of his recovery, which he published the following year as *Year of My Rebirth*, one of his most beautifully written and inspirational books. In the book he records his love for all life—human and animal—including a minnow he observed in a creek outside his home that successfully escaped from a snake. At his death almost thirty years later, Stuart, the son of a poor Kentucky farm family, had become one of America's most beloved storytellers and poets. His daughter, Jane, born in 1942, has continued the Stuart literary tradition as the author of poems, stories, and novels about her native hill country, including *Yellowhawk* (1973) and *Passerman's Hollow* (1974).

Some of Kentucky's finest writers, however, have not been natives. James Still, for example, was born in 1906 in Lafayette, Alabama, but he has lived most of his adult life in Knott County, in and around Hindman, the setting for most of his fiction and poetry. Still has taken the speech and folk culture of his adopted region and transformed it into some of the best literature ever written about mountain people. *River of Earth* (1940) is Still's eloquent and tragic novel that traces the harsh life of a poor coal miner's family as they move from one mine to another as work becomes available. Still's poetry collections range from *Hounds on the Mountain* (1937) to *The Wolfpen Poems* (1986). "Heritage," his best-known poem, describes the lure of the mountains that have been his home since 1932:

I shall not leave these prisoning hills
 Though they topple their barren heads to level earth
 And the forests slide uprooted out of the sky.
 Though the waters of Troublesome, of Trace Fork,
 Of Sand Lick rise in a single body to glean the valleys,
 To drown lush pennyroyal, to unravel rail fences;

Though the sun-ball breaks the ridges into dust
 And burns its strength into the blistered rock
 I cannot leave. I cannot go away.

Being of these hills, being one with the fox
 Stealing into the shadows, one with the new-born foal,
 The lumbering ox drawing green beech logs to mill,
 One with the destined feet of man climbing and descending,
 And one with death rising to bloom again, I cannot go.
 Being of these hills, I cannot pass beyond.

In *Jack and the Wonder Beans* (1977), Still places the familiar tale of Jack and the beanstalk in an Appalachian setting and makes it a delightful story for both children and adults. "Run for the Elbertas," the title story for a collection published in 1980, is a comic account of the problems two sixteen-year-old boys cause an old tightwad while helping him bring a truckload of peaches from South Carolina to Kentucky. Despite a relatively small number of books written during a career spanning more than half a century, James Still has become one of the most important literary voices of the southern mountain people.

Arkansas-born Janice Holt Giles (1909-1983) is another writer who became thoroughly acclimated to Kentucky and wrote most of her fiction about her adopted state. She was working in Louisville during World War II when she met Sergeant Henry Giles on a bus near Bowling Green. After Giles returned to his native Kentucky at the end of the war, they married and eventually moved to Henry's home community near Knifley in Adair County. It was here that she began to write fiction and nonfiction about the life and history of the ridges and valleys of south central Kentucky, including *The Enduring Hills* (1950), *40 Acres and N. Mule* (1952), and *The Land Beyond the Mountains* (1958). One of her most successful novels is *The Believers* (1957), the story of Rebecca Fowler and her family's conversion to Shaker beliefs. Another of her historical novels is *The Kentuckians* (1953), written against the background of the settlement of Kentucky. In the novel, a hunter tells of seeing the headwaters of the Green River and the promise he made to return and settle there: "For the first time in my life I commenced to have a yearning for a piece of land of my own, and it was this piece here I wanted, with the spring down there in the locust grove, and the meadow opening out beyond it, the hills rising up all around closing it in, and the river cutting through the hills. I knew I was coming back here some day." Indeed, here was fertile land for hunter, for farmer, and for a writer like Janice Holt Giles.

French-born Thomas Merton (1916-1968) is Kentucky's most famous religious writer. In 1941, he entered the Trappist monastery at Gethsemani near Bardstown, where he wrote poems, religious prose, and biographies that earned him a worldwide reputation. *The Seven-Storey Mountain* (1948) is the story of his religious conversion and decision to become

Trappist monk. In a number of his autobiographical works, such as *The Sign of Jonas* (1949), and in many of his poems, he wrote perceptively about his adopted state. "The Guns of Fort Knox," for example, is a satire on the nearby military reservation. In 1968, he was accidentally electrocuted when he touched an exposed wire of an electric fan while attending a religious conference in Bangkok, Thailand.

.....

From *The Sign of Jonas*

The life is physically hard, but the compensation for this hardship is interior peace. In any case, one soon becomes used to the hardships and finds that they are not so hard after all. Seven hours of sleep are normally enough. The monks' diet is extremely plain, but is ordinarily enough to keep a man healthy for long years, and monks traditionally die of old age. One soon gets used to sleeping on straw and boards. Most monks would find it difficult to sleep on a soft mattress, after their simple pallets. The life is usually quiet. There is no conversation. The monks talk to their superiors or spiritual directors when necessary. In the average monastery, Trappist silence is an all-pervading thing that seeps into the very stones of the place and saturates the men who live there.

Thomas Merton

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Another important figure in the Kentucky literary renaissance is Harriette Simpson Arnow (1908-1986), a native of Wayne County. She attended Berea College and the University of Louisville, taught in the public schools of Pulaski County, and published her first novel, *Mountain Path*, in 1936. Her other novels are *Hunter's Horn* (1949), *The Weedkiller's Daughter* (1970), *The Kentucky Trace* (1974), and *The Dollmaker* (1954), which was based in part upon her own experiences living in a Detroit housing project during World War II. The title character, Gertie Nevels, is one of the strongest female characters in American fiction. Near the beginning of the novel, she performs a primitive operation on her infant son Amos, who is ill, using a knife, a hairpin, and a small tree limb. After moving to Detroit, the family suffers many tragedies, but Gertie learns to compromise and adapt to her new environment. Arnow is also the author of two studies of the

history and culture of the Kentucky and Tennessee Cumberland region: *Seedtime on the Cumberland* (1960) and *Flowering of the Cumberland* (1963).

Robert Penn Warren: A Literary Giant

Kentucky has, indeed, produced many first-rate writers; but the greatest author to call the state his home was Robert Penn Warren

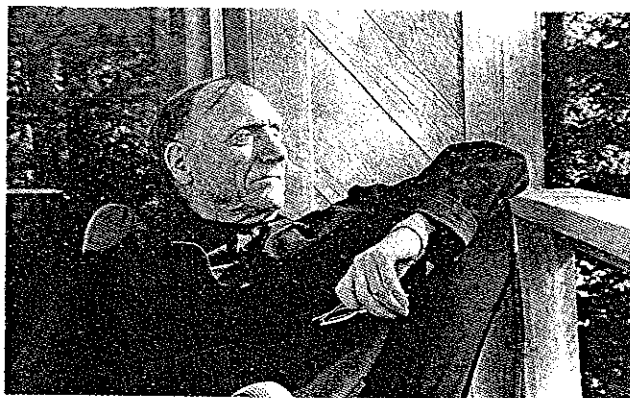


Figure 14.4 Kentucky's most acclaimed poet and author and America's first poet laureate, Robert Penn Warren, was born in Guthrie (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

(1905-1989), a native of Guthrie in Todd County. Although he lived most of his adult life outside his native state, he usually returned to it for the subjects and themes of his poetry, his fiction, and even his play, *Brother to Dragons* (1953), which is based on the brutal murder of a slave in the early 1800s by two nephews of Thomas Jefferson living in Livingston County. Warren's novels with Kentucky backgrounds include *Night Rider* (1939), which treats the violence in the tobacco wars of the early 1900s; *The Cave* (1959), a fictional treatment of the entrapment of Floyd Collins in Sand Cave in 1925; and *Band of Angels* (1955), the tragic story of Amantha Starr, the daughter of a slave woman and a white plantation owner who is sold into slavery at her father's death. Perhaps Warren's best Kentucky book is *World Enough and Time* (1950), a fictional version of the 1825 murder of a Kentucky politician and a philosophical meditation on motivation and justice. This passage from the novel shows Warren's obsession with Kentucky's past:

In the days before the white man came, the Indians called the land of Kentucky the Dark and Bloody Ground. But they also called it the Breathing Land and the Hollow Land, for beneath the land there are great caves. The Indians came here to fight and to hunt, but they did not come here to live. It was a holy land, it was a land of mystery, and they trod the soil lightly when they came. They could not live here, for the

gods lived here. But when the white men came, the gods fled, either into the upper air or deeper into the dark earth. So there was no voice there to speak and tell the white men what justice is.

.....

The Ballad of Billie Potts

It is not hard to see the land, what it was.
 Low hills and oak. The fetid bottoms where
 The slough uncoiled and in the tangled cane,
 Where no sun comes, the muskrat's astute face
 Was lifted to the yammering jay; then dropped.
 A cabin where the shagbark stood and the
 Magnificent tulip-tree; both now are gone.
 But the land is there, and as you top a rise,
 Beyond you all the landscape steams and simmers
 —The hills, now gutted, red, cane-brake and black-jack yet.
 The oak leaf steams under the powerful sun.
 "Mister, is this the right road to Paducah?"
 The red face, seamed and gutted like the hill,
 Slow under time, and with the innocent savagery
 Of Time, the bleared eyes rolling, answers from
 Your dream: "They names hit so, but I ain't bin." . . .

Robert Penn Warren

.....

Although Warren's best-known novel, *All the King's Men* (1946), is set in Louisiana, it shares themes of motivation, power, and violence with his Kentucky-based books. Indeed, Warren was successful in all the literary forms, including criticism, which he frequently wrote in collaboration with Murray native Cleanth Brooks. Warren was recognized as one of the nation's most important authors, with honors ranging from three Pulitzer Prizes to his selection by Congress in 1986 as the first American poet laureate.

Other Recent Writers

Another significant author was Edwin Carlile Litsey (1874-1970), who worked as a bank teller in Lebanon and wrote poetry

and fiction about his native south central Kentucky region. His best novel is *Stones for Bread* (1940), the story of two lonely brothers who lived wretched lives abandoned by everyone except a kind priest. His daughter, Sarah Litsey, was born in Springfield in 1901 but has spent most of her life in Connecticut, where she has written many stories, novels, and poems about her native state. Her novel, *There Was a Lady* (1945), portrays life in a small Kentucky town just before World War II. In her poem, "Wilderness," she pays tribute to the strong, brave pioneers who settled Kentucky and "loved it more than we."

.....
Federal Hill

I saw it sleeping in an autumn haze,
 With mystery and silence keeping guard;
 While slanting sunrays of late afternoon
 Laid little golden paths along the yard.
 A spirit of the past was brooding there
 And holding vigil in the empty halls.
 While trembling shadows shuttled thru the trees
 And touched in tenderness the ivied walls.

.....
 Edwin Carlile Litsey

Three other recent Kentucky writers lived most of their adult lives away from their home state. Ben Lucien Burman (1895-1984) of Covington lived principally in New York City but wrote many books of fiction and nonfiction about southern rivers and river people, including *Mississippi* (1929), *Steamboat Round the Bend* (1933), and *Children of Noah* (1951). In 1935, *Steamboat Round the Bend* was made into a popular motion picture with Will Rogers. As a young man, Warren County native Alfred Leland Crabb (1883-1980) moved to Nashville to teach at Peabody College, but he wrote several novels about Kentucky, including *Peace at Bowling Green* (1955), which traces the city's history back to its founding in 1803, and *Home to Kentucky* (1953), a novel about Henry Clay. Rebecca Caudill (1899-1985), a native of Harlan County, lived chiefly in Illinois but wrote most of her twenty-one books for children and young people about life in the Appalachian Mountains. Her first novel, *Barrie & Daughter* (1943), is based on memories of her father and her growing-up years.

Writers since mid-century have continued to add luster to Kentucky's literary image. Such names as Hollis Summers, Billy Clark, Walter Tevis, and John Jacob Niles are familiar to readers everywhere. One of the most distinguished is Henry County native Wendell Berry, born in 1934, the author of more than two dozen books of fiction, nonfiction, and poetry—most of them expressing Berry's love of the land and his concern about the human destruction of the natural world. His novels include *Nathan Coulter* (1960), *A Place on Earth* (1967), and *The Memory of Old Jack* (1974). His poetry has been collected in such volumes as *The Broken Ground* (1964), and *Clearing* (1977). *The Long-Legged House* (1969) and *The Gift of Good Land* (1981) are two of his best books of nonfiction. Although in all his writing he shows alarm at "the fume and shock and uproar / of the internal combustion of America," he has made the essay a particularly eloquent instrument for calling his readers to a return to a right relationship with their environment. He lives on a farm near Port Royal, where he tries to put into practice what he preaches in his books.

Bobbie Ann Mason is perhaps the best-known living Kentucky writer, especially since the release in 1989 of the movie version of her novel *In Country* (1985), the story of a teenager's obsessive search for information about her father, who was killed in Vietnam before she was born. Born near Mayfield in Graves County in 1941, Mason has taken her native western Kentucky as her literary territory. Most of her stories, in such collections as *Shiloh and Other Stories* (1982) and *Love Life* (1989), are set in this tradition-bound area that in recent decades has been undergoing drastic changes brought on by declining farmlife as well as the increasing industrialization and blending of American culture.

Many of Mason's stories reflect a society in transition and upheaval. "Shiloh," for example, is the portrait of the crumbling marriage of Leroy and Norma Jean Moffitt, whose differences widen when Leroy, a truck driver, is disabled in an accident and becomes housebound, while Norma Jean begins to develop herself physically and intellectually. *Spence+Lila* (1988) is a novel about an elderly couple who must learn to cope with the problems of old age and death in these changing times. The documentary realism for which Mason is known is apparent in the opening line of this novel: "On the way to the hospital in Paducah, Spence notices the row of signs along the highway: WHERE WILL YOU SPEND

Kentucky—An Inspiration to Writers

Kentucky is a state of rugged beauty. The breathtaking scenery of its abundant hills, valleys, and streams combined with the strong character of the people who inhabit its boundaries provide ample inspiration for writers.

Since Kentucky lay in a direct path for pioneers of the westward movement, its history is rich in the trials and triumphs of the early settlers. However, geography and the struggles of early pioneer life are not the only fuel for the pen. People in Kentucky have a passion for politics; and, as history has revealed, that passion has been sometimes deadly. The tales of feuds between mountain families of Appalachia compare with the rivalries found in *Romeo and Juliet* and *West Side Story*.

Kentucky's best-known and most successful writers have used Kentucky as their source. This is apparent just from the titles of the works of John Fox, Jr. (1863-1919), who wrote such short stories as "Christmas Eve on Lonesome" and "Hell-Fer-Sartin" and the novels *The Kentuckians*, *A Cumberland Vendetta*, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, *The Heart of the Hills*, and *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*. Fox, a Harvard graduate, received his inspiration for these mountain tales in the heart of the Cumberlands.

Another writer, Irvin Cobb (1876-1943), combined Kentucky humor with politics. Cobb's character, Judge Priest, created for the *Saturday Evening Post*, depicted the western Kentucky life of an old Confederate soldier serving as a circuit judge. Judge Priest has become one of America's heroes of prose fiction.

Robert Penn Warren (1905-1989) wrote the Kentucky-inspired *Brother to Dragons*, *Night Rider*, and *World Enough and Time*. He has received more literary honors and awards than any other Kentucky writer.

While Jesse Stuart (1907-1984) considered himself first and foremost a poet, his works—including *Man with a Bull-Tongue Plow*, *Head o' W-Hollow*, *Beyond Dark Hills*, *Taps for Private Tussie*, and *The Thread That Runs So True*—portray his love for the spirit of Appalachia. Jesse Stuart overcame the inherent hardships of Appalachia to receive an education. He hitchhiked to enroll at Lincoln Memorial University with only \$29.30. From this humble beginning, he pursued his career to become an internationally acclaimed writer. It has been said of Jesse Stuart that "he chose to reclaim the past in order to salvage the future."

Kentucky's writers are a source of pride, especially in a state reputed to have low educational standards and high illiteracy rates. As our state has inspired their works, their success inspires us to take pride in our heritage, to preserve our beautiful state, and, regardless of obstacles that lie in our paths, to fulfill our greatest potential.

Jennifer Hays
Tyner, Kentucky

ETERNITY?" Indeed, all of Mason's fiction is set in real places and is tuned to real sights and sounds. She has made the working-class towns and the shrinking farms of western Kentucky famous around the world.

Contemporary fiction writer Louise Murphy, who was born in Bowling Green in 1943, is also contributing to Kentucky's rich literature. Her first novel, *The Sea Within* (1985), is the story of a woman who flees her money-hungry husband and returns to the fictional Toms Creek, Kentucky, where she sets up a squatter's tent on a cemetery plot left her by her grandfather and begins a difficult climb to a healthy new life.

Another western Kentucky writer is Joe Ashby Porter, who was born in Madisonville in 1942 and now teaches and writes at Duke University. *The Kentucky Stories* (1983) is a collection of short fiction dealing with various forms of violence, including a nuclear war, and set in locations across Kentucky from the Purchase area in the west to the eastern Kentucky mountains.

Barbara Kingsolver of Nicholas County was born in 1955 and is already the author of several highly rated books of fiction and nonfiction, including *The Bean Trees* (1988), the daring story of a young Kentucky woman who drives west to Tucson and acquires an unusual family consisting of an orphaned baby she names Turtle, a Guatemalan refugee couple, a single mother, and several elderly neighbors. *The New York Times* selected the novel as one of "the notable books of 1988."

This last decade of the twentieth century finds dozens of writers, young and old, in every corner and county of Kentucky adding to the state's literary heritage. Eastern Kentucky can point with pride to such poets as Albert Stewart and Lillie Chaffin and such novelists as Gurney Norman and Billy Clark. Central Kentucky authors include novelist Gayle Jones, poet Eve Spears, and novelist James Sherburne, whose *Hacey Miller* (1971) is about abolitionism on the eve of the Civil War and the founding of Berea College. Poet Charles Semones has created an imaginary landscape he calls "the Sabbath Country" out of his native Mercer County. "To be born in that country," he writes, "was to come alive/screaming for mercy." Ed McClanahan was born in Bracken County in 1932 and has become a popular writer of short fiction and nonfiction and is the author of a comic coming-of-age novel,

The Natural Man (1983), the story of fifteen-year-old Harry Easteps growing up in a fictional town called Needmore, Kentucky.

Louisville's literary reputation continues to flourish with such veteran writers as Gwen Davenport, who created the sophisticated bachelor Mr. Belvedere, a character made famous on the movie screen by Clifton Webb. Other Louisville writers include novelist and playwright Sallie Bingham and the Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Marsha Norman. Her first play, *Getting Out* (1977), is about a woman who has just been released from prison after serving eight years for robbery and murder. Her other plays are about equally bleak subjects, including suicide.

Western Kentucky is especially fertile literary ground. In addition to Bobbie Ann Mason, Louise Murphy, and Joe Ashby Porter, historian and poet Boynton Merrill of Henderson, and the poets Jim Wayne Miller of Bowling Green and Joy Bale Boone of Elkton make their homes in that region. Boone's narrative poem about the nineteenth-century antislavery activist Cassius Marcellus Clay, *The Storm's Eye* (1974), is proof that Kentuckians not only write today about the present but are still attracted by their legacy from the past.

All Kentuckians can be proud of their writers. For more than two hundred years they have written about the complexities, the contradictions, the conflicts, the joys, and the sorrows of life in this place called Kentucky. Kentucky's hold over its people, including its writers, is legendary. As we have seen, even writers who move to other states return home to find literary material. When Bobbie Ann Mason was living in Pennsylvania and writing Kentucky stories, she said, "My Kentucky settings are everything. Once an editor of *Atlantic* asked me if I could change a setting to Iowa or someplace, because he had too many Southern stories that month. I refused. The settings are everything." Poet Logan English of Bourbon County lived most of his adult life in other states, yet this is how he concluded his long narrative poem *No Land Where I Have Traveled* in 1979: "And now it is spring again in Kentucky. If one longs for Kentucky all year—one aches for her in the spring. No land where I have traveled is more fair."

Indeed, Kentucky's wealth of fine writers is a state treasure. Our poets, playwrights, fiction writers, and essayists—everyone, past and present, who has put pen to paper with a serious purpose

—all have mined fabulous riches. Yet there is plenty of material waiting for new generations of writers and readers.

.....

Summary

Although it took Kentucky almost a century to produce a noteworthy literature, by 1900 the state's colorful history, varied topography, and cultural diversity had become a literary treasury that talented writers had begun to mine. James Lane Allen and John Fox, Jr., were already writing local-color fiction that gained a national audience. Early in the twentieth century, almost every section of the state was contributing significant writers, from John Uri Lloyd in northern Kentucky and Lucy Furman in the southeastern mountains to Annie Fellows Johnston of Oldham County and Irvin S. Cobb of Paducah. The literary renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s produced such major writers as Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Caroline Gordon, and Jesse Stuart. Later writers to gain national recognition included Robert Penn Warren, selected by Congress in 1986 to be the nation's first poet laureate; James Still, who has placed the mountain people and their culture on the literary map; Janice Holt Giles, the author of bestselling fiction about the Green River country; and Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk and poet who lived near Bardstown. Harriette Arnow's highly acclaimed novel, *The Dollmaker*, is the tragic story of a Kentucky family uprooted by World War II. Outstanding contemporary writers range from poet and environmentalist Wendell Berry to novelist Bobbie Ann Mason and the Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Marsha Norman. Indeed, Kentucky's unique history, its strategic location, and its rich culture have produced an impressive literature.

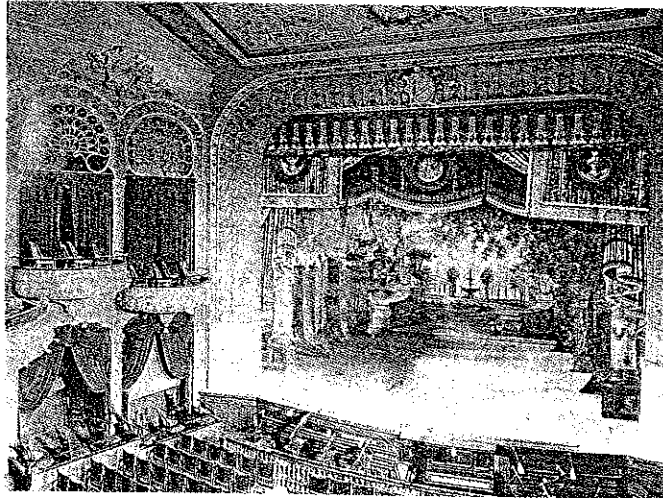
CHAPTER 15

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Performing Arts

Robert Bruce French

Figure 15.1 *The Lexington Opera House as it appeared in the 1890s (Kentucky Historical Society).*



Rock and roll, country and bluegrass music, folk songs and dance, drama, musical theater, symphonic and operatic music, ballet and modern dance—Kentucky has it all. And in abundance. But it was not always so.

The musical trail began modestly in Lexington in the late 1700s. At that time, the city had several singing schools. They were soon followed by private instruction in piano, violin, guitar, flute, and harp. In addition, the town boasted teachers for dancing and fencing. Pianos were built there as early as 1805 by Joseph Green. A piano made in 1824 by William Thompson stands today in the Mary Todd Lincoln House.

The Beethoven of America

In 1817, one of the important early musical events took place in Lexington. Anthony Philip Heinrich, an immigrant of German-Bohemian parentage, walked from Philadelphia to Pittsburg

took a boat down the Ohio River to Limestone (Maysville), and journeyed overland to Lexington. Soon after arriving, he gathered a small group of musicians and presented a concert on November 12 in the meeting room of Sanford Keen's tavern. The program consisted of Beethoven's First Symphony and instrumental and vocal music by Mozart, Viotti, Pleyel, Haydn, and other composers. This was the first performance of the Beethoven work in what was then called the West, and it preceded those in New York and Philadelphia. Two weeks later, Heinrich presented another concert in Frankfort. By the spring of 1818, he was living in a log cabin in Bardstown. This experience was commemorated in a song he wrote, "The Log House."

Moving to Louisville in 1819, he lived with the family of Judge John Speed at the historic estate of Farmington. Here he became friends with John James Audubon, the famous naturalist and painter of *The Birds of America*. Here also Heinrich composed his Opus 1, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*. This work was followed by many compositions for piano and voice. Of his orchestral works, nine were descriptive of American Indian life. He was considered America's first "professional" composer, and critics termed him the Beethoven of America. Heinrich left Kentucky in 1820 and settled in New York, where he became one of the founders of the New York Philharmonic Society. He died penniless in 1861 and was buried in the Audubon family vault.

Music Education in Pioneer Kentucky

The singing schools that were held in Lexington came out of a New England tradition dating back to the early eighteenth century, when Puritan ministers became troubled about the poor quality of singing in churches. The result of this concern was the publication of *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (1721) by the Reverend John Tufts, a Harvard graduate. This tunebook set the pattern for subsequent publications well into the nineteenth century. An introductory section explained the rudiments and notation of music, and the balance of the book contained sacred music. The notation system used letters placed on the staff in

place of notes until 1801, when a new system was developed using notes of different shapes.

One of the earliest singing masters to enter Kentucky was Lucius Chapin, a Massachusetts native. In 1794, he crossed the Appalachian Mountains and settled in Fleming County. From here he traveled throughout Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio for almost forty years, teaching short-term singing schools. One of the most popular tunebooks used by the singing masters was *The Southern Harmony and Musical Companion* (1835) by William Walker, which sold 600,000 copies before 1860. *The Southern Harmony* is still used at the Big Singing in Benton, Kentucky, on the fourth Sunday in May. This event has been held every year since 1884.

Shaker Music and Dance

One of the least-known areas of Kentucky music and dance is that of the religious group known as the Shaking Quakers, Shakers, who came to America from England and formed communities in several states on the eastern seaboard. Their name was derived from the bodily motions used in their unique sacred dances. The Shakers arrived in the state in 1805 and built settlements at Pleasant Hill near Harrodsburg and at South Union near Russellville.

The Shakers left an astonishing legacy of some 8,000-10,000 manuscripts and dance-tunes and a few printed tunebooks. Early tunes were sometimes derived from New England psalmody, and many religious and secular melodies were adapted or rewritten. Later "gifts" of songs and messages were "received" through "visions," and some songs were "received" from Indian, Afro-American, and Chinese spirits. During services, marches, shuffles, and dance songs were used to express the "inner spirit." In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the total membership of the Shakers in this country was about six thousand. Today only a handful survive.

From Magic Shows to Professional Theater

The story of the theater in early Kentucky is one of itinerant entertainers who traveled the Cumberland Gap Road to Lexington where they offered acrobatic displays, magic shows, dancing, and music. The first dramatic performance on record took place April 10, 1790, when students at Transylvania Seminary presented a tragedy and a farce, a combination that audiences demanded.

During the period from 1790 through 1820, Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville became the major theatrical centers in the West, and performances on Kentucky stages far outnumbered those in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Nashville, or New Orleans. In 1815, Samuel Drake brought his company of performers to Frankfort from Albany, New York, to reestablish the three-city Kentucky Circuit. Here he and his company founded a theatrical empire that dominated the southern United States for years.

In the twentieth century, there has been an increase in both amateur and professional theaters. The little theater movement in Kentucky had a phenomenal growth dating from a performance by the University of Louisville Players in 1911. The Guignol Theater in Lexington, the Little Theater and the Carriage House Players in Louisville, and a group in Bowling Green, all gave productions of real merit. In recent years, permanent organizations such as Actors Theatre of Louisville, Stage One: The Children's Theatre, and Walden Theatre have been formed in Louisville.

Figure 15.2 Outside large cities, community groups engaged in local theatrical productions (Kentucky Historical Society).



Lexington now boasts the Actors' Guild of Lexington, the Lexington Children's Theatre, and the Lexington Musical Theatre, an amateur organization. In Bowling Green, the Public Theatre of Kentucky performs locally and presents plays for young audiences in rural areas throughout the state. Summer productions are common now. "The Death of Floyd Collins" in Brownsville, "The Legend of Daniel Boone" in Harrodsburg, and "The Stephen Foster Story" in Bardstown are presented in the evening. Other summer plays are found in Caneyville, Covington, Danville, Falmouth, Horse Cave, Lexington, Morgantown, and Prestonsburg.

Music Publishing in the Nineteenth Century

The printing of songs and piano solos in sheet music form was a major enterprise in the nineteenth century. Marion Korda, a music librarian in Louisville, has collected over 1,400 that were published in that city. William Shakespeare Hays, in addition to writing a river column for the *Courier-Journal*, wrote 322 songs, and an estimated twenty million copies were sold.

Figure 15.3 The "Jazz Hounds" of 1930 (Kentucky Historical Society).



Jazz Then and Now

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, jazz was emerging as a new force in American music. It was during that period that Kentucky's more than fifty nationally known jazz musicians were born. Louisville produced vibraphonist Lionel Hampton, trumpeter Jonah Jones, singer Helen Humes, and guitarist Jimmy Raney. Other state musicians were banjoist Zach Whyte of Richmond, trombonist

Russell Bowles of Glasgow, pianist Charlie Queener of Pineville, and singer Rosemary Clooney of Maysville. During the 1920s, jazz bands were regular attractions in night clubs. Excursion boats on the Ohio River, such as the *Island Queen*, carried groups like Sidney Desvigne's Southern Syncopators. Following World War II, jazz instruction became a part of the curriculum in colleges throughout the state. Organizations such as the Louisville Jazz Society sprang up to promote jazz performance, and jazz festivals in the larger cities became commonplace.

Folk and Country Music

Kentucky folk music was largely unknown outside the Appalachian Mountains until English folklorist Cecil Sharp and Kentuckians Olive Campbell, Josephine McGill, John Jacob Niles, and Jean Ritchie, among others, began to collect, publish, and perform this music. These ballads originated in the British Isles and had been passed along from generation to generation. The tradition is kept alive today in many books, articles, recordings, and annual festivals devoted to the performance and study of this music.

In Kentucky, country music is one of the big success stories of the twentieth century. From a simple folk origin, it has developed into a multimillion-dollar industry crowned by round-the-clock television shows, huge salaries, and performers who are better known than the politicians who represent them.

Among the many country musicians born in the state, some of the more famous are Skeeter Davis, Jackie DeShannon, Red Foley, Crystal Gayle, Tom T. Hall, Grandpa Jones, The Judds, Lily May Ledford, Patty Loveless, Loretta Lynn, Kenny Price, Merle Travis, and Dwight Yoakam. Most have come from humble backgrounds and have had little formal training. Nevertheless, their music appeals to a wide audience.

Figure 15.4 The dulcimer is a mainstay of folk music (Kentucky Historical Society).



Bluegrass Music and Musicians

Bluegrass music is a distinctive Kentucky form that grew out of the country music performed by Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys on the Grand Old Opry in the 1940s. Bluegrass is typically performed by a combination of acoustic instruments such as mandolin, fiddle, five-string banjo, guitar, and string bass. The music appealed to listeners in the Appalachian Mountains and to farm and blue-collar workers. Today it is enjoyed by many groups. Kentucky-born performers, in addition to Bill and Charles Monroe, both born in Rosine, have been Kenny Baker of Jenkins, the Osborne Brothers (Sonny and Bob) of Hyden, J.D. Crowe of Lexington, Ricky Skaggs of Cordell, Sam Bush of Bowling Green, and the McLain Family Band of Berea.

In 1973, the Bluegrass Music Festival of the United States was inaugurated in Louisville. The three-day free festival, sponsored by Louisville Central Area, Inc., grew year by year. In 1980, Kentucky Fried Chicken took over sponsorship and honored KFC founder Colonel Harland Sanders on his ninetieth birthday. Attendance by this time had grown to an estimated 150,000 for the weekend performers. Today the International Bluegrass Music Association and Bluegrass Music Museum are located in Owensboro near Bill Monroe's birthplace.

Orchestral Organizations

There are currently four professional orchestras in the state. The oldest, the Louisville Orchestra, was formed in 1937, the outgrowth of a group that started at the Young Men's Hebrew Association. In 1981, the orchestra became professional with a full-time rehearsal and performance schedule. Robert Whitney, a pianist and composer from Chicago, conducted the orchestra for the first thirty years. This orchestra became known worldwide for commissioning and recording modern music on a large scale. The Lexington Philharmonic Orchestra, incorporated in 1965, is the continuation of the Central Kentucky Philharmonic Orchestra, a community group founded by Dr. Robert King in 1961. The Owensboro Symphony Orchestra is the result of a merger in 1966.

of a chamber orchestra at Kentucky Wesleyan College and the Brescia [College]-Owensboro Orchestra. The Paducah Symphony Orchestra is the youngest organization, having been formed in 1979 when musicians were recruited to perform at the city's annual Summer Festival. All of these groups present many subscription, pop, and children's programs each year.

In addition to its professional symphonies, Kentucky has three active youth orchestras. The oldest, the Central Kentucky Youth Symphony Orchestra, located in Lexington, was organized in 1947 by Howard Pence. The Louisville Youth Orchestra was founded in 1958 by Rubin Sher, William Sloane, and Robert French. The youngest group, the Owensboro Youth Orchestra, was formed in 1970 under the sponsorship of the Owensboro Symphony Orchestra. A fourth group, the Barren River Area Youth Orchestra, founded by James H. Godfrey, was in operation from 1975 to 1984.

One of the best loved and most enduring of the arts organizations in Louisville is the Kentucky Opera. Moritz von Bomhard founded the opera company in 1952 and served for many years as set designer and builder, singing coach, and conductor. During the thirty years of Bomhard's leadership, the company progressed from an amateur organization to one that was fully professional.

Famous Kentucky Musicians

Kentucky has produced a wide variety of native musicians who have achieved national and international reputations. Composers Mildred J. Hill and Patty S. Hill published a book in 1893 titled *Song Stories for the Kindergarten*. One song, "Good Morning to All," was rewritten and copyrighted in 1935 to become the world's most popular song, "Happy Birthday to You." Baritone Robert Todd Duncan created the role of Porgy in Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* in 1935. Choral director David L. Davies organized the Harlan Boys Choir in 1966 and made it into an internationally recognized group. Pianist Lee Luvisi, upon graduating from Philadelphia's Curtis Institute of Music, became the youngest faculty member in the history of that institution. He has appeared one hundred times as soloist with the Louisville Orchestra.

Arts Centers and Performing Arts Groups

Since 1973, a number of major performing arts centers have been built or renovated in Kentucky. Costing more than \$62 million, these centers are located in Bowling Green, Danville, Lexington, Louisville, Madisonville, Owensboro, and Paintsville.

Many organizations have contributed to the performing arts over the years. In addition to the ones mentioned earlier, the major groups in Louisville are the Louisville Bach Society (1964), the Louisville Ballet (1952), the Chamber Music Society (1938), and the Jewish Community Center Orchestra (1916), Kentucky's oldest symphonic group. Based in Lexington are the Opera of

Student Essay

Louisville and Lexington Cultural Life

When many people think of Kentucky, they think of three things: horses, basketball, and fried chicken. However, these are not the only things the Bluegrass State has to offer. Taking a closer look into Kentucky's cities, one finds a growing cultural community that is as diverse as it is entertaining.

In Louisville, the largest city in the state, music and dance play an important role in the cultural life of the area. This major industrial center boasts the Louisville Ballet as well as the Louisville Orchestra. The riverfront is home to the city's professional resident theatre company, called the Actors Theatre of Louisville. Throughout the city, the arts are becoming a strong asset to the community and its people.

In Lexington, Kentucky's second largest city, the cultural scene has been of vital importance for some time. Lexington offers the Lexington Ballet, a semiprofessional and respected dance troupe; Syncopated Inc., a modern-dance company; the Actors' Guild of Lexington; Lexington Children's Theatre; and the Living Arts and Science Center. These and more are all a part of a cultural awareness plan to open the eyes of its citizens to expose Lexington as a fine arts community and not just a sports community. With so many cultural outlets available to the people of Kentucky, it is easy to appreciate the performing arts.

*Mary Stapleton
Ashland, Kentucky*

Central Kentucky (1990), the Lexington Ballet (1973) and the Chamber Music Society of Central Kentucky (1963). Today Kentuckians take pride in their fine performing groups and in their unique cultural heritage.

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Summary

When Kentucky became a state in 1792, music teachers, dancing masters, and theatrical performers were already calling Lexington their home. Among the pioneers was Anthony Philip Heinrich, an immigrant musician who organized a small group that presented the first performance of a Beethoven symphony west of the Appalachian Mountains. About the same time, Shakers came from England and brought their unique sacred music and dance to Pleasant Hill and South Union. Singing masters came from the East and taught Kentuckians how to read music from tunebooks that used notes of different shapes. In the larger towns, instrumental, choral, and theatrical organizations gave regular performances to audiences eager for a change in their daily routine. Music publishing, especially of songs, was an important addition to the musical scene. In the twentieth century, Kentucky became known around the world as a state where folk, jazz, bluegrass, and country music flourished. Music was taught widely in the public schools, and universities began training students for careers in the performing arts. Professional organizations devoted to dance, theater, opera, and symphonic music were established in the major cities. In the 1970s and 1980s, over \$62 million was spent to build or renovate arts centers for these groups.

Historic Architecture

Julie Riesenweber

Kentucky's historic architecture tells stories about the past much like those written by historians or told by family and neighbors. Buildings and structures stand in every town and along every country road to provide an immediate sense of the past. The history made up of people's stories can be influenced by poor memory or personal point of view. But buildings represent the past directly, providing historical information without human opinions.

Many of history's stories relate great achievements because people tend to write down and tell the most remarkable events. Likewise, some architectural studies focus on outstanding buildings. This "great and few" approach groups structures like Liberty Hall and the Old State Capitol in Frankfort into architectural styles and asks how recognized architects influence one another. Although great buildings are a part of our past, they make up only a small portion of our historic architecture. Many more ordinary buildings remain to tell about the everyday lives of most past Kentuckians.

The Settlement Period, 1770-1820

Few of the buildings in the state's first white European settlements survive. The earliest standing structures date to the 1790s, when people left fortifications to establish farms and towns. Much of the architecture built in Kentucky at this time was log, and

although settlers constructed all kinds of buildings from log, those still standing are dwellings.

The first dwellings were log cabins containing round logs, wooden plank roofs weighted with poles or stones, dirt or split-log floors, and few window openings. Like forts, these cabins were meant to be temporary. People soon replaced them with well-built and tightly sealed log houses with plank floors, wood shingle roofs, plastered interior walls and weatherboards to protect the chinking between logs from moisture.

Kentuckians used familiar methods of construction to build these houses, joining squared logs into standard forms with interlocking notches cut into the logs' ends. The basic units of log dwellings were pens or rooms that were either square or rectangular in shape. Rectangular pen houses often had a board partition dividing the interior ground floor space into two rooms of unequal size called hall and parlor.

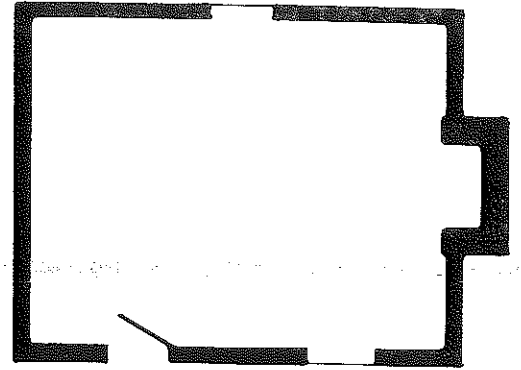


Figure 16.1 Single Pen, Rectangular.

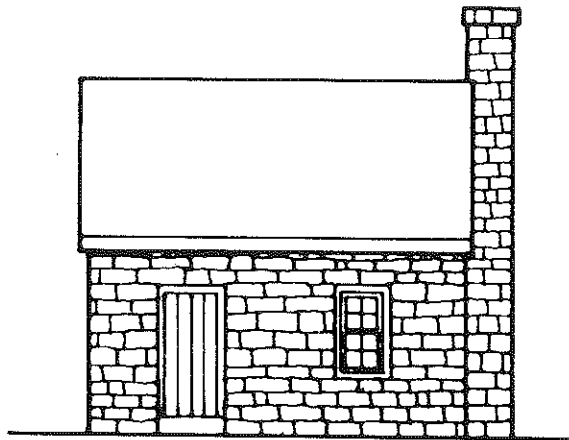
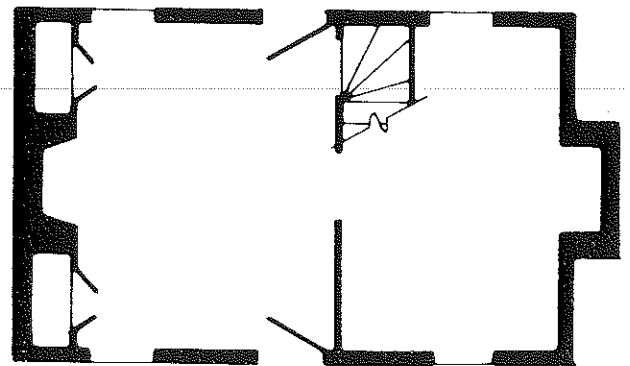


Figure 16.2 Single Pen (Stone).

Rectangular pen houses often had a board partition dividing the interior ground floor space into two rooms of unequal size called hall and parlor.

Figure 16.3 Hall-parlor.



Note: All illustrations in this chapter are by William J. Macintire, survey coordinator at the Kentucky Heritage Council.

The floor plans based upon these basic square and rectangular units have a long history. People in the British Isles constructed dwellings with similar sized rooms arranged in the same plans during the 1600s and 1700s. While most English colonists built American versions of these familiar forms from heavy frame, people from Sweden, Finland, or German-speaking countries brought the idea of log construction to the New World. Americans blended English house forms and log construction, building log houses in large numbers as they moved westward from the eastern seaboard.

Student Essay

Art in Kentucky

Art—what exactly is it? Art is a form of expression and talent. A person's deepest thoughts, feelings, and dreams are what art truly is.

For Kentucky pioneers in the 1800s, art first began as a chore, a way of survival. People had to learn to make furniture, clothes, and blankets and to build homes.

Quilting has long been a highly popular craft in Kentucky. Quilting was a way for people to put together their life history. A quilter would cut out a piece of cloth from a baby dress, a shirt, an old quilt, blanket, or even a piece of yarn. This represented her family line as would the family tree for people in the present.

Crafts made in Kentucky express Kentuckians' way of life: figures of race horses, ducks, and fish; rocking chairs; fiddles; clothes; baskets; pottery; and folk art were made from wood, metal, glass, cloth, iron, and straw. They all were made by hand, and some took a great deal of time, while making others was just as simple as breathing.

Folk art is a special kind of art; it is art made simple, but not really simple at all. Folk art is a person's use of anything he or she can find and make into art. A watermelon, for example, may be painted with a farm scene. An apple may have a small-town scene painted on it. A stick may be made into a wooden doll for a small child, or it may be made into a tool. Cloth may be made into anything from a baby's bib to a woman's dress. Most folk art serves to teach the future about the past.

Kentucky is known for the great beauty of its arts. Kentucky's arts may not be the same kind of art one sees in the great museums of metropolitan areas, but our unique art is special in its own way.

*Karrie Lynn Goetz
Murray, Kentucky*

Kentuckians enlarged small square and rectangular pen houses by adding units to create floor plans with more than one pen, such as the double-pen, saddlebag, and dogtrot floor plans. They sometimes used wood frame or other materials like stone or brick to build these additions. Rather than enlarging their houses with additions, some Kentuckians constructed such multi-unit plans in a single effort.

Figure 16.4 Double Pen.

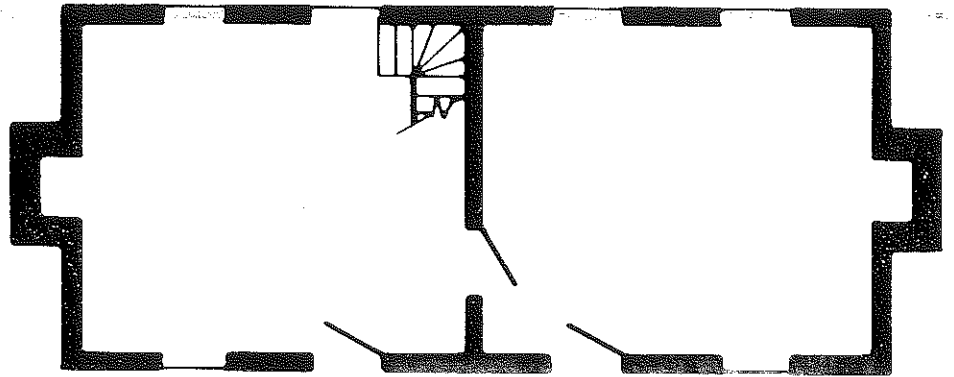
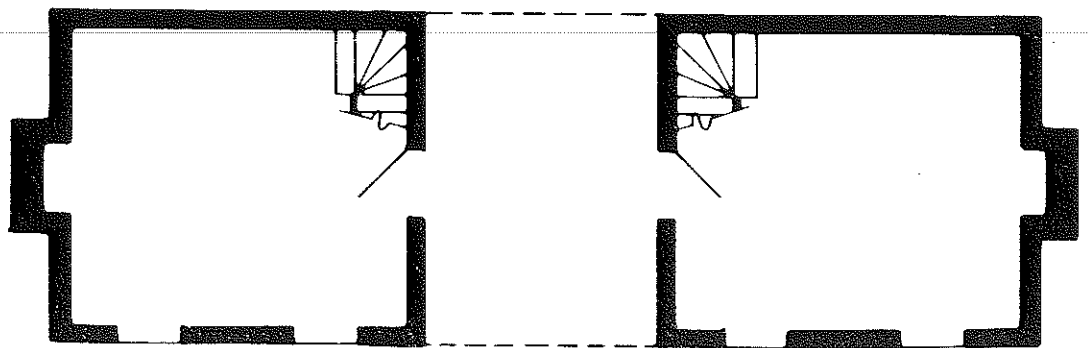


Figure 16.5 Double Pen (Log and Frame).



Figure 16.6 Dogtrot.



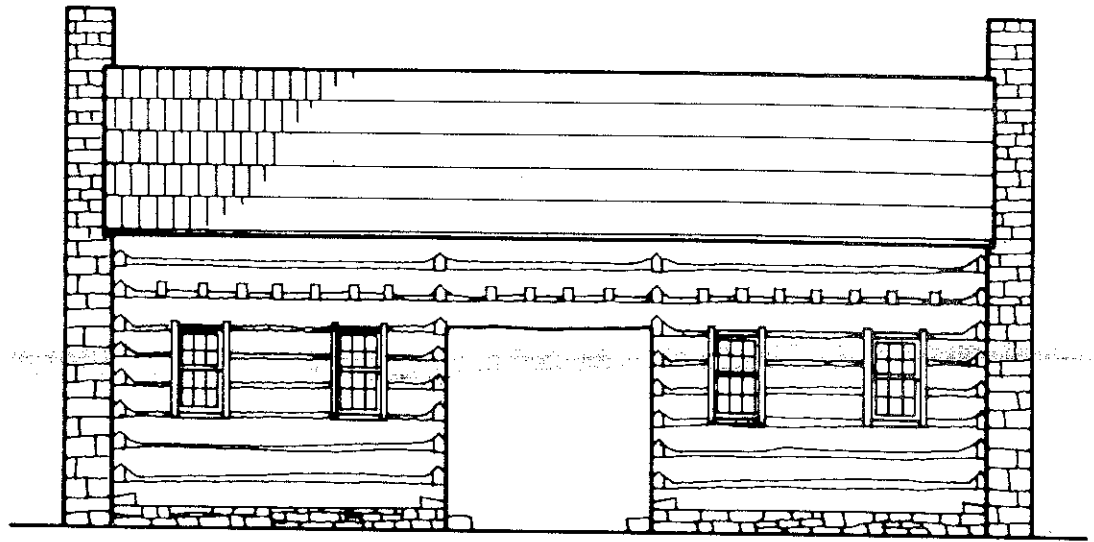


Figure 16.7 Dogtrot
(V-Notched Log).

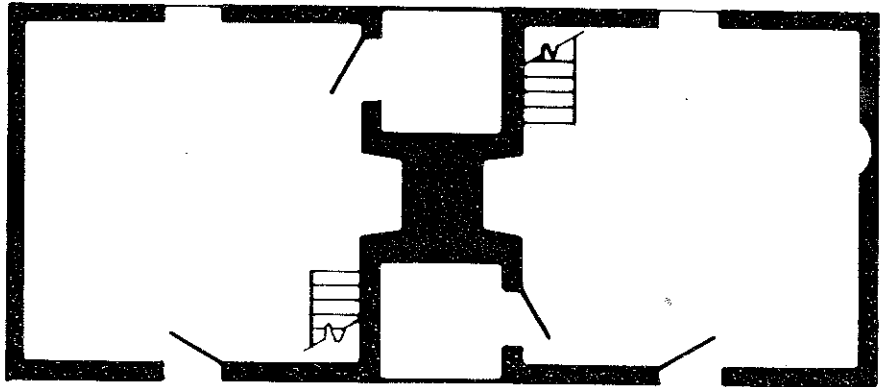


Figure 16.8
Saddlebag.

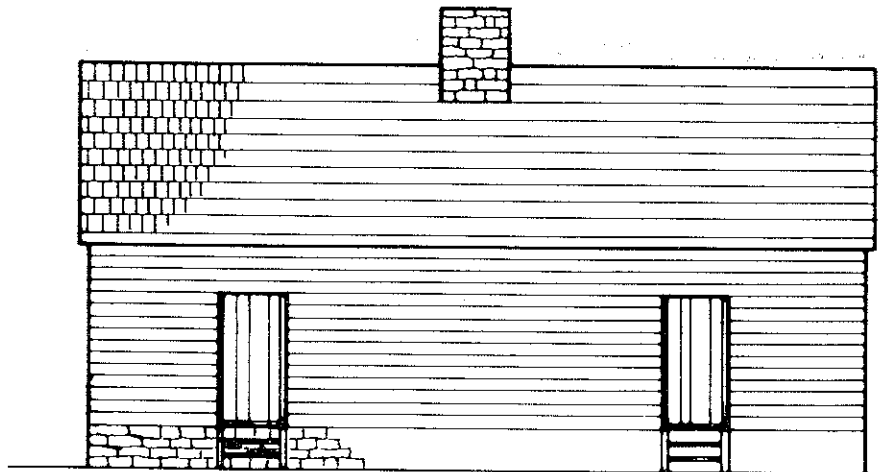


Figure 16.9
Saddlebag.

While we often think of log houses as crude dwellings connected with the state's settlement, most of those still standing in Kentucky were well-built and finely finished. Prosperous landowners often chose log for constructing their two-room, two-story houses and installed elaborate woodwork and other ornamental details. Log buildings went up as late as 1870 across the state and until the 1930s in some parts of eastern Kentucky. Many of these later log dwellings have the same types of corner notching and the same floor plans as log houses built before 1820.

Other well-to-do settlers chose to live in houses built from limestone. Most of the state's stone buildings date between 1785 and 1835 and are found in central Kentucky, where this material was abundant. To construct a stone wall, a mason laid two rows of carefully shaped stones about a foot apart, fitting them closely together. He then placed other stones lengthwise over both rows to tie them together without mortar. This "dry stone" method came from Ireland or Scotland and can also be seen in Kentucky's many rock fences, although these were not common until about 1840.

Buildings constructed in Kentucky before 1820 also were made of brick and wood frame. Brick began to be used during the 1790s and replaced stone as the favorite masonry building material by about 1820. Like stone, brick construction required a mason's skills and was thus expensive compared to log: only the wealthiest Kentuckians could afford the labor costs involved in making and laying brick. The brick houses surviving today represent the largest and most elaborate dwellings of their time. Kentucky's frame architecture before 1860 employed posts and beams nearly the same size as logs. This type of structure is called timber frame because of the large size of the framing elements. The timbers were joined by means of tongues shaped at the ends of vertical posts that fit into pockets cut into horizontal beams. Before the Civil War, Kentuckians preferred log over timber frame for wooden houses because log was a simpler system of construction for which most had the necessary skills and tools. They used frame more often for large buildings such as mills and barns.

Many stone, brick and frame dwellings built before 1810 have a hall/parlor plan. The majority of early Kentuckians lived in houses we would find very small, carrying out most daily activities

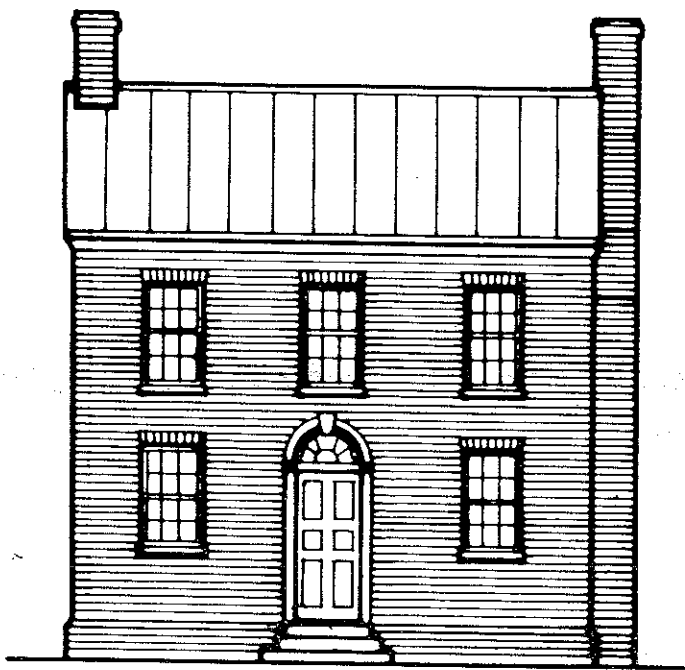


Figure 16.10 *Federal Hall-Parlor (Brick).*

in two ground-floor rooms. The larger hall was used for general living, eating, and working, while entertaining and perhaps sleeping took place in the smaller, more formal parlor. Most surviving hall/parlor houses have exteriors carefully designed to disguise their unequal interior spaces. Whatever their form, many buildings constructed before 1835 have Federal ornament, which features geometric shapes, especially ovals.

Between 1780 and 1820, the wealthiest Kentuckians had separate kitchen buildings for cooking and other heavy house-

hold work like laundry and soapmaking. When present, kitchens were usually in the back yard, but most people probably did these dirty tasks outside. Kentucky's mild climate made this possible and meant that farm animals could generally do without shelter. Kentuckians rarely constructed outbuildings before 1830.

The Antebellum Period, 1821-1865

Three related house plans appeared in the state as early as the 1790s but were not widely used until about 1830. Although each of these contains a passage or hallway that usually includes a stair, two are called central passage because the hallway is located between two rooms of equal size. One central passage plan has a total of four rooms, two arranged one behind the other on each side of the passage. This type is called double-pile, central passage. Another version called single-pile, central-passage is the front half of the four-room type. The single-pile form has only two rooms on the ground floor, one on each side of the hallway. A third variety is basically two-thirds of the first. Called the side-passage plan, it includes a hallway with two rooms, one behind the other

at one side of it. Side-passage houses were almost always built in towns and could occupy individual lots or be joined with common end walls to form rows.

The passage helped to solve the space problems of other house forms. It gave the house's occupants more privacy because visitors entered the passage instead of directly into a living space. With four ground-floor rooms, each opening onto the passage in the large double-pile house, plans with passages also allowed

homeowners to make clear spatial separations between work activities like cooking from leisure ones like entertaining. Passages also meant that sleeping could take place in a private chamber that was never seen by people outside the household.

This separation of work and leisure and public and private activities became so desirable that, beginning in the 1830s, many owners of small houses sought ways to create the necessary extra spaces. One way that many Kentuckians did this was to build a rear wing that provided one or two additional spaces for household work, creating a three- or four-room house from a smaller one. Such a rear wing is called an ell because it was most often located to one side of and at a right angle to the house, giving the dwelling an "L" shape when viewed from above. The passage and the extra spaces provided by the ell were so popular that by 1850 the house type built more often than any other had a single-pile, central-passage main block two stories high and a rear ell either one or two stories high. Many earlier dwellings were altered during the mid-nineteenth century to conform to this ideal, which continued to be built until the 1880s.

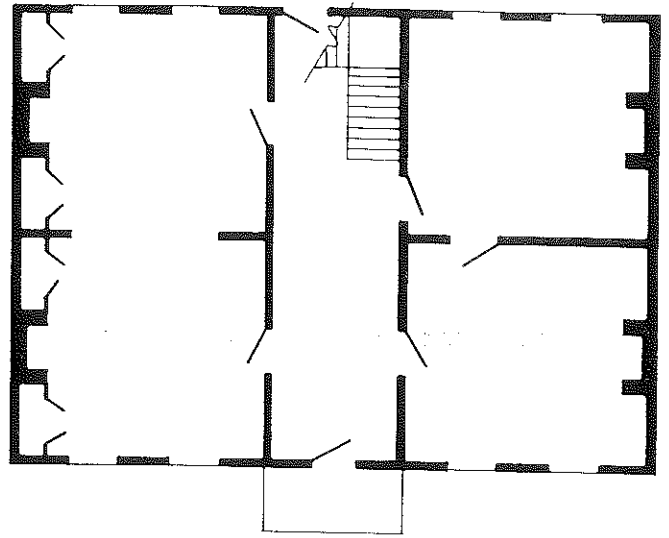


Figure 16.11 Central Passage, Double Pile.

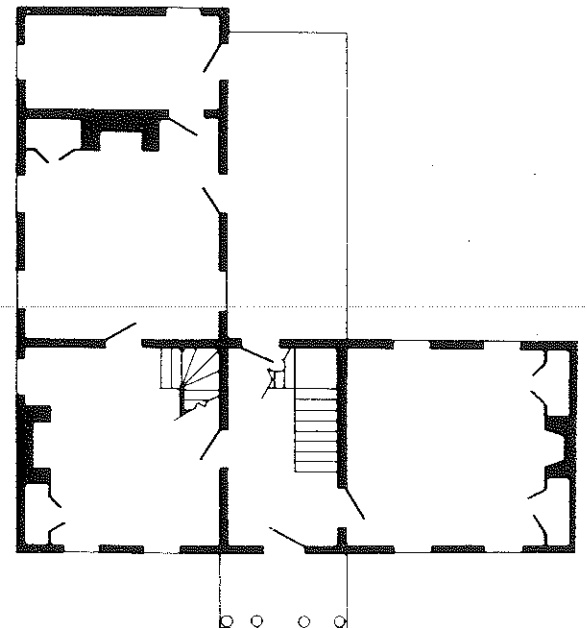
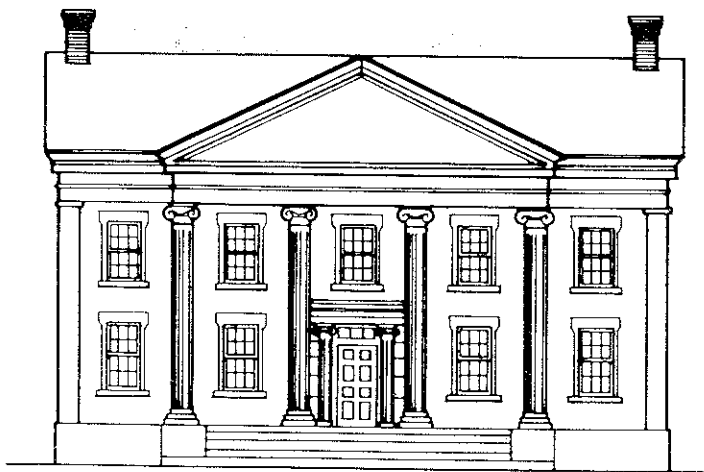


Figure 16.12 Central Passage, Single Pile, with ell.

Kentuckians also extended the idea of special spaces for various activities outside the house so that after about 1830 rural Kentuckians built farm buildings in greater variety. By 1840, almost all farmers had a springhouse for storing dairy products, a cellar for keeping fruits and vegetables, a meathouse or smokehouse for curing meat, and a log or timber-frame barn for storing hay and grains.

Another outbuilding common in antebellum Kentucky was the slave house, which took the same basic forms as the dwellings inhabited by free men. But while their owners enjoyed large central-passage houses with distinct spaces for unique activities, slaves lived in comparatively crowded conditions. Rather than building a number of individual dwellings, Kentucky slaveowners preferred houses with two-room plans that could be adapted to accommodate two families or groups of single men or women in a single building. The saddlebag plan, which includes one room on each side of a central chimney, was a very popular form for slave houses. When each ground-floor room contained a front door, and the house lacked doors between the rooms on either side of the chimney, both sides of the building were independent units much like a modern duplex. Many of the small one- and two-room houses intended for slaves were hastily and poorly constructed, rarely contained woodwork, and often were not even plastered. Since the average Kentuckian owned only a few slaves, there often was no separate slave house. In such cases, bondsmen had accommodations in the second stories of outbuildings such as

Figure 16.13 Greek Revival Central Passage.



kitchens or in the same house but apart from their owners in attics or second-floor rooms that did not connect with the front of the house.

Beginning in the late 1830s, the Greek Revival style appeared in Kentucky architecture. This style adopted ideas for design and ornament from classical Greece and was popular until after the Civil War. The Greek Revival element most popular in Kentucky and most recognizable on its buildings was the

portico, an elaborate porch supported by columns. At the same time, many public buildings were constructed to look like classical temples.

The new architectural ideas of the 1830s—central-passage plans and Greek Revival ornament—soon combined to result in a different look for Kentucky's landscape. Many of the state's buildings were replaced or altered during the 1830s and 1840s because people at that time, like those today, wanted to be up-to-date. Small dwellings gained additions, became ells to center-passage units, or were torn down. Greek Revival ornament replaced unfashionable woodwork both inside and outside. By 1840, most farmhouses were two stories high and had fronts with five openings organized window-window-door-window-window. Their faces, bearing porticos and classical ornament, overlooked roads rather than streams.

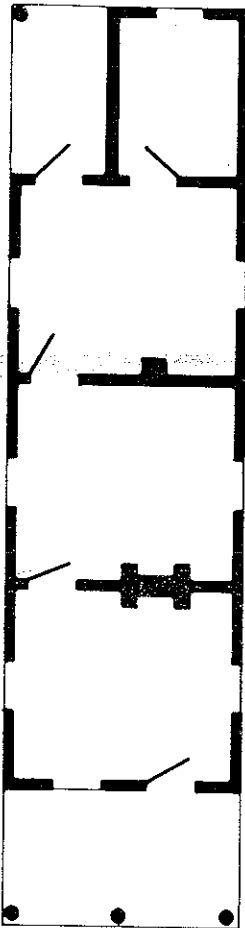
The Postbellum Period, 1866-1890

Rail lines appeared in Kentucky during the late 1850s. The Civil War hastened rail building and created the first national transportation network. By the 1870s, rails connected Kentucky with the rest of America, providing a larger market for livestock, grains, and hemp products. Larger markets meant greater profits and prosperity. This wealth paid for constructing new buildings, especially the many downtown commercial districts built during this boom.

The railroad brought changes to Kentucky's rural landscape between 1865 and 1880 as well as to commercial districts. Communities through which rail lines passed gained passenger and freight depots, warehouses, and blocks of railroad workers' housing near the tracks. Towns bypassed by the railroad often fell into decline when their businesses moved to be near lines. Suburbs, from which workers commuted to cities from a home in a pleasant country-like setting, developed adjacent to larger towns and created a separation between work and leisure. At the same time, entirely new villages grew around some rural railroad depots.

Former slaves created other new communities. Rural hamlets developed during the 1870s when white landowners donated or

Figure 16.14
Shotgun.



sold ten to twenty acres from the edge of their farms to free blacks, hoping to retain them as wage laborers. While some freemen kept the land as small farms, sponsors often instead laid out small towns on the land. Such planned communities usually included house lots and, when large enough, a church, grocery, and lodge hall. At the same time, most county-seat towns opened new segregated neighborhoods on poorly drained ground near industries. Speculators built housing for black and white workers alike in larger cities like Lexington and Louisville between 1890 and 1910, crowding many small look-alike dwellings of shotgun form into the alleys between major roads.

The housing in rapidly growing late nineteenth-century communities was different because the railroad brought new architectural ideas and materials. At the same time, new technology influenced building construction. The invention of the circular saw around the time of the Civil War allowed mills to cut rapidly large quantities of lumber to standard sizes. Once scarce, nails were also machine-made and became readily available, combining with circular sawn lumber

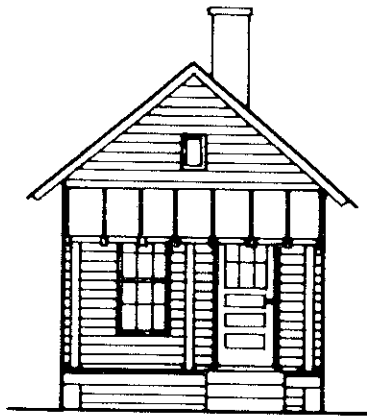


Figure 16.15 Shotgun.

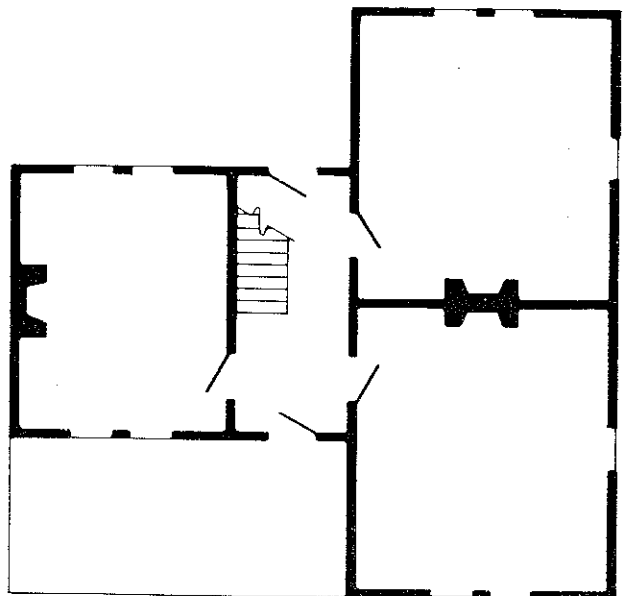


Figure 16.16 T-Plan.

to standardize construction. Builders easily set framing pieces at regular intervals to assemble entire wall and roof units with nails, making frame construction inexpensive and much more popular. This way of framing a building is called balloon frame.

Connected with these technological changes was a house plan called the T-plan because it is shaped like the letter "T" when viewed from above. A variation on the central-passage idea, this plan is irregular in depth, containing one room at one side of a central hallway and two on the other. One-story T-plan houses were commonly built in railroad towns, while two-story versions were popular as farmhouses.

Buildings from the 1860s and 1870s have Gothic Revival or Italianate ornament. Although the Gothic Revival style was not very popular in Kentucky, some of its features were



Figure 16.17 Gothic Central Passage (Board-and-Batten Siding).

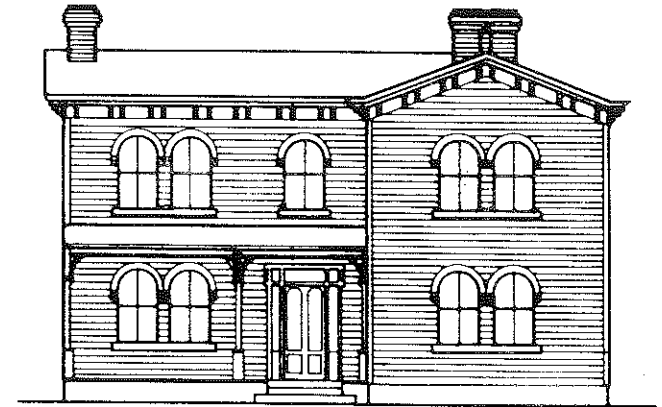


Figure 16.18 Italianate T-Plan (Weatherboarded and Shingled Frame).

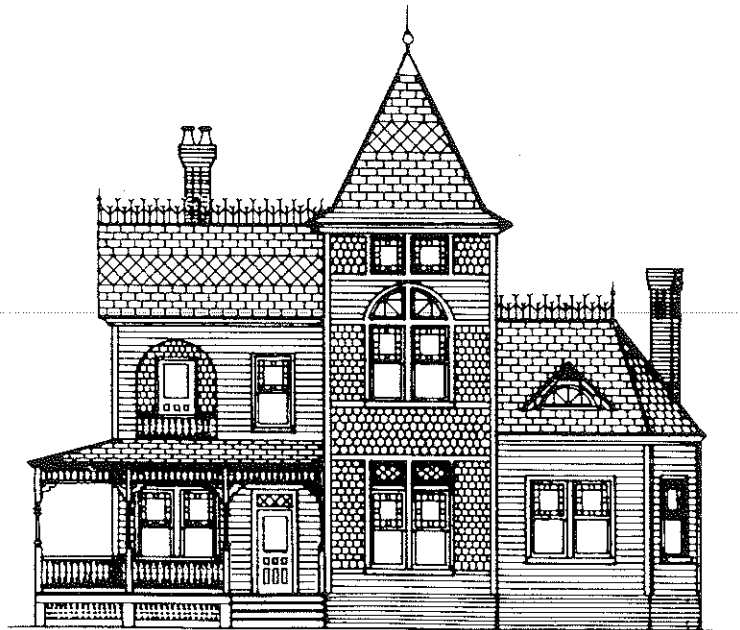


Figure 16.19 Victorian/Queen Anne (Weatherboarded Frame).

widely used. The more widespread Italianate style introduced cast iron as a building material. Many of Kentucky's Italianate commercial buildings have fronts of iron manufactured in Louisville, Cincinnati, and Evansville. At the same time, people placed iron inserts for burning coal in fireplaces.

Improved transportation meant that much of Kentucky's late nineteenth-century architecture was similar to that in other American places. Towns across the nation contained houses with irregular plans and Victorian ornament combining elements of many formal styles. Turrets, complex roof shapes with many angles, wraparound porches with gingerbread trim, and a variety of surface treatments are characteristic of Victorian styles. Buildings with formal Victorian designs appear most often in Kentucky's larger towns, but many rural Kentuckians used gingerbread trim or sawn millwork to ornament their central passage or T-plan houses.

Because Kentucky's economy remained agricultural throughout the nineteenth century, most of its unique buildings from that time are farm buildings. Farmers began to plant burley tobacco after the Civil War and at first dried it in barns originally built for other purposes. Once tobacco proved a profitable crop, Kentuckians constructed special ventilated tobacco barns in large numbers.

Although livestock had been a basis of the state's economy since settlement, stock barns were uncommon until after the Civil War. The 1870s brought stock barns where prize animals were kept at night, mule barns for the hybrid animals bred in Kentucky and sold further south, and dairy barns for milking and milk processing. Stock barns can be distinguished from earlier multi-purpose barns by tightly fitted vertical board covering which sealed the barn from weather that could harm valuable animals.

The Turn of the Century, 1891-1920

Large holdings devoted entirely to raising thoroughbred horses developed in Kentucky's Bluegrass around 1890. Horse farm owners often combined two or more smaller farms into a single immense tract and constructed completely new buildings featu

ing a signature design and colors. The largest of these farms contained living quarters, barns, stables, breeding sheds, a training track, paddocks, pastures, road networks, and often a water system. In keeping with the Colonial Revival style popular between 1890 and 1920, horse farm architecture often used classical ornament such as fluted columns. Especially popular on horse barns were three-part Palladian windows, which feature arched central portions.

In eastern Kentucky, coal companies rapidly developed towns during the 1910s by buying and constructing houses, and renting them to workers. The company controlled everything in such towns, including businesses. Company towns contain few house forms, most with only three or four rooms per family. Two-family dwellings were common. Many early miners' houses have simple box frames that omit many of the vertical supports usual in a frame building. Overlooking the workers' housing from the hillsides were better constructed, larger, and more elaborate dwellings for mine owners and supervisors.

The Modern Era, 1920 to the Present

While Kentuckians still use nineteenth-century agricultural buildings and live in former coal company towns, the most familiar buildings were added to our landscape in the early twentieth century. After the automobile was introduced, towns annexed nearby farmland to develop suburbs such as those we know today. Many bungalows, a house type from California and tropical climates, were built between 1910 and 1930. The bungalow continued the irregular plans popular in Victorian dwellings but was small and affordable. At the same time, many houses gained electricity and closets, while those in towns and suburbs also boasted bathrooms.

The automobile age gave rise to much more than suburbs as many new buildings were constructed to serve people and their cars. Gas stations, motels, and fast-food restaurants were built along major high-

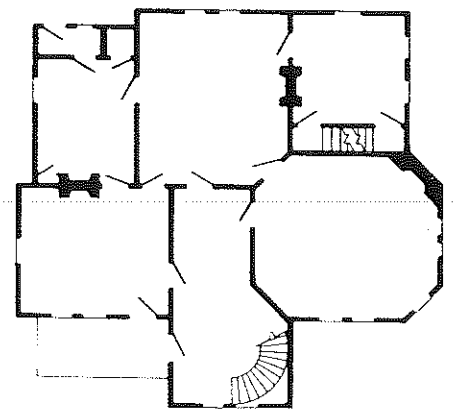


Figure 16.20
Asymmetrical.

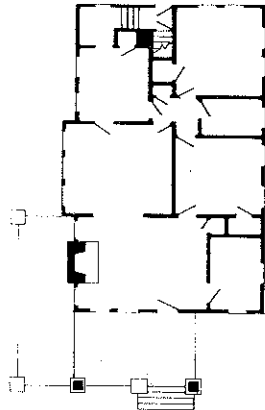


Figure 16.21
Bungalow.

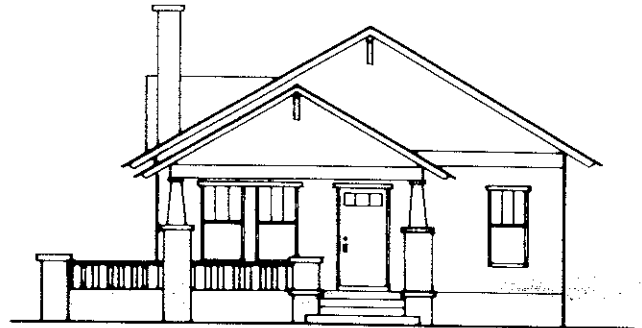


Figure 16.22
Bungalow.

ways across Kentucky. Because roadside businesses needed to catch the attention of people driving by, this architecture often took whimsical forms.

Kentucky's Historic Architecture Today

Kentuckians continue to adapt their buildings to meet new needs and changing conditions. Should they survive fifty years or more, today's buildings will become tomorrow's historic architecture.

Historic buildings must often be torn down to make way for new ones better suited to modern uses. The pace of change has increased during the twentieth century, so that more buildings have been demolished over the past fifty years than ever before to make way for businesses and fast-food restaurants on the outskirts of town, shopping malls, and apartment complexes. Modern health and safety issues have also contributed to the loss of historic buildings through the creation of industrial parks, man-made lakes for flood control, and road improvements. Although such change means that old buildings will be lost, growth and development cannot be avoided. Before deciding which buildings will be demolished and which preserved, it is important that we understand our historic architecture and the past it represents. Every Kentuckian can contribute to this understanding by reading the historic architecture in his or her community. All buildin

and structures, including houses, schools, churches, farm buildings, fences, field patterns, and places of business and work, have a story about the past to tell. By preserving Kentucky's historic architecture, we save for future generations the fascinating story of our past.

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Summary

Throughout Kentucky's history, many different types of buildings were constructed. Log cabins of one or two rooms gave way to brick, stone, and wood frame houses in the Settlement Period. By the Antebellum Period, Kentuckians began to desire extra spaces in their homes, and, after the Civil War, new architectural ideas spread across the commonwealth. Kentucky's late nineteenth-century architecture came to be increasingly similar to that in other American places. The turn of the century saw horse farm owners in the Bluegrass constructing elaborate buildings, including horse barns with classical ornaments. Finally, the Modern Era brought the popular and affordable bungalow from California to Kentucky as well as such conveniences as electricity, closets, and bathrooms.

C H A P T E R 17

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Toward the Modern Era: 1930 to the Present

William E. Ellis

In the more than six decades since the beginning of the Great Depression, Kentuckians have faced great changes and challenges. The economic crisis of the 1930s gave way to World War II and economic prosperity in the 1940s. In the fifties Kentuckians liked "Ike" (Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower) as did most other Americans. The sixties brought the Vietnam War and the beginning of Democratic President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs. In the seventies, the energy crisis led to a short-lived boom for the Kentucky coal fields. Kentuckians in the eighties experienced increasing economic problems in Appalachia and among the urban poor but relative prosperity in the so-called "Golden Triangle," the land within the lines connecting Louisville, Lexington, and northern Kentucky. As Kentucky, the nation, and the world entered the nineties, the promise of the end of the Cold War was being offset by continued difficulties in the Middle East.

In the 1930s, Kentucky's dominantly agricultural economy "about went bust," according to one Shelby County farmer. Republicans were blamed for the Great Depression. Governor Flem D. Sampson, elected in 1927, and his Republican colleague, President Herbert Hoover (1929-33), suffered the political consequences.

In 1930, the fall of BancoKentucky, a bank holding company in Louisville, touched off a mood of pessimism in the state. With 25 percent unemployment across the nation, many young people

“took to the rails” when they could find no jobs at home. Americans never lost their practical way of thinking. Perhaps the following is as correct as any of the complicated explanations for the depression: “A recession is when other people lose their jobs, a depression is when you lose yours.” “Hooverilles” (makeshift housing), “Hoover flags” (out-turned empty pockets), and “Hoover hogs” (rabbits) became part of the humor of American life during this trying time.

Kentucky politics continued to be colorful and exciting in the depression decade. In 1931, Democrat Ruby Laffoon soundly defeated his Republican opponent for governor. The next year, Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidency over Hoover.

Governor Laffoon urged passage of a sales tax to meet state budget problems in the 1932 Kentucky General Assembly. Lieutenant Governor A.B. “Happy” Chandler, as presiding officer of the Senate, helped block this measure. When the depression deepened in 1933, Laffoon declared a “bank holiday” and closed all the banks in the state just before President Roosevelt did so on a national scale after his inauguration. When stability was regained, the banks reopened.

In 1934, the Laffoon forces pushed a 3 percent sales tax through the General Assembly, temporarily breaking the challenge of the Chandlerites. Laffoon also ran into conflict with the national administration in Washington over funding welfare projects in the state.

The 1935 Democratic party gubernatorial primary drew Chandler into the field against Thomas S. Rhea, the choice of Laffoon. When Laffoon traveled to Washington to consult with Roosevelt, a Chandler supporter on watch called the Lieutenant Governor at the moment the train carrying the governor passed into West Virginia. Since Chandler legally became governor when the regular governor left the state’s border, he used his powers and called a special session of the General Assembly. After much turmoil, the Chandler and Laffoon factions finally agreed to a so-called “double-barrel,” or dual primary. If no candidate won a majority in the first primary, then a run-off would be held between the top two vote-getters. This is exactly what happened. Rhea won the first primary but, lacking a majority, had to run again and lost to Chandler in the second primary. Thus were born two prominent Democratic party factions that would live well into the



Figure 17.1
As majority leader of the U.S. Senate, Alben Barkley of Kentucky was a major national leader. Here he nominates Franklin D. Roosevelt for president in 1944 (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

post-World War II era. In the general election, the flamboyant Chandler easily defeated Republican Judge King Swope.

Chandler kept his campaign promise. At his insistence, the General Assembly removed the sales tax provision while passing so-called “sin taxes” on liquor and tobacco to raise needed revenue.

Meanwhile natural disasters as well as man-made problems struck the commonwealth. The disastrous 1937 flood hit the Ohio River Valley with a vengeance and devastated much of the state. Labor disputes in the coal fields, particularly in the Harlan County area, drew national attention. Although conditions eased some with the development of Roosevelt’s New Deal programs, many Kentuckians continued to suffer from the impact of the depression until World War II.

Governor Chandler, in his ambition to become a United States senator in 1938, clashed with incumbent Alben W. Barkley, the majority leader of that body and perhaps the most nationally powerful Kentucky political leader of the century. Chandler’s supporters used the highway department as a source of patronage to get votes for their candidate while Barkley’s increased the federal Works Progress Administration payroll. In the end, Barkley won handily and returned to Washington. A year later when Senator M. M. Logan died, Chandler resigned the governorship

Lieutenant Governor Keen Johnson, who then became governor, appointed Chandler to fill out Logan's term.

Governor Johnson's term in office extended to 1943, with election in his own right in 1939. The economy of the state began expanding about that time because of the beginning of war in Europe. Johnson was in office when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

During the war, many new facilities were built and older ones expanded: Industrialization along the Ohio River and the need for massive quantities of coal aided the state's economy. Many Kentuckians moved to industrial cities north of the Ohio River. Transportation improved and the state's farmers prospered. Fort Knox and Fort Campbell grew to be enormous army bases. Toward the end of the war, construction began on Kentucky Dam in western Kentucky. The economy of wartime was so good that Governor Johnson ended his administration with a \$10 million surplus, but politics was about to swing back in favor of the Republicans.

In 1943, Republican Simeon Willis defeated Democrat J. Lyter Donaldson, a member of the Rhea faction. Teachers' salaries and appropriations for education nearly doubled because of large increases in tax receipts and federal funds. Willis also took more interest in education for Afro-Americans than any previous governor had.

Postwar Kentucky

The end of the war brought thousands of veterans home to a new world. The G.I. Bill rapidly expanded higher education enrollments in the state. Technological change and better economic opportunity kept the United States from entering another depression. However, Kentuckians would suffer from periodic recessions into the 1990s. The beginning of the Cold War between the West, led by the United States, and the Soviet Union and its Communist bloc allies offset some of that optimism. Within five years, the United States would again be involved in a war, this time in faraway Korea.

In 1947, former U.S. Representative Earle C. Clements, with the support of the old Rhea-Donaldson faction, defeated former Speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives Harry Lee Waterfield in the Democratic primary and Republican Eldon S. Dummit in the general election for governor. During one of the most dynamic periods in Kentucky history, state parks, tourism, industrialization, and roads got special emphasis and funding. It was time for Kentucky farmers to “come out of the mud,” the governor said. The state began planning a new State Fair and Exposition Center in Louisville. Clements’s control of the General Assembly also led to creation of a non-party-oriented Legislative Research Commission and the Kentucky State Police.

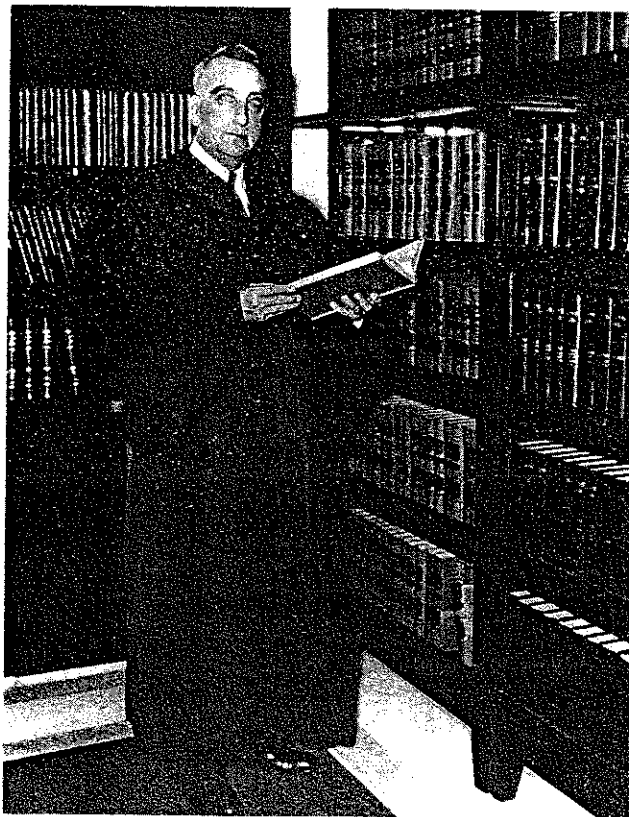
Clements resigned as governor after he had run, successfully, for the U.S. Senate in 1950. Lieutenant Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby took over. The only Jefferson County native to be elected governor, Wetherby, a former juvenile court judge, won the governorship in 1951.

Meanwhile, Alben Barkley, elected vice president with run-

ning mate President Harry S. Truman in 1948, became affectionately known as “The Veep.” Former Kentucky congressman Fred M. Vinson, after serving as overseer of the nation’s fight against inflation for eighteen months during World War II, served as chief justice of the United States from 1946 to 1953. During this time, the nation’s highest court began to chop away at the old segregation rules.

The 1950s appeared to be a period of difficulty for the state. In that decade, the population of Kentucky grew only 3.2 percent compared with 18 percent nationally, as out-migration continued the trend of World War II. Kentucky ranked near the bottom of the states in education, and per capita per person income was only 70 percent of the national average. But great changes were brewing. By 1960, the

Figure 17.2 Kentucky’s Fred Vinson of Louisa served as chief justice of the United States (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



were more manufacturing jobs in the state than jobs in any other single sector, including agriculture. Also, opportunities in education expanded along with other “white-collar” positions.

As governor, Wetherby continued much of the Clements program by encouraging both industry and agriculture. Kentucky began construction of a toll-road system. In 1954, the General Assembly approved the Minimum Foundation Act, which was designed to improve elementary and secondary education in poorer school districts. Wetherby also supported the 1954 desegregation decree set forth in the landmark Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*. And, during Wetherby’s term, Kentucky became one of the first states to lower the voting age to eighteen.

In 1955, Happy Chandler, who presided over the integration of baseball while serving as commissioner of the major leagues, reentered the Kentucky political wars, seeking a second term as governor, twenty years after the first. Factionalism in the Democratic party resurfaced when he ran against Judge Bert T. Combs, the choice of the Clements political machine. Chandler narrowly defeated Combs and then resoundingly trounced Republican Edwin R. Denny with the slogan “Be like your pappy and vote for Happy.”

Chandler continued his ideas of fiscal conservatism in the fifties. But at the same time he encouraged road building and education. Like Wetherby, he supported school integration and called out the national guard and state police to enforce the law in two locations. He also oversaw the beginning of what became the Chandler Medical Center at the University of Kentucky.

Although Republicans could control neither the General Assembly nor the governorship in the fifties, John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton were elected to the United States Senate in 1956, riding the coattails of Dwight Eisenhower’s



Figure 17.3 One of Kentucky’s most colorful and controversial leaders was governor and senator A.B. “Happy” Chandler, seen here in the 1957 presidential inaugural parade. President Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon are in the background, right (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).



Figure 17.4 Newly elected Governor Bert Combs and his lieutenant governor Wilson Wyatt celebrate their 1959 win (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).

reelection bid that year. Both served the state and nation well as moderate Republicans.

In 1959, Judge Combs again stood for the governorship in a hotly contested three-way Democratic primary. Then, Wilson W. Wyatt, Sr., dropped out of the Democratic primary race and ran for lieutenant governor as Combs's running mate. Combs defeated former Lieutenant Governor Harry Lee Waterfield, the choice of Chandler, in the Democratic primary and Republican John Robson, Jr., in the general election.

The 1960s

The decade of the sixties brought some of the most difficult times in the history of the country as the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War divided Americans into sometimes warring factions. The election of young John F. Kennedy as president and the promise of the "New Frontier" were overshadowed by his assassination in November 1963. About the same time, Whitesburg lawyer Harry M. Caudill published *Night Comes to the Cumberland*s and encouraged a growing national consciousness of the problems of Appalachia. This book publicized the poverty in that region and touched off federal efforts such as the Great Society programs of President Lyndon Johnson in the mid-sixties. Seventh district Representative Carl D. Perkins as chairman of an important committee guided much of this social and education legislation through the United States House of Representatives.

As governor, Combs brought a reformist zeal to Frankfort in the early sixties, claiming that for too long Kentuckians had been "too proud to whitewash and too poor to paint." Using the authorization of a recent vote, he asked for a sales tax. A new sales tax law passed the legislature, setting a rate of 3 percent.

This became another landmark in the development of funding Kentucky education and other services. As a further sign of his progressivism, Combs also appointed the state's first Commission on Human Rights, pushed for economic development, and implemented a merit system for state employees.

In the 1963 primary election, Combs's hand-picked candidate for governor, Edward T. "Ned" Breathitt, Jr., defeated Chandler in a landslide that effectively ended Happy's career, and then narrowly won the general election over Republican Louie B. Nunn. Controversy over civil rights continued in Breathitt's term and weakened the Democratic party and the governor's success. However, Breathitt did persuade the General Assembly to enact badly needed strip-mine legislation in 1964. A monumental \$176 million bond issue passed by the state's voters for highway and other construction added to the success of Breathitt's term in office along with an upturn in the economy and tax receipts.

During the second legislative meeting of Breathitt's term, the General Assembly appropriated funds to create Kentucky Educational Television (KET) and pay the state's share in development of Land Between the Lakes in western Kentucky. Legislation also enabled state colleges at Western, Eastern, Morehead, and Murray to become regional universities.

In the late sixties, as the fortunes of Democratic President Johnson turned sour, a Republican won the governorship in 1967. Louie B. Nunn, who narrowly lost to Breathitt in 1963, defeated Henry Ward. A year later, another member of the G.O.P. (Grand Old Party), Richard Nixon, took the presidency in a narrow victory over Democrat Hubert Humphrey.

Faced with a large budget deficit, Nunn asked that the legislature raise the sales tax by two cents. When the increase passed, some people, particularly Democrats, jokingly referred to this as "Nunn's nickel."

Kentucky could not escape the violence of the sixties. Governor Nunn used National Guardsmen to put down riots in Louisville and to enforce peace at the University of Kentucky after the burning of a building used for training students in military science. Upon leaving office, Nunn remained a leader of his party and ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1974 and for governor in 1979.

The National Scouting Museum

"Shh! Don't touch that!" When most people think of a museum, these phrases run through their minds. They often imagine long rows of lighted glass cases. But at the National Scouting Museum, visitors are frequently asked to touch and get involved with the exhibits. Because visitors are asked to become involved with the exhibits and be a part of the action, the National Scouting Museum is one of the most enjoyable museums in the country. Murray, Kentucky, the home of the museum, has become well-known throughout the United States and around the world because of the National Scouting Museum's prominence.

As visitors enter the museum, they are greeted not only by employees but by Murray, a life-size, state-of-the-art robot who serves as the official host. Nearly all exhibits in the museum involve computers so visitors can become involved. Topics such as scouting memories, the disappearance of a lost child, and divorce are included in the computer programs. Thanks to the magic of robotics and animation, the founding fathers of scouting discuss something called "scouting for boys." The men hold a conversation day in and day out, hour after hour. If visitors watch closely, they will see the robots move their arms, appear to breathe, type, sharpen an ax, and move their eyes across the audience.

The museum also includes a dark maze in which visitors must put their pathfinding skills into action. Visitors use a compass, flashlight, and a set of directions to try and work their way through the maze.

Fifty-three original works of art by Norman Rockwell are included in the museum's collection of artifacts and memorabilia. This valuable and famous exhibit draws visitors from around the world.

After participating in the indoor exhibits, visitors may be ready for some more strenuous activity. Many visitors may at first view Gateway Park as a playground; however, when visitors get out into the park and attempt such things as the "Wild Woosy" and the "Fidget Ladder," they may begin to have second thoughts.

Storytelling also draws a large crowd into the theater each day, with stories such as "The Unknown Scout" and "The Gingerbread Man." Many visitors leave the storytelling theater with tears in their eyes or holding their sides because the stories are so funny.

Visitors from other countries keep life at the museum interesting. On August 5, 1990, a group of Japanese scouts arrived at the museum. Although the scouts and employees spoke two different languages, by the end of the day the two groups were communicating fairly well.

The museum's goal is to develop public interest in scouting; the employees are reaching their goal through highly interactive exhibits. Kentuckians are very fortunate to have such a pleasant attraction in the state. In the years to come, the museum will continue to draw the attention of visitors from Kentucky, the country, and the world.

*Crystal Stallons
Dexter, Kentucky*

The 1970s

The 1973 embargo by a large number of oil-producing nations brought a boom to the coal fields, and the state's general economy improved as well. However, several disasters struck in the seventies. Floods, severe winters, the Scotia mine disaster, and the Beverly Hills nightclub fire in northern Kentucky added to Kentucky's woes. The end of the Vietnam War brought some healing to a population that often had been divided by that conflict.

Political fortune turned back in favor of the Democrats in the 1970s. In the gubernatorial election of 1971, Lieutenant Governor Wendell Ford won the Democratic primary over former Governor Bert T. Combs. He went on to defeat Republican Tom Emberton in the general election. Ford would later become the first person in the history of the commonwealth to be successively elected lieutenant governor, governor, and senator.

Governor Ford encouraged energy research and took a strong interest in the health of the coal industry. After many years of effort, the legislature finally passed a coal severance tax aimed at putting some tax money back in the coal-producing counties. The General Assembly also followed Ford's wishes, removing the sales tax on food, increasing expenditures for education, and improving human resources services in the state.

During his third year in office, Ford announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Republican Marlow Cook. Construction of a dam in the Red River Valley became a critical issue in this campaign, with Ford favoring an alternative site and Cook being completely opposed to the project. Ford won the election and joined his close colleague Walter "Dee" Huddleston in the nation's capital.

Lieutenant Governor Julian Carroll became governor for the remaining part of the term and then defeated Republican Robert E. Gable in 1975. Carroll placed special emphasis on elementary and secondary education. The commonwealth's place in education among the other states rose substantially during his administration. For example, free textbooks were offered for the first time to all students. Carroll also ended the Army Corps of Engineers' plans to build a dam on the Red River when he withdrew his support.

Carroll's lieutenant governor, Thelma Stovall, the first female to hold that office, surprised most everyone by calling a legislative special session for the purpose of cutting taxes during Carroll's absence from the state. The tax-cutting move failed to help her political career, for she lost in the 1979 Democratic gubernatorial primary.

The 1980s and Beyond

John Y. Brown, Jr., the son of a veteran to Kentucky politics came into the 1979 gubernatorial campaign late and won, using his own personal fortune and the public appeal of his wife, Phyllis George, a former Miss America and television personality. Brown gained national prominence as the president of Kentucky Fried Chicken, the restaurant chain founded by Colonel Harland Sanders. Former governor Louie B. Nunn ran a poor second in the general election.

Brown stressed his role as an outsider, "a political maverick" like his father and, like many before him, the need for a business-oriented approach to state government. He cut the state payroll,

and as the economy worsened during the early years of President Ronald Reagan's administration, Brown presided over several major cuts in state expenditures. He also allowed the General Assembly much more independence than any governor in modern Kentucky history. Suffering from ill health, Brown dropped out of politics soon after he left office.

In the eighties, Kentucky had another first: the election of a female governor, Martha Layne Collins. Former clerk of the Court of Appeals, Lieutenant Governor Collins won by a narrow margin a three-way Democratic primary in 1983 against Louisville Mayor Harvey Sloane and former Human Resources Secretary Grady Stumbo. In the general election, she defeated a former baseball star, Republican Jim Bunning, by a comfortable margin.

Figure 17.5 Martha Layne Collins became Kentucky's first woman governor with her election in 1983 (Kentucky Historical Society).



A stagnant national economy ended Collins's plans to improve Kentucky education substantially during her term. The state legislature wrangled over her combination education/tax bill, and she finally conceded defeat. But Collins pushed industrialization during her term and succeeded in encouraging Toyota to build an ultra-modern automobile plant outside Georgetown in return for a multimillion-dollar support from the General Assembly.

The eighties ended with another Democrat as governor, one who, like Brown, came from a business rather than government service background. Wallace Wilkinson came to political prominence like Brown, suddenly and with an issue that caught on with the voters of the state. After trailing badly in the primary polls, Wilkinson took up the issue of Kentucky's joining those states that use a lottery to raise revenue for the state. With his own funds, Wilkinson used a media blitz to gain the upper hand in the primary and general election. During much of his term, he tangled with an increasingly independent General Assembly. After the state supreme court found Kentucky's school funding system to be in violation of the constitution, the General Assembly passed a revolutionary education reform bill in 1990. The legislation also raised the sales tax to 6 percent to pay for increased state expenditures.

Kentucky lost several of its most famous citizens in the eighties and early nineties. Most had influenced the life of the state and the nation for several generations. Before his death, Edward F. Prichard, Jr., overcame the stigma of political corruption to lead a committee dedicated to education excellence in Kentucky. Barry Bingham, Sr., died after witnessing the sale of his enterprises, including the *Courier-Journal*. The commonwealth lost popular former governor and political leader Bert Combs. Kentucky authors of national significance also died in this period. Harriette Simpson Arnow, author of *The Dollmaker*, and Robert Penn Warren, poet laureate of the United States, died in the eighties. Harry Caudill died in 1990.

As Kentuckians entered the nineties, they worried about many of the same things they had in 1930. Economic recession constantly loomed on the horizon, yet the state was much more industrialized and more safeguards were in place than in that earlier time. More Kentuckians were better educated than ever

before, yet too many young people continued to drop out of high school. It appeared that dwindling coal reserves would mean an eventual end to that source of income. The tobacco industry also came under increasing attack. Along with the material wealth of the post-World War II era came increasing concern about pollution. However, for all these problems, continued technological change held out hope for a better world.

Summary

In the more than six decades since the beginning of the Great Depression, Kentuckians have faced great changes and challenges. The rise and fall of the national economy has had untold consequences in the commonwealth. Cycles of boom and bust have forced Kentuckians to make adjustments to new forms of technology. Personal expectations have risen. Kentucky politics proved to be just as colorful as in earlier decades with politicians often forgoing discussion of substantive issues for "mudslinging" and personal attacks. While the Democratic party kept its place of relative dominance of the General Assembly and the Governor's Mansion, the Republican party became more successful in carrying the state for its presidential candidates. Kentuckians in the 1990s faced new challenges. Educational reform held out the promise of dynamic change. The question remained; would Kentucky be able to meet that challenge and enter the twenty-first century better prepared for the future?

Education

Thomas D. Clark

Kentucky's educational history is woven of many strands of philosophy and experiences. In the quarter century from 1775 to 1800, frontier Kentucky was a social and political island cut off from direct communication with any other organized community. It was also a region that faced heavy physical demands in the exploitation of its virgin lands. The latter task demanded strong backs and only limited intellectual capabilities. Nevertheless, a certain amount of native wit and wisdom was needed to survey the land, build houses, open roads, and begin farming and raising livestock.

Though many of the early settlers who came to Kentucky had some smattering of education, few had more than the most basic schooling. The older states that fed into the Kentucky immigration stream afforded their people only limited educational opportunities. This was especially true of Virginia with its private academy rather than public school tradition. As a result, the major portion of the inflow of population into Kentucky brought in its cultural baggage no burning zeal to organize schools.

The history of early educational beginnings in Kentucky is sketchy at best. Mrs. William Coomes was credited with conducting only a most elementary type of school in Fort Harrod. John May taught the children at McAfee's Station, and Joseph Doniphan held school at Fort Boonesborough. Later, John Filson, Kentucky's earliest historian, organized an academy in Lexington. He was succeeded by the famous "Wildcat" John McKinney. McKinney's name has lingered on in Kentucky educational history not because of his teaching but because he had a vicious

encounter with a wildcat in his classroom. There was an academy at Crow's Station on the outskirts of present-day Danville from which Transylvania Seminary had its beginnings.

By 1795, numerous itinerant academy masters began to appear in Kentucky. These teachers offered instruction in elementary spelling, arithmetic, writing, Greek, and Latin. The term "master" was doubtless an accurate one. In most schools of the early era, the teacher was called upon to be three parts disciplinarian and two parts instructor.

Early Kentucky schoolrooms at best were as primitive as pioneer cabins. There were no published textbooks, no courses of study, and no teacher certification. Perhaps some teachers were barely able to read and write themselves. Some documents of historical significance today are the hand-scribed arithmetic and geometry textbooks that teachers brought across the mountains with them. These contained not only the problems, but also their solutions.

Schools were for brief terms in earlier years, and often sessions were scheduled around crop planting and harvesting. Somehow pupils developed the notion that it was up to them to test the courage of teachers by bullying them. In many cases, a teacher was considered to be a good one if he could whip every boy in school. This was an era when schoolteachers were chiefly men.

For the masses of Kentuckians, the expectations of receiving even the most rudimentary education in the era before the Civil War were from low to nonexistent. Generally, the public conceived of formal education as being for teachers, some ministers, lawyers, doctors, and, perhaps, for merchants and land surveyors. Obviously, newspaper editors had to be educated enough to read and write. In the case of ministers, some religious denominations placed greater emphasis on being divinely called to preach than on being educated to do so.

The Virginia practice of supporting the academy concept was transported into Kentucky largely because this type of school could be organized by individuals and sustained without taxation and could cater to selected students who hoped to enter one of the professions. There was, however, a movement after 1795 to expand the academy plan to all the counties. These were to be organized on the plan of the Kentucky Academy at Pisgah in Woodford County and supported by grants of cheap public land

The Kentucky General Assembly in 1798 enacted the county land-grant academy law to apply to all the existing counties and to new counties to be formed in the future. Under the terms of this act, a grant of 6,000 acres of public land was deemed sufficient to finance the establishment of a school and maintain it for a short time. This idea prevailed in Kentucky until after the Civil War, and well beyond the time when 6,000 acres of unoccupied public land could be located. It is important to emphasize the fact that no one in Kentucky before 1820 had a clear concept of how to go about offering the entire population access to public schools.

An attempt was made in 1821 to create a semipublic source of financial support for schools by the creation of a special fund. Money derived from half of the profits of the Bank of the Commonwealth and from the state banks in Lexington, Danville, and Bowling Green were to be deposited in this fund to be distributed to schools. This was viewed as a painless way to raise at least a minimal amount of money to satisfy a rising public demand for public support of education.

On the heels of the creation of that fund, the General Assembly authorized the creation of a committee to make a state and national survey of attitudes toward public education. William T. Barry, a Lexington lawyer, was chairman of the committee, which made a strong effort to seek information about public education in America. On December 11, 1822, the Barry Committee submitted its report to the General Assembly, but legislators were too deeply embroiled in bitter partisan politics to give it notice, and the report was filed away without action.

By the 1830s, there had been established across Kentucky a fairly large number of one-room schools that operated in tiny districts and independently of any central administrative control. Even so, the rate of illiteracy in the state was staggering. Joseph J. Bullock, the first state superintendent of schools, reported to the General Assembly in January 1839 that a third of the Kentucky school-age children could neither read nor write and had no access to an education. It is doubtful, however, that Bullock's statement came close to being accurate, and the rate of illiteracy may have been much higher.

One of the most serious drawbacks in establishing a public school system in Kentucky was the lack of adequately trained teachers. Not until 1906 was a beginning made in the solution of

this problem by the creation of two teachers' colleges. The earlier teachers' schools (normals) were only a poor effort at teacher training. A central fact in the laggard efforts to establish public schools was the traditional resistance of Kentuckians to taxation. Teachers were paid starveling salaries ranging from twelve to thirty-five dollars for three-month terms, a sum insufficient to sustain a person without a secondary source of employment.

The Beginnings of State Support

The real impetus for the development of a system of public schools in Kentucky came from a group of individuals rather than from the governors and legislators. In the decade from 1830 to 1840, private citizens undertook to create a limited system of schools and to provide for their central administration. Not until Kentucky received from the federal government its share of the surplus funds distributed by the treasury in 1837 was the office of superintendent of public instruction provided for by law. Joseph J. Bullock, a Presbyterian minister, was the first person to serve this office. He was entrusted with the responsibility of distributing the income from the \$850,000 that had been set aside as a permanent school fund.

Some historians, in treating Kentucky educational history, have tended to consider that the law of 1838 marked the beginning of the universal public school movement in Kentucky. This is not so. What the law of 1838 did was to attempt to organize a school system that would be partially sustained by the income from the surplus fund. In enacting the law, legislators never even hinted at a universality of opportunity for all of Kentucky's school-age children. The law made no provision for the county courts to set and collect a school tax, suggested no standard course of study, and made no provision for the adoption of uniform textbooks. Local school commissioners, who in many cases may have been illiterate, selected and certified teachers. Parents were permitted to select books their children were to study and sometimes chose the only book they knew, the Bible. Nowhere in the law did legislators hint at what they expected of the schools. Quite to th

contrary, the thrust of the law was to protect the surplus fund and its income. The law provided for the taking of a census of white school-age children, and no mention was made of educating the children of black slaves. Finally, the law did not prescribe the length of the school term, but generally there was a common agreement that in a majority of cases it would be three months, and no more than five.

The fourth grade was considered the terminal one for these "common schools." Generally, this was considered to be the level at which a student had learned the rudimentary "Three R's" of "reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic." It was assumed that a student at this level could read a newspaper and the Bible, write a simple letter of social correspondence or business, and "cipher through the rule of three" (add and subtract).

The Kentucky General Assembly seemed to believe that all it had to do to establish a system of common schools was pile one law on top of another. In 1845, it enacted legislation to compact into one statement the school laws then in existence. This latter law, like the earlier ones, emphasized administrative responsibilities and all but ignored the central purposes of education. Again, the law presupposed three-month school terms and local districts thoroughly controlled by three trustees. This was to be a cancer on the Kentucky schools; most often a strong-willed trustee dominated the district, hired the teacher, assumed responsibility for the schoolhouse, controlled the school funds, and subjected his district to local political manipulations. As usual, the General Assembly in 1845 made no provision for general state support of schools beyond providing for the distribution of the surplus fund income to the counties. Parents in local school districts were equally stingy in tax support of their local schools. Teachers were to be licensed by the local school commissioners, but there was no hint in the law as to what might be considered acceptable standards for teaching.

When delegates met in Frankfort in October 1849 to revise Kentucky's constitution, some individuals among them had become fully aware of the state's educational plight. The debates that followed the introduction of the proposed education section sometimes became bizarre if not actually vicious. Running through the discussions was a thread of doubt as to whether or not education should be made a matter of constitutional concern.

Perhaps Larkin J. Proctor of Whitley County was more nearly historically correct when, in his bumbling statement, he told the convention that "whatever has often been said, when repeated, I am aware, falls like snow upon the water, and is blotted from the recollection of man; I know, Sir, that in the days past and gone, there has been as much said by politicians when candidates before the people for office, in favor of the system, is apt to be looked upon by the people as a franchise story, only retold to gull and deceive them." Proctor spoke for the Kentucky generations in efforts to muster political support for public education.

It was historically significant that the education committee in the constitutional convention for the first time in Kentucky provoked extended debate on the subject. John D. Taylor, a lawyer from Mason County, was chairman of the education committee. He submitted the first section of his committee's report, which was prefaced with the declaration that "the diffusion of knowledge and learning among men being essential to the preservation of liberty and free government, and the promotion of human virtue and happiness, it shall be the duty of the general assembly to establish within three years after the adoption of this constitution, and *forever* thereafter keep in existence, an *efficient* system of common schools *throughout this commonwealth*, which shall be equally open to all white children thereof." This apparently was an original statement of the committee, but it was not written into the new constitution. Nevertheless, the words *efficient*, *forever*, and *throughout the commonwealth* lived on to become the heart and soul of section 183 of the 1890 constitution, and, a century and a half later, those words in section 183 became the basis for declaring the entire public school system in Kentucky unconstitutional.

However generous and eloquent the preamble written by the education committee of the constitutional convention of 1849, the delegates ignored it. They wrote into the new constitution an educational clause that was as unconcerned with the fundamental purposes of public education as could be drafted. Delegates demonstrated far more concern for the administration of public funds than for the education of the children in the commonwealth. The only really significant element in the educational clause was that it gave public schools a constitutional status; otherwise the educational provision had little or no impact or

what actually happened in the one-teacher, one-room, three-month, impoverished district schools in individual counties.

Much of the criticism of public schools expressed in the constitutional convention was aimed at the ineffectiveness of teachers. The criticism, real or imagined, was also heaped on district trustees, and the expenditure of funds. Convention delegates exhibited an antipathy toward taxation to support schools. That teachers were ineffective and the schools inefficient were readily determined facts. The law of 1845 permitted the issuance of three grades of teacher certificates, none of which in any way assured a proper preparation of an instructor. School terms varied from the traditional three months to five months. Schoolhouses were generally located in out-of-the-way places, poorly constructed, poorly lighted and ventilated, and heated by fireplaces fed by student-gathered wood. Benches and tables were crude homemade affairs. Supplies such as crayons, blackboards, and maps were nonexistent, and often fresh water was not readily available.

Teachers were still expected to be as much stern switch-wielding disciplinarians as instructors. Many a common-school teacher's courage was challenged by bullying students, and teachers either humbled their challengers with the switch or were forced out of their jobs. Pay was so meager that nonresident teachers were expected to "live about" with their patron families. Because of this early condition of common school education in Kentucky, low esteem for public schoolteachers developed, negative traces of which still linger on.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, several rugged crusaders for improving the conditions of education in Kentucky emerged. None was more vigorous than the Presbyterian minister Robert Jefferson Breckinridge. Dr. Breckinridge served the office of superintendent of public instruction from 1847 through 1853. He not only was the most competent superintendent up to that date but no doubt had the clearest concept of what was necessary to afford every Kentuckian of school age the opportunity to secure an elementary education. He opposed the frequent enactment of overlapping and sometimes contradictory laws by the General Assembly, which he contended were "unworthy of the interest at stake of the Commonwealth itself, of the sincere efforts and sacrifices which have already been made, and the work which the people have set their minds as the ends of many toils and hope."

Dr. Breckinridge fairly shouted at the people of Kentucky that they had no interest greater than that of providing a superior education for even the poorest child. He also set about raising teacher qualifications, stimulating pupil attendance, and standardizing the course of study and textbooks.

The Whirlwind Campaigns, 1870-1908

Unhappily, the momentum set in motion by the Breckinridge era was badly disrupted by the Civil War. The decade from 1860 to 1870 was an intellectually barren one in Kentucky's educational history. Schools suffered almost total neglect. At the end of the decade, Superintendent of Education Z.F. Smith said that when he came into office in 1867 the school system was no longer worthy of grave consideration by men of public trust. He wrote that during the war years it had been abandoned to whatever grim fate the future held for it.

The basic fact in 1870 was that, despite all the past debate and crusading and the enactment of laws, Kentucky actually had no system of common schools. The General Assembly, despite its numerous laws, had never exercised the leadership and courage necessary to provide an adequate tax base to support even the most elementary of short-term schools. Clearly illustrative of this condition was that in 1869 there were 4,447 minuscule school districts sharing \$242,948.61, or \$54.63 per district. From this meager sum they were expected to build schoolhouses and pay teachers.

Out of habit, legislators were resistant to setting a tax levy that was proposed in 1869. In its session that year, the General Assembly authorized a vote by the electorate as to whether or not it would approve a levy of fifteen cents on each one hundred dollars of assessed property value. This proposal won by the substantial majority of 24,677 votes. As a result of this favorable response, the General Assembly then went ahead and enacted a drastically revised school law that, for the first time, actually provided for the creation of a system of universal free public schools in Kentucky. The new tax levy, however, was insufficient to provide the financial support needed to realize this objective.

The challenges were enormous. For instance, Superintendent Smith said there were an estimated 40,000 white males in the commonwealth who were totally illiterate and that twice that number could barely read and write. He charged that former legislators had only tinkered with the concept of public education without ever really supporting it.

It would be little short of sacrilege to discuss the history of public education in Kentucky during the decade from 1870 to 1880 without mentioning the heroic efforts of Superintendent H.A.M. Henderson. He fought the unconstitutional act of the General Assembly that sought to take away school funds, and he won. He crusaded for better pay for teachers, for schools for blacks, for better textbooks, for local taxation to support schools, for the organization of local teacher normals, and the graded school concept. He visited the schools of the state and wrote a highly revealing essay on their deficiencies.

The history of Kentucky common schools from 1870 to 1908 can be succinctly summarized by citing stubborn public resistance to taxation, trustee control of local schools, lack of trained teachers and teacher training institutions, a poor rural agrarian economy, and the woeful lack of expectation that education can improve social and economic conditions.

Figure 18.1 Interior of a school in Wickliffe in the first decade of the twentieth century (Kentucky Historical Society).



Running through all the reports of the state and county superintendents were critical notes concerning the trustee system, the indifference of parents, the shabbiness of schoolhouses, lack of supplies and equipment, and the ineffectiveness of many teachers. Reflective of these problems was the shamefully low enrollment in schools and the discouraging average daily attendance of those enrolled.

John Grant Crabbe, a native of Ohio, was elected superintendent of public instruction in 1907. He brought to the office an active imagination and boundless energy. In that year, 417,664 school-age children out of a total of 739,836 were not enrolled in school, and only 311,192 who were enrolled were said to have maintained a satisfactory average daily attendance. In the first decade of the twentieth century, illiteracy in Kentucky was the highest in the southern states. John Grant Crabbe declared that the Kentucky school system in 1907 was still plagued with all the deficiencies that had beset it during the previous century.

Responding to the outcries about the low estate of education in Kentucky, the General Assembly in 1908 once again enacted a comprehensive school law. This one, known as the Sullivan Law, actually sought a wholesale restructuring of the state's school system. The law firmly embraced the concept of universal public education, enacted a child labor law, revised the mode of local school management by changing the makeup of the local school boards, created the beginning of a system of county high schools, and authorized an increase of the levy on property to twenty cents on every one-hundred-dollars assessed valuation. There was the immediate boast that the Sullivan Law was revolutionary. It was said, "This is the new school system, and it is big with possibilities. We believe it marks the beginning of a new era in educational life and growth in Kentucky."

Coupled with the new legislation were the two "Whirlwind" campaigns conducted by the Education Commission of Kentucky to arouse public support for the projected new system of schools. Beyond this, developments in public education nationally had contributed materially to setting the course of educational progress in Kentucky.

Among the changes made by the recent law were moving toward consolidating school districts, resorting to compulsory attendance, adopting uniform textbooks, upgrading teachers

training and certification, and emphasizing the quality of schoolhouses and instructional equipment.

As indicated, a serious weakness in the Kentucky educational effort was the casual attendance—or nonattendance—of children of school age. The Sullivan Law required children between the ages of seven and fourteen who lived in first- to fourth-class towns and cities to attend full school terms. Inherent in the law was a realization that compulsory attendance was for most rural Kentuckians unenforceable. The nature of farming, changeable weather conditions, inadequately heated schoolhouses, and muddy roads, plus local school politics and community rows, all had a bearing on school attendance. There may not have been an official anywhere in Kentucky in 1908 who would have fined parents for failing to send their children to school.



Figure 18.2 A one-room school in Ohio County and its students in 1909 (Kentucky Historical Society).

Moving Education into the Modern World

World War I was a distinct watershed in both the history and the philosophy of education in the United States. The nation suffered a rude shock when the results of military intelligence tests revealed a frighteningly low level of literacy among recruits and draftees. Kentuckians made poor showings in these tests. The war ushered in a new scientific age, especially in the fields of industry, agriculture, engineering, medicine, and especially chemistry. The postwar years brought a far greater demand for education than Kentuckians had ever known.

Closely allied with the cause of education was the crusade to improve public roads. The Kentucky General Assembly in 1912 authorized the creation of a department of highways but made

only minimal provisions for financing the building of roads. In 1916, and just before the United States entered World War I, the Congress of the United States enacted a federal highway law that gave fresh impetus to Kentucky's road improvement efforts. All of these changes made greater demands on the state to reconsider the quality of its schools and to give serious attention to consolidating schools and enforcing attendance laws.

Kentucky in 1918 was faced with dual educational challenges—providing schooling for a rapidly growing school age population and breaking the granite barriers of illiteracy and functional illiteracy. Statisticians estimated in 1920 that there were still 130,000 totally illiterate males in the state, as compared with 208,084 in the previous decade. On the general education front, Dr. Leonard P. Ayers, a specialist hired by Kentucky to study comparative school systems, said that Kentucky had dropped to thirty-fifth in education among the states in 1890 and to forty-fifth in 1918. Publication of this fact was shocking to the public, and provoked still another survey of the school system.

An education commission was appointed in 1921 to make a searching survey of the Kentucky schools and to recommend means by which Kentucky could rescue itself from its embarrassingly low position on the national educational scale. After finishing its investigation, the commission observed, "It must be apparent that the improvement of the schools of Kentucky requires better organization and administration, better trained teachers, larger school units, longer school terms, and more liberal financial support." This statement largely epitomized the history of public education in Kentucky up to 1930.

A second commission, organized in 1933, was given the mandate to make an intensive survey of the Kentucky public school and college systems. At the outset, this new commission observed that a serious concern was the outworn constitutional requirement that the superintendent of public instruction be chosen by popular vote every four years. Kentucky voters, however, persistently refused to approve an amendment to the constitution that would make this office an appointive one. Actually only a small minority of Kentuckians ever read the commission's report or had even a glimmer of an idea of the qualifications, or lack of qualifications, of candidates for the office. The constitution itself set no professional standards for this officer.

Slipping through the Cracks

How would it feel to live in a world where there were no means of written communication? Most of us could not imagine a world where simple tasks such as writing a grocery list or filling out a job application were virtually impossible. But that is the world in which many illiterate Kentuckians live today.

In the early 1980s, the U.S. Bureau of Census found that only half of all Kentuckians had graduated from high school. Kentucky was the lowest ranked state out of all fifty states. Although we have improved since then, there is still a problem. Some Kentuckians can only read or write below the sixth grade level, causing them serious problems in daily living.

The person who cannot read or write cannot apply for a driver's license alone. He or she cannot register to vote or apply for any public assistance without help. The embarrassment of asking for help is sometimes hard to overcome. Although most Kentucky counties have some type of literacy program, that does not insure participation. Many illiterate people have had enough education that they should have at least basic skills. But they have slipped through the cracks of the Kentucky educational system.

Illiteracy has become a way of life for many of these Kentuckians. They have grown accustomed to living with the hidden shame. Many pass their lack of skills to the next generation. The children of illiterate parents often fall victim to the same circumstances. They are rarely given books or other reading materials. Therefore, they are slower at learning and become discouraged. This is part of the illiteracy cycle.

People who are rejected by the system often end up in an awkward position. They cannot fill out job applications; therefore, they do not work. They cannot fill out medical forms, so they are denied proper care. Without an adequate education, they are rejected and ridiculed by society. Fear of society's reaction causes these people to hide the truth from the world. They even hide it from their loved ones.

Many of us know someone who cannot read or write. We may not realize it, but illiteracy affects us all. The illiteracy problem in Kentucky, as well as in the nation, will stay until we decide to make changes. We can all work together to find a solution to this staggering problem; that is the only way that it can be solved.

*Nancy Armstrong
Murray, Kentucky*

Paradoxically, the Kentucky General Assembly in 1920 enacted a law making the county school superintendents' positions appointive rather than elective. In its final report in 1933, the education commission recommended a stronger emphasis on

school administration, vastly improved instruction, new objectives for public education, a revision and simplification of the mass of school laws, reorganization of the state school board of education, a radical reduction of the number of one-room schools, and—most fundamental of all—a vastly increased amount of financial support for schools. Of all the surveys and reports made on public education in Kentucky since 1822, the one in 1933 was the most searching and profound.

Members of the commission were highly competent and, from educational and professional experiences, were able to state philosophical as well as practical objectives for Kentucky's public education endeavors. Kentucky's public education effort was at a crisis stage in 1933. That year, James H. Richmond, superintendent of public in-



Figure 18.3 An early school bus in Maysville in 1940 (Kentucky Historical Society).

struction, introduced his annual report with the doleful lament that "twenty years ago Kentucky stood fortieth among the states in educational ranking. Today she is still fortieth! It is true that great progress has been made in public education in Kentucky, but it has been no greater than that made throughout the nation. In other words, we have simply 'held our own.'" Superintendent Richmond made this statement in the midst of the Great Depression, which had a biting effect on every aspect of Kentucky life.

The intensity of the Great Depression had hardly subsided before the world was once again involved in war. Like the first world conflict, the second one was to have an enormous bearing on American public education and certainly upon that of Kentucky. Not only did the old technological and scientific challenges of World War I remain, the new conflict pushed back broader frontiers of science, communication, transportation, and

communication than mankind had ever known. Beyond this, Americans developed a much broader perspective on the place of their nation in world affairs. The returning GI's in 1945 brought home from two warfronts a more challenging attitude toward education than Kentucky had ever experienced in its long history. Likewise, at home, the war effort demanded trained personnel, a demand that continued in peacetime. If World War I had introduced an age of modern science and new modes of doing things, World War II ushered in an era of almost instant communication, electronics, physics, and nuclear power. After 1945, Kentuckians, as well as Americans in general, stood in new sociological, intellectual, and technical relationships in their postwar society. No Kentuckian, no matter how remote a spot he or she lived in, escaped the impact of the new age.

Education after 1945 became one of America's prime concerns. As noted earlier the chairman of the education committee of the 1849 constitutional convention wrote in a preamble, which was not adopted, that Kentucky should provide an *efficient* education to every school-age child. Delegates to the 1890 convention resurrected this statement by writing the word *efficient* in section 183 of the new constitution. This ideal, however, was never met.

Kentucky voters in 1941 approved an amendment to section 183 of the constitution permitting a more equitable distribution of funds. The idea of equalization of educational opportunity persisted, but it was never put into universal practice. Again in 1949, Kentucky voters approved a constitutional amendment that permitted 25 percent of the school funds to be allotted to tax-poor districts. A third amendment was added in 1953 that nullified distribution of funds on a per capita basis, and, the next year, the General Assembly enacted an equalization law that prepared the way for what was called a minimum foundation program.

Since 1938, most of the legislation pertaining to public schools dealt with finances, teacher training and certification, the curriculum, the composition of school boards and districts, and changing educational objectives. Little or no progress was made in that era in actually enabling Kentucky to forge ahead in its standing in the national statistical tables measuring educational progress.

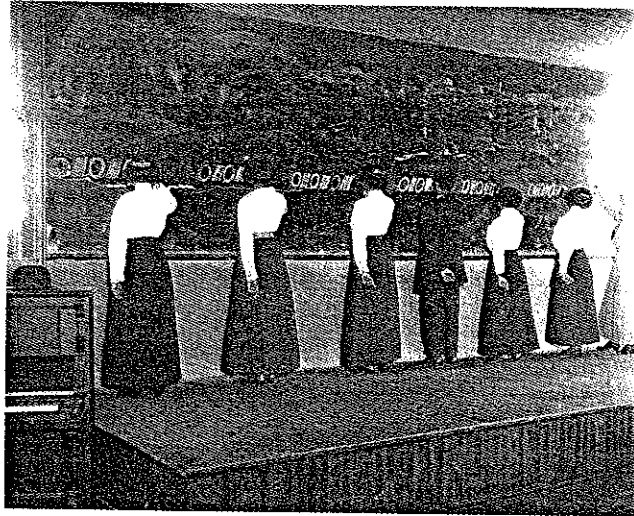


Figure 18.4 Students at what is now Kentucky State University in 1913 (Kentucky Historical Society).

Aside from the eternally nagging issue of educational status was that of educating the black population. This issue had troubled Kentucky since the Civil War. Almost as a matter of course, black schools were given only meager support. Many legislators and property owners in Kentucky contended that black schools should be supported by taxes levied on black property. In 1904, the General Assembly further complicated the racial imbalance in education in the state; it enacted the infamous Day Law, which was flagrantly discriminatory. This law aimed principally at segregating Berea College. Nevertheless, the law applied to the entire Kentucky educational system. Thus, a state that was frightfully near the bottom of the national education statistical tables added to its burdens. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its monumental decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*. This decision to all intents and purposes nullified segregation. As a result of the court decision and legislative action, Kentucky for the first time in its history had a truly universal system of public education for all races, but in no way were its problems lessened by the fact.

The stigma of adverse statistical comparisons, the low level of educational achievement, the gross inequities of support in at least sixty-six school districts in 1985 and the pressures of the rapidly advancing technological age all produced a state of crisis in the Kentucky public school system. In a lawsuit filed in the Franklin Circuit Court in November 1985, sixty-six school districts, seven boards of trustees, and twenty-two public school students protested the inequities of financial support. Circuit Court Judge Ray Corns ruled in 1988 that the Kentucky General Assembly was in violation of sections 183 and 186 of the Kentucky constitution. On appeal, the Kentucky Supreme Court ruled, in June 1989, that the entire system of elementary and secondary

schools was unconstitutional on the grounds that the General Assembly had failed to provide an *efficient* system of public schools.

In response to the Supreme Court's all-embracing decision, the Kentucky General Assembly in its 1990 session created a task force of legislators, educational specialists, and administrative officials to devise a new system of public education for the commonwealth. The result of this body's investigations was the enactment of the omnibus law known as the Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990 (House Bill 940). For at least the fourth time in Kentucky's educational history, the General Assembly restructured and set a new course for the operation of an *efficient* system of public schools. None of the previous attempts at restructuring, however, were so all-embracing as the reforms outlined in House Bill 940. Kentuckians have high hopes for its results.

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Summary

Kentuckians during the past two centuries have responded in various ways to their educational challenges. There have been peaks of accomplishments but far too many valleys of mediocrity. No truly great educational statesman has emerged in the past to define clearly the role of the public schools in the advancement of the social, cultural, and economic welfare of the commonwealth. With changing conditions of Kentucky society, and with recurring demands for more imaginative approaches to promoting human welfare, the Kentucky General Assembly in 1990 set a new and more certain course for public education. Both internal and external social and economic pressures have mandated the raising of educational standards well beyond the historic ones of earlier agrarian-rural years. The legislators took seriously the constitutional provision to afford an efficient educational opportunity to every school-age child in Kentucky. There is even reflected in the most recent legislation a sensitivity to the fact that much of the state's employment-age population must be given further training. Whatever changes the future may bring, it will ever be important to understand the past in order to point a certain course to Kentucky's educational future.

Today and Tomorrow

Al Smith

A "Place-Bound" State

Throughout much of the last fifty years, cars from other states traveled the highways to eastern Kentucky each weekend. From cities like Akron, Detroit, and Cincinnati, like fireflies strung along a matrix of wires, the cars crawled south on Friday night a trail of families heading "home."

They represented thousands of families who had to leave their homes because they could not make ends meet in the hard-luck coal fields of Appalachian Kentucky. They wound up in the industrial belt cities of the Northeast—the nearest place they could find jobs. Yet, each weekend many were drawn back to where they were born and raised, where they felt they belonged. Freedom from the shackles of economic austerity—in the form of a job—had done little to free them from their longing for home.

Indeed, Kentucky has been characterized by many as a "place-bound" state, and people of all regions of the state feel a deep affinity for their roots—so much so that the majority of them never leave, and those who do often keep strong ties to the area. Most who go are from the state's rural areas—such as the forty-nine Appalachian counties and the state's westernmost reaches—with longstanding economic problems: huge coal and timber holdings in the hands of absentee owners; farm communities unable to sustain an agrarian way of life in an industrialized society; a tax base too small to pay for adequate local government services.

Kentucky's urban cities have known relative prosperity. Louisville, Lexington, and northern Kentucky—the so-called "Golde

Triangle"—have developed diversified economies flexible enough to change along with the rest of the nation.

Yet the state has been barely gaining in population recently, as the 1990 census reported, because of a decline in births or out-migration. In the 1980s, the commonwealth registered an increase of less than 1 percent. Kentucky's total population in 1990 was 3,685,296, which ranked twenty-third among the states. The total United States population grew by 9.8 percent in the years between 1980 and 1990. Compared to other states, Kentucky's economic growth has been slow. Per capita (per person) income in 1988 was \$12,822, making Kentucky forty-second nationally.

High adult illiteracy, health problems associated with poverty, an overreliance on depressed industries such as coal and distilleries or on low-wage industries like textiles, and poorly funded public schools with a daunting dropout toll have all been causes of despair.

As we look toward Kentucky's future, however, there is a reason to hope that life will get better. In 1989, the state's elementary and secondary educational system was declared unconstitutional. The court decision prompted sweeping legislation to overhaul the schools. Nationally Kentucky was perceived as leading the country in innovative approaches to school restructuring. Thanks to a \$1.3 billion tax increase, the schools had the money to improve. Also, foreign investors, primarily the Japanese automakers, were creating new jobs and tax revenues. It was apparent that the Japanese auto transplants, led by Toyota, were thriving in the Bluegrass State.

So where is Kentucky going? Let us look first at where we are today.

Facing the Problems of a Changing World

We begin with the state's people. Kentucky's racial composition in 1990 remained unchanged from 1980. Ninety-two percent of the population was white. Blacks made up 7.1 percent. And less than 1 percent of the population was made up of Hispanics and other minorities.

According to the Kentucky State Data Center at the University of Louisville, more than half of Kentucky's counties (65 of 120) lost population during the past decade. The same was true for only four counties during the 1970-1980 period.

Of nine counties that declined by more than 10 percent during the past decade, all but one—Ballard, in the Jackson Purchase on the Mississippi River—were in the eastern part of the state. Jefferson, the state's most populous county, where Louisville is located, decreased by 2.9 percent. The 1990 population report meant that Kentucky would lose one of its congressional seats, decreasing its number of seats in the House of Representatives from seven to six, and would lose federal funding and influence in Washington. These losses could cost jobs. Especially hard hit were eastern and far western Kentucky, Kentucky's largest rural areas.

The most alarming aspect of the 1990 census was the declining birthrate. Appalachian Kentucky had 50,000 fewer people—but not because that many left the region. While Kentucky's adult population increased by 6 percent, its youth population fell by 12 percent. Only one other state, West Virginia, had a lower fertility rate than Kentucky. For whatever reason, Kentucky couples childbearing age were not having as many babies. Only 38 percent of households in the state had children. If the trend holds, the birthrate will be smaller than the death rate before 2010.

Teenagers having children has long been a problem in Kentucky, but this rate is slowing. More babies are being born out of wedlock, however, and there are more single-parent households, meaning that more children are in poverty—about 30 percent. The responsibility for raising those children, more often than not, falls to single women. The father often either cannot or will not help. The face of poverty in Kentucky, then, is a decidedly feminine one. And a mother's misery is ultimately handed to her children. One in six of Kentucky's children is poor.

As the state's population grows older and grayer, more of a burden falls to a smaller pool of young people to provide a strong economy. When children are mired in poverty, or their health and education are neglected, we stunt tomorrow's work force. The children are our future. Providing for them and giving them a chance are Kentucky's greatest challenges. They are our real "social security." On the other hand, there is another challenge. We must decide how much of our public resources (tax money

we will allocate to the needs of elderly Kentuckians—their health, housing, and nursing home problems.

Joblessness is another dilemma facing Kentucky. It is important to provide effective job retraining to keep unemployment low. New kinds of jobs must be created.

In Kentucky, “coal is king”—so the saying goes. But uneasy is the throne. The state still has large coal reserves under the Appalachian Mountains, but more machines and fewer miners dig the coal. In the western coal fields especially, a high degree of sulfur content emits pollution when burned. New clean-air laws, while protecting our health, create market problems for the commonwealth’s coal. Utility companies that burn coal for electricity want a cleaner coal and look for it in other states, such as Wyoming.

Kentucky is also home to the Kentucky Derby, called the most exciting two minutes in sports. But the horse industry itself is in trouble. A recent study of the thoroughbred industry by University of Kentucky economists said the industry is at risk because of tax problems, poor attendance at the racetrack, and declining sale prices for horses.

As Americans have become more health-conscious, cigarette and tobacco sales have dropped. So has the income of the one hundred thousand people who grow tobacco and other Kentuckians who process and sell it. Farming in general is on the decline as a source of jobs: once more, men and women are replaced by machines. According to the U.S. Census of Agriculture, the number of Kentucky farms plummeted from 193,487 in 1954 to 92,453 in 1987. The small farm and farmer cannot compete. Many small towns are losing out to regional shopping centers; the growth of chain discount stores in rural Kentucky takes its toll in family businesses and Main Street services.

Tobacco itself is described as part of Kentucky’s biggest health problem. The state is above national averages for the incidence of cancer, strokes, and heart disease. Some of that can be attributed to the high rate of poverty in Kentucky. For instance, six hundred thousand people in Kentucky—or one-sixth of the population—were without health insurance in the last decade, meaning many Kentuckians have no way to pay for hospitalization or health care.

The scarcity of jobs in the mountains has discouraged many men, who have quit looking for work altogether. More women are

thus forced to provide for their families. They work, often at two menial jobs, but many attend community colleges to upgrade skills for better jobs in the future.

Urban ghettos have a similar story: frustrated males too often abandon children to the care of hard-pressed mothers. For every one hundred marriages in Kentucky in 1989, there were forty-one divorces. Sociologists ponder how these facts affect family life and values. At the turn of the century, Kentucky was still a largely rural state. Today, large rural pockets still exist in Kentucky, but more people live in urban areas than in rural areas of the state.

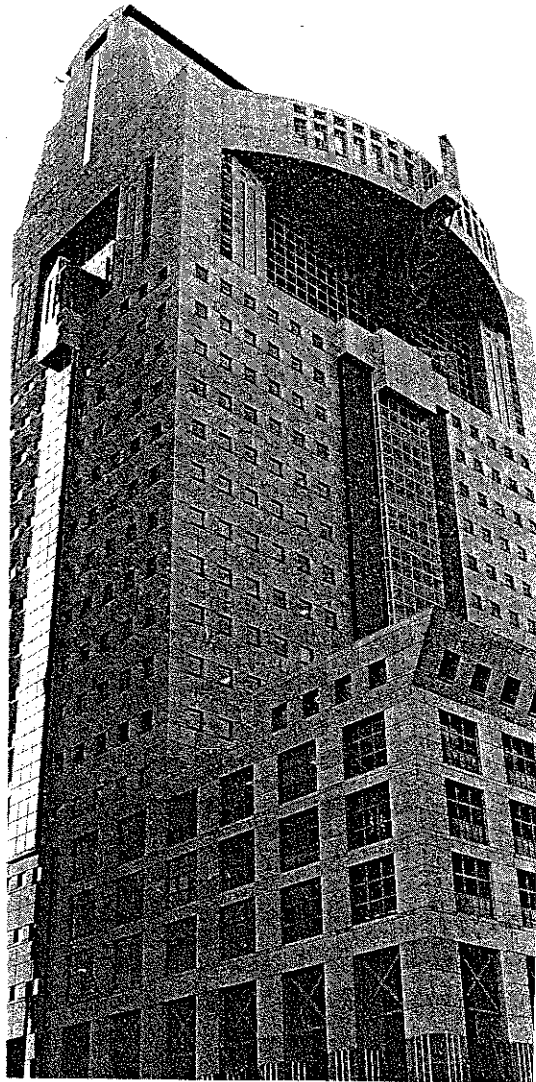
With farming and mining in decline, rural Kentucky turns to textile and other manufacturing industries for jobs and money. The state's older industries retool, close, or sell out. Without their jobs or new plants to replace them, it is feared Kentucky will have a work force of "hamburger flippers," a fast-food and retail economy, with long hours and low wages.

Hope for Tomorrow

The picture is not without hope, however. Kentuckians remain a proud people—proud of their achievements, their colorful traditions, their natural resources, and the beauty of their land.

Louisville, the state's largest city, was long considered a town of largely blue-collar factory workers. As many of those jobs disappeared, the town was forced to diversify its economy. Louisville has sought outside industry by emphasizing its attractiveness as a mid-size metropolitan area with good schools, arts and recreational programs, and low cost of living. Humana, one of the nation's largest health-care companies, has its corporate headquarters in Louisville. The company own

Figure 19.1 The Humana Building in Louisville (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).



hospitals and has a growing health insurance business. Started in the 1960s by two young Louisville lawyers, David Jones and Wendell Cherry, Humana is an example of entrepreneurial vision and energy in Kentucky, a successor to old-line firms like Belknap Hardware and the L & N Railroad, and it has replaced them in civic influence. It is also controversial at times in its competitive quest to dominate its markets.

Louisville—and, for the most part, Kentucky—escaped some of the damaging effects of the 1990-91 recession. The state gained 28,000 new jobs in 1990. Lexington was one of the few cities that grew during the 1980s. It added more than 20,000 residents, pushing its population to 204,165 in 1990. Developers have sought to expand the Lexington skyline as well. The city actively courted light, outside industries, while also attempting to preserve its lush green areas and horse farms, distinctive to the Bluegrass. In northern Kentucky, which shares the Cincinnati economy, Boone County led the state's 1990 census with a 25.6 percent population increase. In the 1980s, Northern Kentucky University's enrollment growth was the highest in the commonwealth.

While anxiety over the future is widespread, in eastern Kentucky there is some sense of hope, too. Homegrown entrepreneurs have brought jobs and revenue to the region. Appalachian Computer Services, a data-processing company, generates national sales from London and other offices. From its London, Kentucky, operations, ACS was promoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as an example of productivity in the mountains. London itself stands out as a center of creative capitalism: family entrepreneurs in the food, coal, and contracting businesses proved what eastern Kentuckians could do, given adequate infrastructure—in this case, flat land for development, a network of good roads, a railroad, an airport, and adequate utilities. In all of Appalachian Kentucky, Laurel County, of which London is the county seat, led in economic and population growth in the 1990 census.

Kentucky also has social entrepreneurs—folks who want to improve the quality of life. Activists have organized in Appalachian Kentucky not only to fight government corruption but to install a sense of civic pride. Groups such as Kentuckians for the Commonwealth have challenged the powers-that-be on several environmental problems in the region.

Finally, fewer of Kentucky's children are dropping out of high school, and more than thirty thousand Kentuckians are enrolled in the state's fourteen community colleges. Many are parents and working people who are struggling to provide a better future for themselves and their children. The state has also created a work force cabinet to help create jobs.

Increased concern about educational attainment and the interest of citizens who want something better for tomorrow are reasons to be optimistic about Kentucky's future. Much, however, remains to be done.

Kentucky Facing the Future

Kentuckians embraced the beginning of the nineteenth century with the Great Revival of 1800, a religious awakening marked by protracted camp meetings in which thousands of our early citizens declared themselves "saved." One hundred years later, following the Civil War and Reconstruction, a new century was ushered in with the assassination of a Kentucky governor.

The killing of William Goebel in January 1900 followed a bitter election campaign in which Goebel first manipulated party rivalries to win the Democratic nomination and then the state legislature to count out his Republican opponent. Although he was cut down before he could ever serve, Goebel was a new-style politician—both populist reformer and ruthless machine boss. At the end of the old century he was at the center of a battle for political control of the state. His violent death—he was assassinated in the courtyard of the capitol—may be seen as a metaphor for resistance to change: he demanded reform of the influence of Kentucky's railroads and other "interests" on government, and he was killed for it.

Change, however, came anyway.

Now, as we approach the dawn of the twenty-first century, the one hundred years have transformed us from an agrarian society to participants in a global economy. Our economic rivals and trading partners are not other states in the union but other nations of the world. United Europe emerges as a powerful economic force, along with Japan, to compete economically with the United States.

Internationalization of the U.S. economy has taken place with such speed that some three-fourths of the products that we make now face direct foreign competition. Kentucky coal is challenged by coal from Colombia and Poland. Underwear and other textiles made in southeastern Kentucky meet stiff competition from Hong Kong, Thailand, the Dominican Republic, and China. Kentucky-made automobiles must be priced against cars from Korea and Sweden.

The former Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries it once dominated turn to the United States and Europe for help in rebuilding economies exhausted by Communism. China and other industrializing countries seek technological and financial assistance from the West. Where does Kentucky fit in?

We begin at the end. As we have noted, Kentucky's traditional industries—coal, tobacco, and the horse—are in decline. Yet those industries will remain important to the state's future. Coal is still an important energy source, providing electricity to much of the region. With increased competition from low-sulfur coal in the West and other energy sources, however, the state's political leaders must decide whether they want to aid the coal industry with public money while at the same time encouraging counties now solely dependent on coal to diversify.

Against declining domestic sales of cigarettes, tobacco companies try to compensate with increased exports to developing countries. This extends the sunset of the business, but it is significant that the companies are vigorously pursuing nontobacco businesses; they understand the realities of smoking and health.

The horse industry is still a vital asset, generating \$5 billion in income and 89,000 jobs for the state at the beginning of the 1990s. On the negative side, the once popular standardbred and trotting business is now a minor contributor to Kentucky agricultural economy. Thoroughbred racing has an uncertain future. Although there has been an increase in total amounts bet on horse racing—because of intertrack wagering—there are also more gambling options, such as lotteries and riverboats. And, although television provides “big money” in sports, horse races do not attract audiences the size of those that watch football and other games.

Because a change in tax laws wiped out “loopholes” for writing off losses, the ownership of horse farms no longer carries the special economic incentives for rich investors that it once did. The early 1990s were a bleak time for racing as dozens of farms

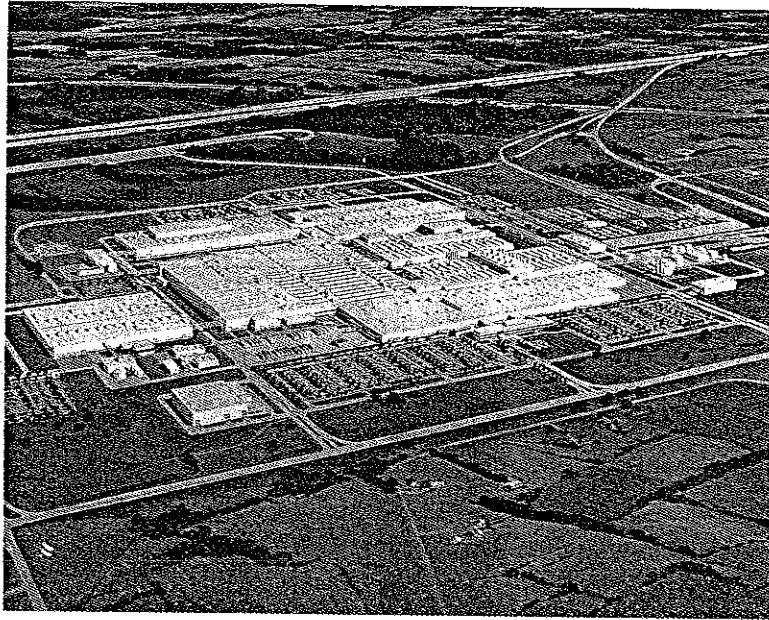


Figure 19.2 *The Toyota automobile plant in Scott County (Toyota Motor Manufacturing, U.S.A.).*

were put up for sale and some of the industry's most famous farms were closed.

Still, Kentuckians will not be able to depend as much on those industries in the future. Many leaders have realized this fact and have sought to do something about it. During the administration of Governor Martha Layne Collins, 1983-87, the state offered a \$135 million incentive package to the Japanese to locate a Toyota automobile plant in Scott County.

Within five years, that offer had resulted in a \$3.5 billion overall automotive investment in Kentucky. As we began the 1990s, the spin-off from Toyota was seventy auto-related plants employing 23,000 people in Kentucky. Toyota's success says a great deal about Kentucky's work force. In 1990 Kentuckians produced the Toyota Camry, which American consumers said in a survey was the most satisfying, trouble-free car on the market. That car was made by Kentuckians who five years earlier had never been in an automobile plant.

The partnership between Japan and Kentucky is still growing. To exploit the potential, the state opened an international development office in Tokyo. Other industrial development in new directions focuses on airport hubs in the "Golden Triangle" and paper mills along the Ohio River. Governor Collins's successors promised more interest in creating jobs outside the major cities and sought investments from other countries, notably Germany.

Kentucky should revitalize some of its older industries such as tourism and timber. The state has 11.9 million acres of commercial forest—much of it in the Appalachian region. While Kentucky generates about \$850 million a year from timber, Tennessee's 13 million acres produce \$3.4 billion. Some of the difference can be attributed to the fact that Tennessee adds value to its wood by making it into furniture; Kentucky exports raw lumber. Kentucky

has a nationally recognized parks and recreation system, which critics believe has been neglected. Miles of beautiful streams, lakes, and protected forest lands could be a boon to the state's economy. They have been in the past, but it can be argued that we have rested on our laurels instead of pursuing new strategies to attract more tourists, especially foreigners.

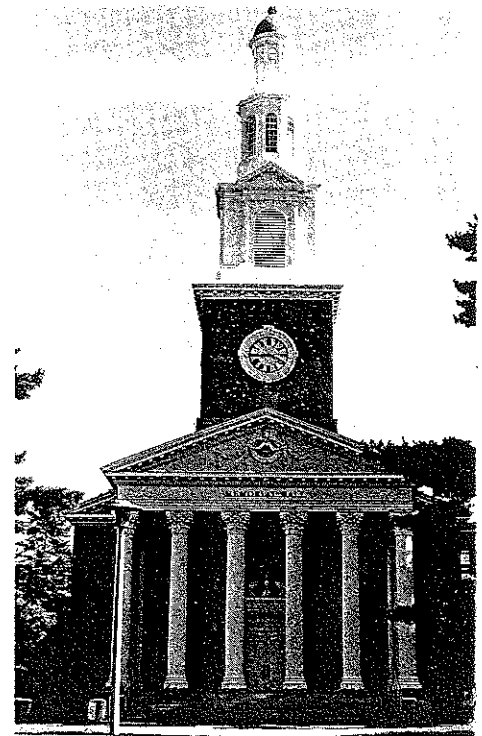
To create more jobs, Kentucky must provide a better-educated work force. As noted in 1990, Kentucky led the nation in education reform—at least restructuring. With Governor Wallace Wilkinson in agreement, the state legislature passed the Kentucky Education Reform Act. The landmark piece of legislation—and \$1.3 billion tax increase to fund it—provides for more direct parent-teacher management of schools, restricts political influence, measures pupil performance, and sets up counseling and health centers for poor children and other innovative programs that could push the state to the fore in secondary and elementary education in America.

Kentucky's citizens must realize that reform—true reform, at least—takes time. Success in changing what the courts said was an inadequate and inequitable school system will require the strong leadership of future governors and the commitment of legislators.

In higher education there was progress as well. In 1990, 58 percent of our high school graduates went to college—the highest figure of any state in the South. The message that education is economic development is finally coming across. Enrollment at the state's community colleges was bursting at the seams, reaching record levels. Many were the “nontraditional” older students seeking new skills.

The University of Kentucky, the state's flagship institution of higher learning, has improved its curriculum, research programs, and service outreach. At U.K. and the University of Louisville, selective admissions programs called for higher grades for students entering the universities. The state's regional universities quickly demanded the same and agreed to coordinate their programs more efficiently.

Figure 19.3 Memorial Hall at the University of Kentucky (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).



Among Kentucky's attractions for industry and business is its location. The state is within a day's driving distance of most of the eastern seaboard's big cities. The new "work force" cabinet promotes retraining, vocational education, and employment services for new businesses.

The state's boosters cite the success of modern entrepreneurs, including the Humana company and Kentucky Fried Chicken. John Y. Brown, Jr., who bought KFC from founder Harland Sanders, used his business success to help him win the race for governor in 1979. Wallace Wilkinson did the same with his textbook company in 1987. Ashland Oil's founder, the late Paul Blazer, was perhaps the most important entrepreneur in the early years after World War II. His company continues to head the list of Kentucky-based corporations.

Of the many Kentuckians who have been enriched by coal, a few, such as the late B.F. Reed of Drift in Floyd County, have been recognized for philanthropy. Reed, who died in the 1980s, was given an honorary doctorate by Morehead State University for his support of education and efforts to promote regional cooperation for economic development. Not many coal developers have been so recognized—arguably because coal operators are seldom found in the vanguard of those who strive for the betterment of eastern Kentucky.

One story of success in health care—notable because it involves entrepreneurs in the coal fields—is that of Dr. Lomon C. Trover's Regional Health Center in Madisonville. The Trover center may be one of Kentucky's best examples of enlightened self-interest. Started as a group practice in 1953, it enabled its founders, two Trover brothers and three friends, to practice different specialties of medicine together, and in the Trovers's home county. From small clinic to imposing center with 100 doctors and 2,000 support people, it evolved into a widely recognized leader in rural medicine. As an exemplary model of how to deal with challenges (in this case, rapidly developing technology), and change (government and business programs for health care), the Trover experience can guide other Kentucky business leaders who confront uncertainty at century's end.

Perhaps inspired by the Trover example, Hopkins County native Lee Todd, a U.K. engineering alumnus who did graduate work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and then car

back to U.K. to teach, has campaigned to increase the state's support of business and technology. After successful start-ups of two high-tech businesses of his own, Dr. Todd sold one of them to the giant Hughes Company. Then he persuaded the Hughes display products division to build a plant for it in Lexington at a new research park on U.K.'s Coldstream Farm. Dr. Todd calls for increased commitment of government and private money (capital) to assist developers of technology in Kentucky. Because he is our best-known technology entrepreneur, Dr. Todd is respected in Frankfort, where the state has started a technology council with Todd as chairman.

Is lack of risk capital, "seed money," for new business ventures of all kinds holding back Kentucky? Not in the experience of this writer, who built a small newspaper company with loans from rural banks in five different towns. But an oft-heard complaint against absentee ownership of natural resources, such as coal, is that little of the benefits of this wealth is reinvested in the region, mostly Appalachia, where capital for other businesses is in short supply.

Another argument is that conservative Kentucky waited too long to unbuckle its restrictive banking laws. That delay plus federal deregulation in the 1980s left Kentucky in the 1990s with no major Kentucky-based regional banks, such as North Carolina's Nations Bank of Charlotte.

Along with the sale to out-of-state owners of once dominant Louisville banks like Citizens Fidelity and First Kentucky, the 1980s and 1990s also marked the sale, or just the end, of many regionally famous Kentucky-owned businesses. No more Begley's drugstores. No more Byck's. No more Belknap. Media companies from other states ranged across Kentucky, gobbling up newspapers and television and radio stations. The sale of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* by the Bingham family in 1986 ended 120 years of local control of a paper that once ranked as one of the ten best in the United States.

Necessary Changes for the Future

One hundred years ago, Kentuckians redrafted their constitution as an exercise in modernity. They tried, but they gave us a charter that has long been criticized as too cumbersome and archaic for

the twentieth century. What will the 1990s do for the twenty-first century?

Some of today's Kentuckians are as eager as those of 1891 for governmental reform and a new constitution. Our generation, however, approaches revision with most of our business and financial institutions in transition, our media voices in service to distant corporate owners, and our traditional agrarian perspectives of less consequence.

This is a state of old-time religionists, of people who uphold the Great Book, the Bible, as Holy Word; but when it came to our principles or our pocketbook, between taxes and gambling, in 1988 we voted for gambling—we legalized the lottery. Five percent of our voters supported a 1991 candidate for governor who wanted to legalize marijuana. Kentucky changes.

A revised constitution for twenty-first-century Kentucky is likely to be drafted. It will serve Kentuckians who have been industrialized, centralized, secularized, and globalized. What should it say?

One issue on the horizon is succession, allowing governors to serve a second four-year term. There is also a movement to merge or eliminate outmoded constitutional offices such as treasurer, secretary of state, commissioner of agriculture, and railroad commissioner. Another kind of merger—at the local level of government—seems almost unthinkable, but it is discussed: merging counties. Kentucky's 120 counties are, undoubtedly, too many. There are simply too many counties to provide adequate funding for service and infrastructure needs such as schools, police, fire protection, garbage collection, and a number of other services. Only two states—Georgia and Texas—have more counties than Kentucky, but which of ours would welcome the wrecker's ball at the courthouse door?

Rather than wait for constitutional changes to force counties to merge, these "Little Kingdoms" might consider merging their services with those of other counties. Regional rather than local landfills and jails could become models for other services such as fire and police protection and tax collections.

A similar approach was taken by the legislature when it gave up trying to repeal the constitutional office for an elected superintendent of public instruction. The legislature instead handed the mission of supervising the reform of Kentucky's education system to a new office—an appointed commissioner of education.

Something will have to be done about the state's depressingly low voter turnout; only 30 percent of the registered voters showed up to vote in the May 1991 gubernatorial primaries. Some observers blamed the problem on too many elections in Kentucky and called for spacing them out. Another more deeply rooted problem is the lack of faith and trust in elected officials. Citizens feel that their votes do not count. Proposals have been made to change the way we conduct elections in Kentucky, most notably by reforming the way candidates pay for their campaigns. Despite its relatively small population, Kentucky had two of the country's most expensive governor's races in 1987 and 1991; about \$14 million was spent in the 1991 primaries. There are proposals to limit the amount of contributions candidates for office can accept, especially if they agree to partial public financing of their campaigns.

With the rise of "rich amateurs" in politics—wealthy office-seekers who bypassed political parties—the Republican and Democratic organizations seemed less important. Instead of courthouse rallies and stump speeches, quick TV advertisements became the norm. Issues that the public needed to know about were inadequately covered.

In the absence of serious issue-oriented political party leadership, other Kentuckians have taken it upon themselves to sponsor social, environmental, and educational reform. The Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence has been a strong advocate for better schools. A group called Forward in the Fifth worked diligently to help education in the state's Fifth Congressional District, one of the poorest in the country.

Groups such as the Shakertown Roundtable and the Center for Public Issues have also promoted a social agenda for change in Kentucky. Outreach groups such as U.K.'s Appalachian Center, the Brushy Fork Institute at Berea College, and the Eastern Kentucky Leadership Conference have worked to make life better in Appalachia.

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth and the Kentucky Resources Council have fought vigorously for environmental reform, notably to curb mining abuses and to tax unmined coal. Kentucky has long had problems with the ravaging effects of strip mining, but the state also must deal with environmental hazards such as landfills, as well as water and air pollution from factories and farm chemicals. The poet, novelist, and essayist Wendell Berry of Henry County is an eloquent voice for environmental

reform. No politician equals Berry as a champion of the small farmer, and perhaps none would want to, since he also fights the agri-business interests that he thinks ultimately hurt the land and its people.

It was Berry's friend, Whitesburg lawyer Harry Caudill, who brought world attention to Kentucky in the 1960s and to the plight of Appalachia with his book, *Night Comes to the Cumberland*s. Caudill, the foe of uncontrolled strip mining, was eventually recognized as a great moral force and an example of what independent citizens of courage and conviction can do to influence others. He no doubt inspired many Kentuckians who have become activists in citizen causes.

The training of citizen leaders has virtually become a "movement" itself in our state. Any conclusion about Kentucky's future must not overlook the potential of Leadership Kentucky, the Governor's Scholars program, East Kentucky Leadership Conference, and leadership training in individual towns. We have already seen the impact of KFTC (Kentuckians for the Commonwealth) and the Prichard Committee.

Recognized for its innovation as a statewide network, Kentucky Educational Television is reaching out to educate and inform the commonwealth. KET has now linked most schools to its satellite classes, and its public affairs programs have provided robust debate and insight on issues confronting Kentucky. Electronically, KET can bring master teachers to every classroom and conduct town hall forums for citizens without their having to leave their own homes.

The state also has two nationally recognized newspapers in the *Lexington Herald-Leader* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Both have often led the fight for needed reforms—both politically and educationally—in Kentucky.

Thus, despite Kentucky's troubled past, there is reason to hope for a brighter future. Our optimism may be attributed to several bold, although long overdue, steps taken by Kentucky's political leaders—especially its legislators—and its citizens. Much more effort is required to reap the harvest of recent gains. A final reason to be optimistic about the state's future lies in the steadfast loyalty that Kentucky's natives and longtime residents seem to have for their state. There is something in Kentucky's beauty, its land, that makes people stay, or brings them back. And, ultimately, it is Kentucky's people that any hope for the future must rest.

Mixing Television and the Classroom

It may seem unusual to have a television station housed in a high school, but it is nothing new to the students of Calloway County High School. The high school, under the direction and influence of Larry England, teacher of speech communication, established WCSD-TV 28 in 1985. For several years, students have had the opportunity to experience work in a real television station.

Larry England thought something was missing from the school, something that could get the community involved with the high school. After discussing the idea of establishing the television station in the school with members of the Calloway County Board of Education, England decided to start from the bottom with basic equipment and a channel on the local cable television company. This would enable the students in the television class to broadcast news, weather, and sports, including home football and basketball games.

Over the years, TV 28 developed more as a professional television station through new equipment and broadcast interviews with influential people. Along with local political officials, several state government officials have been interviewed at the station. Carroll Hubbard, a Kentucky Representative to Congress; Steve Beshear, a candidate for Kentucky governor; and Governor Wallace G. Wilkinson are some of the more famous guests who have been interviewed by students. During local and state elections, student broadcasts kept the public informed about the results of the polls.

"The television station has added so much to the school, not only to my classes. School assemblies and sports events can be seen by the parents and relatives of the students. It is such a great learning tool and opens many doors to future careers in television for these students," stated England. In his communications classes, England integrates the station with his curriculum. As part of his or her term grade, each student must perform a live news broadcast, conduct an interview, and produce his or her own public service announcement for use on the television station. The student may go out into the county and collect video footage for use in his or her own program or news segment. Said England, "It improves their awareness of the importance of communication in today's society."

WCSD (Calloway Speech Department) now has two channels, one on the city cable system and one on the county cable system. This allows all parents and interested individuals the opportunity to view what is happening at school and in the classroom. Calloway County High School is extremely lucky to have a television station in the school. It is a wonderful gift to the entire community.

*Lori Allison England
Murray, Kentucky*

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Summary

Kentucky has evolved from a largely agrarian state to one that must compete in a highly industrial nation and a global economy. Kentucky's relatively stagnant population during the 1980s will mean trouble for the state's economic future, as there will be fewer young Kentuckians joining the work force. Moreover, problems with inadequate schools and an over reliance on depressed industries such as coal and tobacco have meant low-paying or no jobs for many. Yet in the midst of such problems, there are bright spots that provide hope for the future—in particular, the large-scale reform of Kentucky's elementary and secondary schools and numerous political and citizen changes in Kentucky's antiquated and often corrupt political system.

A P P E N D I X 1

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Kentucky Counties

| COUNTY | FOUNDING DATE | PARENT COUNTY | COUNTY SEAT | ORIGIN OF COUNTY NAME |
|----------|---------------|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Adair | 1802 | Green | Columbia | Gen. John Adair, Indian fighter, commander of Kentucky troops at the Battle of New Orleans, and Kentucky governor. |
| Allen | 1815 | Barren, Warren | Scottsville | Col. John Allen, a Virginian and Indian fighter, who was killed at the River Raisin. |
| Anderson | 1827 | Franklin, Mercer, Washington | Lawrenceburg | Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., a public official who died in 1826 while enroute to Panama to attend a congress of South American States. |
| Ballard | 1842 | Hickman, McCracken | Wickliffe | Capt. Bland W. Ballard, an early Indian fighter. |
| Barren | 1799 | Green, Warren | Glasgow | The Barrens, the name once given to the entire prairie section of Kentucky. |
| Bath | 1811 | Montgomery | Owingsville | Medicinal springs in the county. |
| Bell | 1867 | Harlan, Knox | Pineville | Joshua Fry Bell of Danville. It was first known as "Josh Bell County." |
| Boone | 1799 | Campbell | Burlington | Daniel Boone. |
| Bourbon | 1786 | Fayette | Paris | The royal house of Bourbon of France, which provided the colonies with men and money in the Revolution. |

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| Boyd | 1860 | Carter, Greenup, Lawrence | Catlettsburg | Linn Boyd, a longtime resident of Kentucky prominent in public life. |
| Boyle | 1842 | Lincoln, Mercer, Danville | | Judge John Boyle, chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals for nearly 17 years. |
| Bracken | 1797 | Campbell, Mason | Brooksville | Named indirectly for William Bracken, a pioneer who settled the area. Big and Little Creeks were named for him, and the county took its name from the creeks. |
| Breathitt | 1839 | Clay, Estill, Perry | Jackson | Gov. John Breathitt. |
| Breckinridge | 1800 | Hardin | Hardinsburg | John Breckinridge, a Virginian, Kentucky pioneer, and founder of the Breckinridge family in Kentucky. |
| Bullitt | 1797 | Jefferson, Nelson | Shepherdsville | Alexander Scott Bullitt lieutenant governor of the state the year Bullitt County was formed. |
| Butler | 1810 | Logan, Ohio | Morgantown | Gen. Richard Butler, a Pennsylvanian who served in the Revolution and who was killed in St. Clair's defeat. |
| Caldwell | 1809 | Livingston | Princeton | Gen. John Caldwell, a Virginian who served under Gen. George Rogers Clark in the 1786 Indian expedition. He was later lieutenant governor of Kentucky. |
| Calloway | 1821 | Hickman | Murray | Col. Richard Calloway, one of the early settlers of Kentucky. |
| Campbell | 1795 | Harrison, Mason, Scott | Alexandria, Newport | Col. John Campbell, an Irishman, who at one time held a Virginia land grant of 4,000 acres |

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| Carlisle | 1886 | Ballard | Bardwell | adjoining the city of Louisville and who served in the first constitutional convention. John Griffin Carlisle, a prominent figure in the public affairs of Kentucky and the nation. |
| Carroll | 1838 | Gallatin, Henry, Trimble | Carrollton | Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. |
| Carter | 1838 | Greenup, Lawrence | Grayson | Col. William G. Carter, a state senator when this county was formed. |
| Casey | 1807 | Lincoln | Liberty | Col. William Casey, a Virginian who settled in Kentucky for nearly a half century. |
| Christian | 1797 | Logan | Hopkinsville | Col. William Christian, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution. He was killed by Indians in a battle north of the Ohio in 1786. |
| Clark | 1793 | Bourbon, Fayette | Winchester | Gen. George Rogers Clark of Virginia. |
| Clay | 1807 | Floyd, Knox, Madison | Manchester | Gen. Green Clay, a Virginian prominent in Kentucky for nearly a half century. |
| Clinton | 1836 | Cumberland, Wayne | Albany | Gov. DeWitt Clinton of New York. |
| Crittenden | 1842 | Livingston | Marion | John Jordan Crittenden, senator and governor. |
| Cumberland | 1799 | Green | Burkesville | Cumberland River. The name Cumberland was fixed in Kentucky by Dr. Thomas Walker when he so named the great range of mountains that now separate the state from Virginia. |
| Daviess | 1815 | Ohio | Owensboro | Maj. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, an attorney and |

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| | | | | troop commander under Gen. William Henry Harrison in an Indian expedition. He was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe. |
| Edmonson | 1825 | Grayson, Hart, Warren | Brownsville | Capt. John Edmonson, a victim at the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Elliott | 1869 | Carter, Lawrence, Morgan | Sandy Hook | Judge John M. Elliott, who was murdered while a judge of the Court of Appeals. |
| Estill | 1808 | Clark, Madison | Irvine | Capt. James Estill, Virginian and settler of Estill's Station. He was killed by Indians in 1782. |
| Fayette | 1780 | Kentucky (Virginia) | Lexington | Gen. Gilbert Mortier de LaFayette, the French marquis who fought in the American Revolution. He made a memorable visit to what is now Fayette County. |
| Fleming | 1798 | Mason | Flemingsburg | Col. John Fleming, a Virginian who settled Fleming's Station in 1790 in what is now Fleming County. |
| Floyd | 1800 | Fleming, Mason, Montgomery | Prestonsburg | Col. John Floyd, a Virginian and one of the early surveyors of Kentucky. |
| Franklin | 1795 | Mercer, Shelby, Woodford | Frankfort | Benjamin Franklin. |
| Fulton | 1845 | Hickman | Hickman | Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamboat. |
| Gallatin | 1799 | Franklin, Shelby | Warsaw | Albert Gallatin, a Swiss native who became secretary of the Treasury under President Jefferson. He was an authority on North American Indians. |

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| Garrard | 1797 | Lincoln, Madison, Mercer | Lancaster | James Garrard, a governor of Kentucky. |
| Grant | 1820 | Pendleton | Williamstown | Samuel Grant, who was killed by Indians on the north bank of the Ohio, opposite this county, in 1794. |
| Graves | 1824 | Hickman | Mayfield | Maj. Benjamin Graves, an officer in the War of 1812 and a victim of the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Grayson | 1810 | Hardin, Ohio | Leitchfield | Col. William Grayson, who voted against the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, but who was later elected to the U.S. Senate from Virginia. |
| Green | 1793 | Lincoln, Nelson | Greensburg | Gen. Nathanael Greene, a Rhode Islander and hero of the Revolution. |
| Greenup | 1804 | Mason | Greenup | Gov. Christopher Greenup, who was elected in 1804. |
| Hancock | 1829 | Breckinridge, Davies, Ohio | Hawesville | John Hancock, the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. |
| Hardin | 1793 | Nelson | Elizabethtown | Col. John Hardin, a Virginian who came to Kentucky in 1786 and who was killed in the last of several expeditions he fought in against Indians in the country north of the Ohio River. |
| Harlan | 1819 | Knox | Harlan | Maj. Silas Harlan, a Virginian and Indian fighter under Gen. George Rogers Clark. He was killed in the Battle of Blue Licks. |
| Harrison | 1794 | Bourbon, Scott | Cynthiana | Col. Benjamin Harrison, a legislator, public official, and member of the convention that |

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| Hart | 1819 | Hardin, Barren | Munfordville | formed the first state constitution. Capt. Nathaniel G.T. Hart who fought in the War of 1812 and who was killed by Indians shortly after the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Henderson | 1799 | Christian | Henderson | Col. Richard Henderson, a Virginian who purchased a large part of Kentucky from the Cherokee Indians and who settled Boonesborough. |
| Henry Hickman | 1799 1821 | Shelby Caldwell, Livingston | New Castle Clinton | Patrick Henry. Capt. Paschal Hickman, a victim of the massacre that followed the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Hopkins | 1807 | Henderson | Madisonville | Gen. Samuel Hopkins, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution and settled on the Green River. |
| Jackson | 1858 | Clay, Estill, Laurel, Owsley, Madison, Rockcastle | McKee | Andrew Jackson, president of the United States. |
| Jefferson | 1780 | Kentucky (Virginia) | Louisville | Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and third president of the United States. |
| Jessamine | 1799 | Fayette | Nicholasville | Jessamine Creek, in turn named for Jessamine Douglas. |
| Johnson | 1843 | Floyd, Lawrence, Morgan | Paintsville | Col. Richard M. Johnson, Indian fighter, congressman, and vice president of the United States. |
| Kenton | 1840 | Campbell | Independence, Covington | Gen. Simon Kenton, one of the greatest of the Kentucky pioneers. |

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| Knott | 1884 | Breathitt, Floyd, Letcher, Perry | Hindman | Gov. J. Proctor Knott. |
| Knox | 1800 | Lincoln | Barbourville | Gen. Henry Knox, an officer who fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill. |
| Larue | 1843 | Hardin | Hodgenville | John Larue, a Virginian who settled Phillips Fort. |
| Laurel | 1826 | Clay, Knox, Rockcastle, Whitley | London | Laurel River. |
| Lawrence | 1822 | Floyd, Greenup | Louisa | Capt. James Lawrence, a naval officer. |
| Lee | 1870 | Breathitt, Estill, Owsley, Wolfe | Beattyville | Gen. Robert E. Lee. |
| Leslie | 1878 | Clay, Harlan, Perry | Hyden | Gov. Preston H. Leslie. |
| Letcher | 1842 | Perry, Harlan | Whitesburg | Gov. Robert P. Letcher |
| Lewis | 1807 | Mason | Vanceburg | Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who commanded the famed expedition up the Missouri River, across the Rockies and down the Columbia River to the Pacific. |
| Lincoln | 1780 | Kentucky (Virginia) | Stanford | Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, a Virginian who fought in the American Revolution. |
| Livingston | 1798 | Christian | Smithland | Robert Livingston, a New Yorker and signer of the Declaration of Independence. |
| Logan | 1792 | Lincoln | Russellville | Gen. Benjamin Logan, a Virginian who founded Logan's Station in Kentucky in 1775. He was a member of the convention that formed the first constitution of Kentucky and also was a |

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| Lyon | 1854 | Caldwell | Eddyville | member of the Constitutional Convention of 1799. Col. Matthew Lyon of Vermont, Revolutionary soldier and congressman. He was reelected to Congress while imprisoned for remarks about the Alien and Sedition Laws. |
| McCracken | 1825 | Hickman | Paducah | Capt. Virgil McCracken, who was killed in the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| McCreary | 1912 | Pulaski, Wayne, Whitley | Whitley City | Gov. James B. McCreary |
| McLean | 1854 | Daviess, Muhlenberg, Ohio | Calhoun | Judge Alney McLean, longtime friend of Henry Clay. The judge twice cast the electoral vote of Kentucky for Clay president. |
| Madison | 1786 | Lincoln | Richmond | James Madison, fourth president of the United States. |
| Magoffin | 1860 | Floyd, Johnson, Morgan | Salyersville | Gov. Beriah Magoffin. |
| Marion | 1834 | Washington | Lebanon | Gen. Francis Marion, the South Carolinian who became known as the "Swamp Fox" during the Revolution. |
| Marshall | 1842 | Calloway | Benton | Supreme Court Justice John Marshall, the great jurist. |
| Martin | 1870 | Floyd, Johnson, Lawrence, Pike | Inez | Col. John P. Martin, a congressman and state legislator from Prestonsburg. |
| Mason | 1789 | Bourbon | Maysville | George Mason of Virginia, a leader both in his state and in the early United States. |

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| Meade | 1824 | Breckinridge, Hardin | Brandenburg | Capt. James Meade, who fought in the Battle of Tippecanoe and who was killed in the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Menifee | 1869 | Bath, Montgomery, Morgan, Powell, Wolfe | Frenchburg | Congressman Richard H. Menefee, a brilliant attorney. |
| Mercer | 1786 | Lincoln | Harrodsburg | Gen. Hugh Mercer of Virginia, who was killed in the Battle of Princeton in the Revolution. A native of Scotland, he fought on the losing side of the Battle of Culloden before coming to America. |
| Metcalf | 1860 | Adair, Barren, Cumberland, Green, Monroe | Edmonton | Gov. Thomas Metcalfe, who also served as congressman and senator. |
| Monroe | 1820 | Barren, Cumberland | Tompkinsville | President James Monroe. |
| Montgomery | 1797 | Clark | Mount Sterling | Gen. Richard Montgomery, an Irishman who fought in the Revolution. He commanded an attack on Quebec and was killed by the only gun fired by the enemy during the attack on the town. |
| Morgan | 1823 | Bath, Floyd | West Liberty | Gen. Daniel Morgan, officer of the Revolution. |
| Muhlenberg | 1799 | Christian, Logan | Greenville | Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, who fought in the Revolution. |
| Nelson | 1785 | Jefferson | Bardstown | Gen. Thomas Nelson of Virginia. |
| Nicholas | 1800 | Bourbon, Mason | Carlisle | George Nicholas, one of the most famous lawyers of the early days in Kentucky. |
| Ohio | 1799 | Hardin | Hartford | Ohio River. |

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| Oldham | 1824 | Henry, Jefferson, Shelby | LaGrange | Col. William Oldham, a Virginian killed during St. Clair's defeat in 1794. |
| Owen | 1819 | Franklin, Gallatin, Scott, Pendleton | Owenton | Col. Abraham Owen, a Virginian who settled in Kentucky and was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe. |
| Owsley | 1843 | Breathitt, Clay, Estill | Booneville | Gov. William Owsley, who was also prominent as a judge. |
| Pendleton | 1799 | Bracken, Campbell | Falmouth | Judge Edmund Pendleton, presiding officer of the Virginia Court of Appeals and a congressman from Virginia. |
| Perry | 1821 | Clay, Floyd | Hazard | Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, naval commander at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1812. |
| Pike | 1822 | Floyd | Pikeville | Gen. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, one of the explorers of the West. He was killed at York in Upper Canada in 1813. |
| Powell | 1852 | Clark, Estill, Montgomery | Stanton | Gov. Lazarus W. Powell. |
| Pulaski | 1799 | Green, Lincoln | Somerset | Gen. Joseph Pulaski, the Polish count who fought in the Revolution. He was mortally wounded in fighting in Savannah in 1779. |
| Robertson | 1867 | Bracken, Harrison, Mason, Nicholas | Mt. Olivet | Judge George Robertson, chief justice of the Court of Appeals in the controversy between the Old Court and the New Court. |
| Rockcastle | 1810 | Knox, Lincoln, Madison, Pulaski | Mt. Vernon | Rockcastle River. |
| Rowan | 1856 | Fleming, | Morehead | Judge John Rowan, on |

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| | | Morgan | | of the state's greatest attorneys. |
| Russell | 1826 | Adair, Cumberland, Wayne | Jamestown | Col. William Russell, an Indian fighter who took part in the Battle of Tippecanoe and who, after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, succeeded Gen. Harrison in command of the troops in that region. |
| Scott | 1792 | Woodford | Georgetown | Gen. George Scott, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution and who in 1808 was elected governor of Kentucky. |
| Shelby | 1792 | Jefferson | Shelbyville | Gov. Isaac Shelby, an officer in all operations on the frontier and later in the Revolution. As governor he commanded part of Gen. Harrison's army in the War of 1812. |
| Simpson | 1819 | Allen, Logan, Warren | Franklin | Capt. John Simpson, a Virginian who fought at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 and who was among those killed at the Battle of the River Raisin. |
| Spencer | 1824 | Bullitt, Nelson, Shelby | Taylorsville | Capt. Spear Spencer, who fell at the Battle of Tippecanoe. |
| Taylor | 1848 | Green | Campbells- ville | President Zachary Taylor. |
| Todd | 1820 | Christian, Logan | Elkton | Col. John Todd, an Indian fighter who was killed in the Battle of Blue Licks. |
| Trigg | 1820 | Caldwell, Christian | Cadiz | Col. Stephen Trigg, who established Trigg's Station on Cane Run near Harrodsburg and who was killed at the Battle of Blue Licks. |
| Trimble | 1837 | Gallatin, | Bedford | Judge Robert Trimble, |

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| | | | Henry, Oldham | | chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and later a judge of the Supreme Court. |
| Union | 1811 | Henderson | Morganfield | | Origin in doubt. |
| Warren | 1797 | Logan | Bowling Green | | Gen. Joseph Warren, who fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill. |
| Washington | 1792 | Nelson | Springfield | | Pres. George Washington. |
| Wayne | 1801 | Cumberland, Pulaski | Monticello | | Gen. Anthony Wayne, sometimes known as Mad Anthony, Revolutionary War general and famed Indian fighter. |
| Webster | 1860 | Henderson, Hopkins, Union | Dixon | | Daniel Webster, U.S. senator from Massachusetts. |
| Whitley | 1818 | Knox | Williamsburg | | Col. William Whitley, Indian fighter, who served under Gov. Shelby in the War of 1812. |
| Wolfe | 1860 | Breathitt, Morgan, Owsley, Powell | Campton | | Nathaniel Wolfe, Louisville attorney and the first graduate of the University of Virginia. |
| Woodford | 1789 | Fayette | Versailles | | Gen. William Woodford, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution. He was taken by the British in the Siege of Charles- ton and imprisoned in New York, where he died. |

A P P E N D I X 2

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Kentucky's Governors

Isaac Shelby: 1792-96 and 1812-16; of Lincoln County; native of Maryland; surveyor and soldier; active in the American Revolution and frontier campaigns against the Indians; counties in nine states named in his honor.

James Garrard: 1796-1800 and 1800-1804; of Bourbon County; born in Virginia; Revolutionary War soldier; first to live in Governor's Mansion (today the residence of the lieutenant governor); only Kentucky governor to serve two full successive terms.

Christopher Greenup: 1804-08; of Mercer and Fayette counties; born in Virginia; soldier; one of the first two Kentucky representatives in Congress after Kentucky entered the Union; elected governor in 1804 without opposition.

Charles Scott: 1808-12; of Woodford County; born in Virginia; soldier; officer in Braddock expedition (1755); represented Woodford County in Virginia Assembly.

George Madison: 1816; of Franklin County; born in Virginia; Revolutionary War soldier; Indian fighter; hero of War of 1812; captured at River Raisin; elected governor in 1816 but died the same year.

Gabriel Slaughter: 1816-20; of Mercer County; born in Virginia; farmer; regimental commander at Battle of New Orleans; twice lieutenant governor; became governor upon Madison's death.

John Adair: 1820-24; of Mercer County; born in South Carolina; Revolutionary War soldier; fought in Indian wars; aide to Governor Isaac Shelby in 1813 Battle of the Thames; elected to U.S. House of Representatives for one term, 1831-33.

Joseph Desha: 1824-28; of Mason County; born in Pennsylvania; soldier in Indian campaigns; commander in Battle of the Thames (1813); state legislator; served in U.S. House of Representatives, 1807-19.

Thomas Metcalfe: 1828-32; of Nicholas County; born in Virginia; stonemason; nicknamed "Old Stonehammer"; soldier in the War of 1812; served ten years as U.S. congressman and senator; died during cholera epidemic of 1855.

John Breathitt: 1832-34; of Logan County; born in Virginia; lawyer; previously served in Kentucky legislature and as lieutenant governor; died in office after two years.

James Turner Morehead: 1834-36; of Logan County; as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship in 1834 upon death of Breathitt; served two years; U.S. senator, 1841-47; political ally of Henry Clay, a fellow Whig.

James Clark: 1836-39; of Clark County; born in Virginia; served in Kentucky legislature; as judge, rendered decision that started Old and New Court fight; died in office in 1839.

Charles Anderson Wickliffe: 1839-40; of Nelson County; lawyer; six-term U.S. congressman; became governor in 1839 upon death of Clark; postmaster general for President John Tyler, 1841-45; grandfather of Governor J.C.W. Beckham.

Robert P. Letcher: 1840-44; of Mercer (later Garrard) County; Whig; born in Virginia; lawyer; served in state legislature and U.S. Congress; American minister (ambassador) to Mexico, 1849-52.

William Owsley: 1844-48; of Lincoln County; born in Virginia; Whig; lawyer; served in state legislature; long service as justice of Kentucky Court of Appeals.

John Jordan Crittenden: 1848-50; of Woodford County; Whig; lawyer; saw service in War of 1812 as aide to Shelby and was present at Battle of the Thames; resigned governorship after two years to become U.S. attorney general; served total of twenty years in U.S. Senate.

John L. Helm: 1850-51 and 1867; of Hardin County; succeeded Crittenden his first term; elected in his own right sixteen years later; state legislator; openly sympathetic to Confederate cause.

Lazarus W. Powell: 1851-55; of Henderson County; Democratic lawyer; state legislator; U.S. Senator; favored Kentucky neutrality during Civil War.

Charles Slaughter Morehead: 1855-59; of Nelson County; lawyer; two-term Whig member of Congress; elected governor on American (Know-Nothing) party ticket.

Beriah Magoffin: 1859-62; of Mercer County; Democrat; lawyer; after being permitted to name his successor as governor, resigned because of his Confederate sympathies.

James F. Robinson: 1862-63; of Scott County; lawyer; Whig state senator, staunch Unionist Democrat.

Thomas E. Bramlette: 1863-67; of Cumberland (now Clinton) County; lawyer and circuit judge; commissioned in Union army.

John W. Stevenson: 1867-71; of Kenton County; born in Virginia; Democrat; as lieutenant governor, became governor upon Helm's death; U.S. senator, 1871-77.

Preston H. Leslie: 1871-75; of Clinton County; Democrat; lawyer and state legislator; accepted appointment in 1887 as governor of Montana Territory, where he died in 1907.

James Bennett McCreary: 1875-79 and 1911-15; of Madison County; Democrat; lawyer; soldier with Generals Morgan and Breckinridge in Confederate service; served eighteen years in U.S. House and Senate; first to occupy new Governor's Mansion (1914).

Dr. Luke P. Blackburn: 1879-83; of Woodford County; Democrat; only physician to serve as Kentucky governor; volunteer in cholera and yellow fever epidemics in Kentucky and throughout the South; prison reformer.

J. Proctor Knott: 1883-87; of Marion County; Democrat; lawyer, congressman, and noted orator; attorney general of Missouri before returning to Kentucky in 1862; one of the framers of the present Kentucky constitution.

Simon Bolivar Buckner: 1887-91; of Hart County; Democrat; West Point instructor; served in Mexican War and later with Confederacy; editor of *Louisville Courier*.

John Young Brown: 1891-95; of Hardin County; Democrat; lawyer and congressman; his "three-year legislature" adjusted laws to the new constitution.

William O. Bradley: 1895-99; of Garrard County; lawyer; first Republican governor; U.S. senator, 1909-14.

William S. Taylor: 1899-1900; of Butler County; lawyer; Republican; Kentucky attorney general; lost the governorship to William Goebel in a contest decided by the legislature.

William Goebel: 1900; of Kenton County; born in Pennsylvania; Democratic lawyer; state senator; declared governor after being shot by assassin on the ground of the Old Capitol; only governor in U.S. history to die in office as result of assassination.

John Crepps Wickliffe Beckham: 1900-1903 and 1903-07; of Nelson County; Democrat; lawyer and state legislator; Speaker of Kentucky House; elected lieutenant governor on Goebel ticket and succeeded to governorship upon his death; U.S. senator, 1915-21; grandson of Governor Charles Anderson Wickliffe.

Augustus E. Willson: 1907-11; of Jefferson County; born in Mason County; law partner of John Marshall Harlan; five-time unsuccessful Republican nominee for U.S. House or Senate.

Augustus Owsley Stanley: 1915-19; of Henderson County; born in Shelby County; Democrat; lawyer; served six terms in U.S. House; elected to U.S. Senate in 1918;

resigned as governor in 1919; later chaired International Joint Commission to mediate disputes arising along the U.S.-Canadian border.

James D. Black: 1919; of Knox County; Democratic lawyer; state legislator; assistant attorney general of Kentucky; lieutenant governor, succeeded Stanley as governor; defeated for election (1919) in his own right.

Edwin Porch Morrow: 1919-23; of Pulaski County; Republican lawyer; soldier in Spanish-American War; U.S. district attorney; nephew of Governor William O. Bradley.

William J. Fields: 1923-27; of Carter County; a Democrat; resigned after almost thirteen years in Congress to become governor; called "Honest Bill of Olive Hill."

Flem D. Sampson: 1927-31; of Knox County; born in Laurel County; Republican lawyer; circuit judge; chief justice of Kentucky Court of Appeals.

Ruby Laffoon: 1931-35; of Hopkins County; Democratic lawyer; chairman of first Insurance Rating Board in Kentucky; Hopkins County Judge.

Albert Benjamin Chandler: 1935-39 and 1955-59; of Woodford County; born in Henderson County; Democratic lawyer; state senator; lieutenant governor; U.S. senator; commissioner of baseball; nicknamed "Happy."

Keen Johnson: 1939-43; of Madison County; born in Lyon County; Democrat; publisher of *Richmond Daily Register*; lieutenant governor; became governor upon resignation of Chandler, who went to U.S. Senate; elected in own right that same year.

Simeon Willis: 1943-47; of Boyd County; born in Ohio; lawyer; appointed to state Court of Appeals; member of Republican National Committee.

Earle C. Clements: 1947-50; of Union County; Democrat; served in U.S. Army during World War I; sheriff; county clerk; county judge; state senator; congressman; resigned governorship in 1950 to assume seat in U.S. Senate.

Lawrence W. Wetherby: 1950-51 and 1951-55; of Jefferson County; Democrat; lawyer; judge of Jefferson County Juvenile Court; lieutenant governor on Clements ticket; became governor upon Clements's resignation; was elected to the office in his own right in 1951.

Bert T. Combs: 1959-63; of Floyd County; born in Clay County; Democrat; served in World War II; lawyer; judge of Kentucky Court of Appeals, 1951-55; judge of U.S. Court of Appeals, sixth Circuit, 1967-70.

Edward (Ned) T. Breathitt, Jr.: 1963-67; of Christian County; lawyer; served in state legislature, 1952-58; later a railroad executive.

Louie B. Nunn: 1967-71; of Barren County; Republican; lawyer; elected county judge of Barren County; city attorney of Glasgow.

Wendell H. Ford: 1971-74; of Daviess County; Democrat; state senator; lieutenant governor; resigned governorship in 1974 to assume seat in U.S. Senate.

Julian M. Carroll: 1974-75 and 1975-79; of McCracken County; Democrat; member of Kentucky House of Representatives, 1962-71; speaker of Kentucky House; lieutenant governor; became governor in 1974 upon resignation of Governor Ford; elected to the office in his own right in 1975.

John Young Brown, Jr.: 1979-83; of Fayette County; attorney; successful business executive (Kentucky Fried Chicken); involved in the ownership of professional sports teams.

Martha Layne (Hall) Collins: 1983-87; of Shelby and Woodford counties; public school teacher and home economist; a Democrat; elected clerk of Kentucky Court of Appeals in 1975 and lieutenant governor four years later; first woman to be elected governor of Kentucky.

Wallace Wilkinson: 1987-91; of Casey and Fayette counties; Democrat; prominent businessman and real estate developer; instrumental in revitalization of downtown Lexington.

Brereton Jones: 1991- ; born in Ohio; of Woodford County; Democrat; horse farm owner; lieutenant governor.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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Not all of the many excellent works on Kentucky could be listed here, particularly in the field of biography. For books on Kentucky published before 1948 see:

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