Our Kentucky: A Study of the Bluegrass State

James C. Klotter
Georgetown College

Recommended Citation
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_united_states_history/139
Our Kentucky
John Filson's Map of Kentucky
Kentucky has a rich and important history. From the time when that first, unknown human stepped on the soils of what is now the Commonwealth of Kentucky on down to the present day when people walk that same land, Kentuckians have left their imprint on this place and its people. Many of their stories emerge in these pages, for, first and foremost, this is Kentucky's story.

From its inception through publication of the first edition in 1992, Our Kentucky was designed as an introductory look at the state's past and present. Since the work may be used in schools as well as with an interested public, a topical approach was taken, to give more flexibility in use. Moreover, the work had to be interdisciplinary, as the essays reflect—history, geography, archaeology, architecture, political science, religious studies, education, economics, folk art, journalism, music, and literature, among them. Only in that way can the full account be told. The authors of these chapters represent some of the best scholarship in the field.

This revised edition includes one new chapter—on folk art—and new collaborators on others. Authors were asked to look at their essays, update them on factual data, and revise them to reflect the latest work in that area. Some required only minor changes; others underwent extensive modifications. The result is a work that gives a full, balanced, and concise overview of the state in its varied facets. Readers desiring more information can also now consult The Kentucky Encyclopedia and A New History of Kentucky.

So, on behalf of the teachers, supporters, and authors involved in this project, I welcome you to these pages—ones that open Kentucky's past to all readers. An interesting and informative voy-
age of discovery about the commonwealth awaits those who explore Our Kentucky. Enjoy.

A work of this scope has many debts to pay. Martha Francis, a teacher at Lincoln County High School, saw the need and contacted the volume editor, then at the Kentucky Historical Society. Out of these discussions, this book emerged.

Support for the ensuing effort came from many sources, all of them devoted to a better informed citizenry, whether young or old. Funding and other help came from the Ashland Oil Foundation, the Kentucky Humanities Council, the Kentucky Bicentennial Commission, Georgetown College, and the Kentucky Historical Society. Without that aid, Our Kentucky would have remained a teacher’s unfulfilled dream.

Numerous individuals provided assistance as well. A group of teachers looked at needs, offered ideas on approaches, and prepared various guides. That group included Robert Atkins, Lynda Coleman, Mac Coleman, Greg Figgs, Joyce Herald, Paul Herald, Tim Moore, and Susan McCulloch-Vislesel.

The editor contacted the authors whose names appear in the table of contents. Their willingness to write under tight deadlines shows their dedication to the goals of the project, and accolades should go to them.

Finally, numerous others aided in this project, both in the original and revised editions. We thank 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, Melba Porter Hay, Nancy Hill, Pat Hodges, David Hood, John Hudson, Susan Lyons Hughes, Barry Kornstein, Vicky Middleswarth, David Morgan, Helen Prewitt, John Scarry, Martha Scobee, Sherry Sebastian, Virginia Smith, Michal Smith-Mello, Allan Steinberg, Herb Weddington, Jenny Wilder, and Mary Winter. Together they made it all happen.
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

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 be reached by land only 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°F 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowling Green</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>48.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>39.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>44.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>43.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>47.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owensboro</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>44.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paducah</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>45.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikeville</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>58.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>43.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerset</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>49.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>47.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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, Cumberland, Green, 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 major 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. For detailed information on Kentucky place names see Kentucky Place Names by Robert M. Rennick and A Guide to Kentucky Place Names by Thomas P. Field.

Cities

A ranking of Kentucky's twenty-five largest cities (1990 and 1996) 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 indicated that seven out of ten Kentuckians lived near urban areas, with 52 percent living within urban places.

## 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisville (1)</td>
<td>269,555</td>
<td>260,689</td>
<td>-8866</td>
<td>-3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington/Fayette (2)</td>
<td>225,366</td>
<td>239,942</td>
<td>14,576</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owensboro (3)</td>
<td>53,577</td>
<td>54,350</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling Green (5)</td>
<td>41,688</td>
<td>44,208</td>
<td>2520</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington (4)</td>
<td>43,646</td>
<td>40,971</td>
<td>-2675</td>
<td>-6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopkinsville (6)</td>
<td>29,818</td>
<td>28,317</td>
<td>-1501</td>
<td>-5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfort (8)</td>
<td>26,535</td>
<td>26,695</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paducah (7)</td>
<td>27,256</td>
<td>26,601</td>
<td>-655</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson (9)</td>
<td>25,945</td>
<td>26,456</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond (12)</td>
<td>21,183</td>
<td>26,227</td>
<td>5044</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffersonville (11)</td>
<td>23,223</td>
<td>25,596</td>
<td>2373</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashland (10)</td>
<td>23,622</td>
<td>22,918</td>
<td>-704</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence (15)</td>
<td>18,586</td>
<td>19,726</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabethtown (16)</td>
<td>18,167</td>
<td>19,434</td>
<td>1267</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliff (13)</td>
<td>19,778</td>
<td>19,411</td>
<td>-367</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madisonville (17)</td>
<td>18,693</td>
<td>19,059</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport (14)</td>
<td>18,871</td>
<td>16,957</td>
<td>-1914</td>
<td>-10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erlanger (19)</td>
<td>15,979</td>
<td>16,717</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholasville (24)</td>
<td>13,603</td>
<td>16,603</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Matthews (20)</td>
<td>15,691</td>
<td>16,562</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville (25)</td>
<td>14,454</td>
<td>16,059</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester (21)</td>
<td>15,799</td>
<td>16,021</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray (23)</td>
<td>14,442</td>
<td>15,316</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft. Thomas (18)</td>
<td>16,032</td>
<td>15,300</td>
<td>-732</td>
<td>-4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shively (22)</td>
<td>15,535</td>
<td>14,899</td>
<td>-636</td>
<td>-4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (pronounced Pennyrile), 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. Some geographers include a sixth region, "the Knobs." It is included in this narrative as a portion of the Bluegrass.

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.

As with other parts of Kentucky, the Purchase was home to prehistoric people who survived first as hunters, then as farmers. From approximately A.D. 900 to 1300, Mississippian Indians known as temple-mound builders built flat-topped mounds for ceremonial uses. One such site can be visited 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 throughout migration patterns and then when the region
was a major producer of cotton because its 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.
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 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.

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 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 the “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 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.
Figure 1.9 The Cumberland Gap area in the Mountains Regions (Kentucky Department of Travel Development).
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.

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.
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 stone or bone 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 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 on most sites, being preserved only when they are left in very dry rock shelters 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 fired 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 accurate.

Archaeology was not practiced as a professional discipline until the mid-nineteenth century when the larger discipline of anthropology developed as a 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 several different tribes and that bloodshed 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 Indi-
ans 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 In-
dians were dis-
tributed across Kent-
ucky’s
landscape in-
dicate that,
late in prehis-
tory 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 re-

gion 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 pre-
historic archaeological sites. Large, highly visible sites, such as
mounds and earthworks, were most commonly noted and de-
scribed, but some sites without mounds also received attention.
Large village sites with abundant artifacts—such as the Fox Farm
Site in Mason County 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 dif-
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.
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 to archaeological research was the passage in the 1960s of federal legislation requiring federally assisted construction projects to 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 microscopically 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 influence 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 of animals and plants. Ritual/religion involves the spiritual beliefs and activities of a society. Social or-
Table 2.1 Milestones in the Human Parade

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

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. These points were hafted on short shafts that then were inserted into a socketed lance. The foreshaft, when thrust into a game animal, detached from the lance and remained in the flesh. The hunter could then fit another foreshaft into the lance and thrust again. This type of compound weapon was extremely effective in killing large game. Other tools included chipped stone knives and scrapers used to butcher game and process plant materials for making cordage. Bone, ivory, and antler were also used to make awls and sewing needles. These tools were necessary for the production of baggage, clothing, and shelter from animal skins or plant materials. The Paleoindian toolkit continued to change and diversify in response to changes in the environment as the climate warmed.

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. Early Paleoindian burials tend to contain only one or two individuals but later in the period, more individuals were buried in one site. Burials often include a collection of beautifully made tools. 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 with notched bases 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. This change in settlement pattern was in part a cultural response to environmental changes that led to warmer, drier conditions than occur today. Called the Hypsithermal climatic interval, the warm, dry spell lasted thousands of years and had a significant impact on plants, animals, and humans. Grasslands increased at the expense of forests in many areas with associated changes in the plants and animals that lived in these environments. Conditions shifted around 3000 B.C. to a moister climate and an increase in forests.

The Middle Archaic people developed regional projectile point styles as well as other specialized tools such as groundstone axes, pitted stones used for a variety of purposes, grinding stones, and pestles. A significant improvement in hunting technology was the spear-thrower (also called the atlatl), which extended the range and accuracy of the spear. The combination of the spear and the spear-thrower improved a hunter's chances of killing whitetail deer and wild turkey, the two most important animals in the Archaic meat diet.

The distribution of human settlements during the dry, warm Middle Archaic Period was much affected by the climatic conditions. Larger, longer-term base camps tend to be found in major river valleys where forest resources and fresh water occurred. These sites contain large numbers of artifacts, burials, and other indications that suggest that they were occupied for longer periods of time. Short-term camps for hunting and processing animal and plant resources in the drier grasslands away from the river valleys...
also are documented for this period. 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. While Late Archaic human groups were still essentially egalitarian in their social organization, the inclusion of exotic grave goods such as Great Lakes copper and marine shell suggest that some individuals held higher social status than others. Other archaeological indicators suggest that the settlement pattern was changing as well. 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. 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
The ancient past period did not take place at the same time everywhere but were gradually adopted through time. For instance, pottery was first made in the eastern and possibly central part of Kentucky around 1000–800 B.C. and did not reach western Kentucky until approximately 500 B.C. Many cultural traits, practices, and artifact types from the previous Archaic period are also observable in the Woodland archaeological record.

For instance, pottery was first made in the eastern and possibly central part of Kentucky around 1000–800 B.C. and did not reach western Kentucky until approximately 500 B.C. Many cultural traits, practices and artifact types from the previous Archaic period are also observable in the Woodland archaeological record.

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. In fact, much of what is known about the Woodland period derives from the excavation of burial 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. One theory explains the mound building as a means by which specific social groups (probably composed of extended family networks) could mark the physical ter-
ritories they claimed for themselves. Ritual mound sites would have been conspicuous landmarks that other unrelated or more distantly related social groups recognized. 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.

Early in the Woodland period, the familiar and long-lived tradition of hunting wild animals and gathering native plants continued, but the cultivation of plants was to become increasingly more important as the period wore on. Tropical cultigens such as squash and gourds, first adopted in the Late Archaic period, were grown; native weedy seed plants such as sunflower, maygrass, goosefoot, sumpweed, giant ragweed, and possibly erect knotweed were domesticated and added to the gardening mix. Later in the period, maize was added to the list of cultivated plants. Maize was destined to become a mainstay of prehistoric diet.

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. They also did not participate in the Hopewell ritual system in any significant way, although decorated Hopewellian ceramics occasionally turn up in late Crab Orchard sites. One
theory attributes the differences in Woodland life between western Kentucky and places further east to the bountiful natural food resources in the lower Ohio Valley. A plenitude of food sources may have inhibited the adoption of gardening, which required considerable labor compared with hunting and gathering.

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.

Nevertheless, the practice of building burial mounds and other earthworks sharply decreased by the beginning of the Late Woodland period, as did the incidence of long-distance trade of exotic goods. These major cultural changes have been explained by some researchers as being the result of more stable social relationships between human groups in neighboring regions, which made the ritualistic practices of the Hopewell culture unnecessary to insure peaceful regional interactions. Another theory explains the decline of the Hopewell system as a disruptive event that was related to the rise of increasingly localized Woodland economies. In any event, by the end of the Woodland period, many cultural changes had taken place and the cultural landscape varied from one end of Kentucky to the other. This diversity of human adaptation to local conditions set the scene for the cultural lifeways that developed during the next and last prehistoric period, before native cultures were changed forever by the appearance of Old World settlers on the North American continent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
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 culture was characterized by a regional web of communities that shared certain cultural practices but did not necessarily consider themselves related as kin. In fact, warfare between different Mississippian communities took place and made necessary the erection of defensive fortifications around the villages. Warfare may have been conducted to acquire prestige rather than to expand territories.

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 Mississippian people, 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 worse.

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.
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.
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. Constitution. Vot-
ing 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 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 had a substantial impact on our current constitution. For example, until it was amended in 1992, the constitution did not 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 through 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 inter-
fere 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 hun-
dred sections are included in the body. Sections 27 through 124
deal primarily with state government, Sections 140 through 168
with local government, and Sections 169 through 255 with other
matters, such as education, taxation, and corporations. Our dis-
cussion of major decision-makers in the next section of this chap-
ter 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 through 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 often been reluctant to make any
major changes in their constitution even when they have been
given an opportunity to do so. However, in the last twenty-five
years there have been two important constitutional changes which
are discussed below.

As suggested earlier, some of the most important provisions of
the Kentucky constitution have been criticized as being too re-
strictive and/or outdated. Before 1992, this was particularly true
of provisions dealing with the executive branch. Until an amend-
ment was approved that year, Kentucky was one of only four states
where the governor could serve no more than one term in succes-
sion. Critics argued that this restriction prevented the state from
planning for more than four years into the future and that it con-
tributed to instability in government by installing a totally new
administration every four years. These arguments were apparently
persuasive since Kentucky voters approved a gubernatorial succes-
sion amendment in 1992. Thus, Governor Patton in 1999 became the first governor in 200 years to be eligible to seek a second, consecutive full four-year term.

A restrictive controversial provision that is still in effect limits Kentucky’s legislature to one sixty-day session every other year. Kentucky’s is one of only seven state legislatures that do not meet on an annual basis. Furthermore, with its sixty-day session, Kentucky has the very shortest session of any of these seven states. Critics argue that our short and infrequent sessions mean that legislation is passed with undue haste and inadequate consideration.

While Kentuckians have had several opportunities to change this restrictive legislative provision, most recently in 1998, voters have always voted against this change. In fact, recent behavior by Kentucky’s electorate shows they are often unwilling to approve meaningful constitutional change. There has been one major exception (besides the succession amendment, discussed earlier). That was an amendment approved by Kentucky’s voters in 1975 which entirely overhauled Kentucky’s judicial branch. These changes were so significant and so successful that Kentucky’s court system is now considered a model for many other states.

Since 1891, only thirty-five amendments have been approved by Kentucky voters, less than one every three years. Except for the two important changes discussed above, most of these amendments have been quite insignificant in terms of making meaningful improvements in Kentucky’s governmental structure. For example, one amendment permitted the use of prisoners for road work, another permitted the use of voting machines in elections, and a third allowed for the establishment of charitable gaming (i.e., bingo games).

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 recent sessions of the General Assembly and the number that finally became laws.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1 Bills Introduced in the General Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Became Law                              |      |      |      |
| Senate                                  | 146  | 103  | 159  |
| House                                   | 312  | 253  | 391  |
| Total                                   | 458  | 356  | 550  |
These figures show that anywhere from 25 to 40 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 11—14), 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 ten 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
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 twenty 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 is no longer the dominant influence over the General Assembly as was the case twenty years ago, 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. An important recent example was Governor Martha Layne Collins’ 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 has served as a significant limitation on a governor's exercise of power. As noted earlier, all governors before Paul Patton have been limited to a single four-year term and were ineligible to run for immediate re-election. As the first governor eligible to seek re-election since the constitution was changed in 1992, Paul Patton has demonstrated that succession clearly enhances a governor's power and influence.

Among recent changes affecting the governor's office is the way we elect our governors. Throughout most of the last twenty years, 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. A major change in campaign finance law was made in 1992. Legislation passed that year attempted to make money less significant in determining the outcome of our elections. Under this legislation public funds are provided for slates of candidates for governor and lieutenant governor who agree to limit their campaign spending. During the first gubernatorial election affected by the new campaign law, in 1995, candidates for governor and lieutenant governor spent substantially less money than they had in previous elections and large contributions from a few wealthy Kentuckians seemed to play a less influential role in the outcome of the election. However, the law has been severely criticized by political leaders from both major parties and some provisions have been found to be unconstitutional. Because of this, it appears likely that there will be more changes in Kentucky election law, especially in the area of campaign finance. It is difficult to predict how these changes will affect Kentucky gubernatorial elections in the twenty-first century.

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). The jurisdiction of each court is summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Circuit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile matters</td>
<td>Criminal felonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small claims court</td>
<td>Civil cases above $4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal misdemeanors</td>
<td>Divorce cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violations</td>
<td>Land title matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil cases up to $4,000</td>
<td>Appeals from District Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary hearings for</td>
<td>Appeals from administrative agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felonies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 less than 250 today. Currently, there are 7 Supreme Court justices and 14 judges on the Court of Appeals. There are 97 circuit judges and 125 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 due in part to the fact that there are almost twice as many registered Democrats as 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-1999, there were 1,566,191 registered Democrats compared with 834,829 registered Republicans. This Democrat advantage of nearly two to one has made it possible for Democrats to win most contests for statewide office. For example, between 1947 and 1999, only one Republican was elected governor while Democrats won twelve 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, especially at the congressional level. After the 1998 elections, both of Kentucky's U.S. senators were Republicans as were five of our six U.S. representatives. In addi-
tion, Republican candidates for president will often carry Kentucky. Republican success in national elections is difficult to explain. Certainly one contributing factor is our “off-year” elections for statewide offices like governor and attorney general. These elections are always held in odd numbered years while national elections are always held in even numbered years.

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). 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. While most Kentuckians are registered to vote, in many elections a majority of them will choose not to vote. In fact, it is not unusual for only about one-third of all Kentucky adults to vote in a given election and in the 1999 primary elections, there was less than a ten per cent turnout rate!

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 be-
lieve 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. Three years out of every four, two elections are held in our state—a primary election 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.

In fact, since the 1991 election mentioned above, the office of superintendent of public instruction has been abolished and replaced by an appointive commissioner of education. However, Kentuckians have voted down several proposals to abolish other statewide offices like secretary of state and state treasurer whose responsibilities could perhaps be more effectively handled by an appointed official.

Another possible contributor to the lack of voting in Kentucky is the feeling held by some that elections in our state are not hon-
est. 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.

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 enter the twenty-first century. However, Kentuckians have often been reluctant in recent years to approve major changes in our constitution. The most significant change that has been approved pertains to the judicial branch, which was totally revamped by a 1975 constitutional amendment. The other two branches, the executive and the legislative, have changed as well, but changes in the constitution have not been as important here. While one constitutional amendment allowing gubernatorial succession has been significant, changes in these two branches have occurred, for the most part, because of the actions of specific decision-makers (governors and legislators). Gov-
Governors have become less dominant and legislatures more independent over the past twenty years.

How can Kentucky citizens become more meaningfully involved in their state’s political decision-making? Kentucky’s political party structure provides excellent opportunities for participation and increasing one’s political influence. One major problem in Kentucky politics is the issue of nonvoting. It is unfortunate, even tragic, that more Kentuckians do not take advantage of this opportunity to participate directly in the decisions that affect them. The next generation of Kentucky leaders should take strong and decisive steps to encourage political participation at all levels.
Kentuckians are creatures of habit, and many traditions enjoyed by modern Kentuckians have roots in the commonwealth's past. Picnics, dances, fairs, park visits, vacations at spas—most activities involved family-oriented work and play and community and school-sponsored amusements. Despite recent technological influences, basic similarities exist between social events enjoyed by those who tamed the wilderness and by their space-age descendants.

Kentucky’s People

Who were the men, women, and children who initiated and perpetuated Kentucky's social traditions? In their quest for cheap land, thousands of Virginians, Carolinians, Marylanders, and Pennsylvanians migrated westward. Through Cumberland Gap or down the Ohio River, they fanned out across Kentucky. By 1790, about 73,000 settlers lived on the Kentucky frontier. Many of them traveled, a fellow wayfarer recorded, “through ice and snow . . . with out Shoes or Stockings, . . . with out money or provisions except what the Wilderness affords” to get to what they believed was the “Promised Land.” Despite the opening of other western territories, this “Land of Milk and Honey” continued to beckon the multitudes. The state’s population climbed from 221,000 in 1800 to a
million by 1860. The 1860 census counted 722,000 native Kentuckians, 45,000 Virginians, 34,000 Tennesseans, 14,000 Ohioans, 13,000 North Carolinians, and 60,000 of foreign birth. By the end of the century more than two million people lived in Kentucky. The majority of them earned a living by farming.

Because clearing forests and building homes required an abundance of labor, some settlers brought slaves to the frontier. Later arrivals also used slave labor to cultivate crops and care for the stock. By 1860, the state’s slave population numbered 225,500, or 19.5 percent of the total inhabitants. Another 10,000 were free blacks. The 1860 census also listed 22,200 natives of Ireland and 27,200 from Europe’s German states, most of whom came to the state after 1830. Many of the Germans settled along the Ohio River in the Covington/Newport-Louisville-Owensboro areas.

Kentucky continued to draw European immigrants and natives of other states, but the commonwealth’s growth slowed in the years after the Civil War. Changes appeared in Kentucky’s ethnic and geographic composition. An increasing number of Kentucky’s blacks sought a better way of life in the North and West, and others gravitated to the state’s towns looking for jobs. A growing percentage of newcomers also preferred metropolitan rather than rural areas. In 1860, about one-tenth and in 1910 one-fourth of Kentucky’s families lived in cities. The exodus from hinterland to town accelerated during the first half of the twentieth century. Declining employment in mining areas and greater job opportunities in urban centers resulted in a virtual stampede out of the coal fields in the 1950s. By 1970, about one-half of Kentucky’s 3,220,711 residents lived in municipalities and for the first time the state was more urban than rural. (See Table 4.1.)

Migration patterns changed again in the 1970s. The black population increased and the number of urbanites declined. Louisville, for example, suffered a 17 percent population loss.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1 Kentucky Population, 1790-1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census
Cheaper land, labor, and utilities lured manufacturers and their employees to rural areas. "Country living" also attracted those who spent the workday in town but preferred to raise families in the suburbs.

The family unit has always been important to Kentuckians. Nineteenth-century migrants to the state tended to settle, whenever possible, in close proximity to their relatives and generally remained in the same area for several generations. Prior to modern transportation facilities (which since World War II have hastened the state's conversion from rural to urban), travel was expensive and tedious. Few ventured beyond their county's boundaries.

Family Life

The home has served as the hub of family life, and log structures dominated the rural scene throughout Kentucky's first century. Although some of the earliest pioneers lived in lean-tos (rough shelters with single-sloped roofs), a family's first wilderness home was usually a one-room cabin measuring about sixteen by twenty feet. If built with care, such a structure could be "the sweetest and healthiest habitation that man can live in," wrote an early settler in Bracken County.

As time and economics permitted, larger homes—often a story-and-a-half double log house with an entry (dogtrot) between its two parts—replaced smaller abodes. A visitor to Crab Orchard in 1817 noticed that "even the better sort of log houses" often had windows covered with animal hide or plank shutters. Glass was preferable, of course, but until it could be made locally, many builders found it too expensive. Brick and stone structures became com-
monplace in some areas, and increased status often accompanied the ownership of such dwellings. Nevertheless, the abundance of trees and the ease of construction encouraged many to erect log shelters for their families, livestock, and businesses.

Newcomers usually traveled to Kentucky by wagon or by flatboat. Severely limited in space and weight, they brought to their new homes only basic items essential for survival: arms and ammunition, iron agricultural and woodworking tools, a skillet and pot for the kitchen, livestock, garden seeds, and fruit tree cuttings. Half-log puncheon stools and tables served the family until there was enough time to make better pieces or enough money to purchase items manufactured or imported by area entrepreneurs. The cost of furniture was high, and money remained scarce throughout the pioneer and early antebellum periods.

The tasks necessary to sustain a frontier family involved everyone. The men hunted, cared for the stock, plowed the land, and harvested the crops. The women and children weeded the garden and processed its yield. They ground corn, dried fruits and vegetables, salted down meat, churned butter, made cheese, hauled water, gathered firewood, and cooked the meals. They also made soap and candles, spun yarn, knitted socks and sweaters, wove cloth, and sewed and patched the family's clothing.

Even after a family's economic status permitted the purchase of fabrics, every well-ordered household kept a basket of cut-out pieces for sitting-room stitching. The sewing machine's introduction in the 1850s facilitated the task of making the family's clothes. Nevertheless, the ability to sew—by machine and by hand—remained an important part of every girl’s upbringing for a long time.

A woman trained her daughter to run a household, however humble or grand. Although maternal responsibilities also included teaching many things to her son, a boy generally learned his life's work from his father or was apprenticed to a practicing craftsman to acquire a trade, be it smithing, merchandising, or medicine. Most children who learned to read and write did so at home or in bleak one-room schools where discipline often was harsh. Because social graces were important, dance and music lessons found favor with parents. “Our town has two dancing schools,” wrote a Bowling Green woman in 1851. “I would send our clumsy John... were he not so bitterly opposed to it.”
An Antebellum Woman Writes Her Husband

A letter from Elizabeth Cox Underwood to Joseph Rogers Underwood, in the Underwood Papers, Department of Library Special Collections, Western Kentucky University. Joseph Underwood served as U.S. Senator from Kentucky, 1847-1853.

Bowling Green, Ky.
May 30, 1850

My dear Husband

I write you my fiftieth letter since our separation. What a budget! It is well our correspondence is free of postage.

As I have chronicled so much bad weather, I must now tell you of the delightful spell of sunshine by day, & moonbeams & starlight we have been enjoying for more than a week past. I have taken advantage of it to put my house in summer apparel and every thing is fresh & sweet around me, and the soft breeze comes in at the open doors & windows laden with the odor of your favorite honeysuckle.

Last evening we had a pleasant circle in our parlor composed of Mr. Lucas' family with their daughter Margaret & her husband and Mr. & Mrs. Baker accompanied by all the little ones, which added to mine, we had a group of ten in our front yard. Little Rogers I presume in a spirit of juvenile gallantry plucked a wreath of honeysuckle of his own accord & tied it around Miss Molly Baker's neck, & they all had fine fun, enjoyed in good humor. I had spread a bounteous repast of coffee, tea & chocolate with nice cakes of various kinds, followed by what John Cox would call the 'trimmings,' consisting of strawberries & ice cream etc. We all seated ourselves around the table in good old fashioned comfortable style, to enjoy what Yankees quaintly call a 'severe tea.' And after the grown folks were done, the younkers [sic] went at it, ad libitum. I must not forget to state in my bill of fare, the presence of two rarities, a dish of delightful oysters sent me by a friend & some broiled chickens (home raised) for which I was complimented on my housewifery, as they were among the first of the season. . . .

Miss Stubbins wedded W.T. Briggs on last Monday evening. The b'boys got up the belling in improved style. The white robed cavalry turned out, looking like so many spectres in the moonlight, as I heard tell, The effect was quite startling. They assembled just behind the knob & after a blast of their bugles, dashed down upon the square in full gallop, performing many daring feats of horsemanship, darting about so rapidly & suddenly, as to escape detection. After a few blasts
under the windows of the bride, they retired from the scene & the next morning the missing horses were all replaced in the stables, & the mystery remains unsolved. The fair Lady was also treated to a vocal & instrumental serenade by Messrs. Rogers, Martin, McGehee & who were accompanied also by her ci devant lover Wm. Duncan, who thus braved the matter in the best style. Some flowers were thrown from the window, of which the young D. took possession, after a smiling remark to the rest of the party. . . .

This evening the young people of our Town collect at the Morehead House [hotel and dining hall] to a strawberry entertainment given by the gentlemen.

John Sharp is now here. He is looking better than I ever saw him, minus his huge whiskers and a pound or two of hair. . . .

I can scarcely stay in the house this weather, & will take this to the Post office myself for the sake of the walk. The children and I send your thousand kisses back with interest.

I hope to see you in the morning in a letter addressed to your

E.C. Underwood

The daily diet of nineteenth-century Kentuckians was similar to that of their modern descendants. An 1839 cookbook published in Lexington contains recipes for fried, baked, roasted, and stewed meats, boiled and fried vegetables, cornbread and biscuits, and puddings, pies, and other desserts made from locally grown fruits. German immigrants introduced new culinary delights, including the hamburg steak and frankfurter. Soda fountains and confection shops became the rage in the 1890s. “When I had a nickel I would always get a soda,” a turn-of-the-century Louis-
villian recalled. For most people in the years before World War II, having a soft drink or going to a restaurant remained a special treat rather than a common occurrence. The explosion of fast-food chains, including the “finger-lickin’ good” fried chicken for which Kentucky is known the world over, began in the 1960s.

Combining Work and Play

Until the past several decades, most Kentuckians lived on farms, and, because farm tasks left little time for frivolity, they often combined work with play. On the frontier, quilting bees, log rollings, house-raisings, and barn-raisings were very popular and provided an opportunity to simplify necessary tasks and socialize with friends. Most women and girls quilted; a small number of men could build a barn or house in one day. On completing the tasks, they gathered for a feast. Women contributed most of the food and the men barbecued a deer or hog. Following the meal, a fiddler struck up foot-stomping reels for dancing. Sometimes the gaiety lasted all night, or until the guests became too tired to continue. Fights and romantic endeavors frequently accompanied the events.

Square dancing remained a favorite form of merriment long after the frontier period ended. Although better known for formal dances, the governor's home in Frankfort often witnessed old-time fun. An 1881 newspaper described, for example, a barbecue and hoedown attended by more than one hundred guests of Governor and Mrs. Luke Blackburn. While the men prepared the smoked 'possum and roasted pig, the women completed a quilt and the young folks pulled taffy. After the meal, a group of black fiddlers played and directed the reels. Everyone, including a ninety-eight-year-old guest, clapped and danced to the calls “pig in the parlor” and “shoot the buffalo.” It was “wonderful to watch the way he [the near-centenarian] ‘cut the pigeon wing,’” the press declared.

Community squirrel hunts were also popular during the state's first century. The men and their dogs spent the day ridding the area of pests that destroyed gardens and acquiring meat for a communal feast. Before, during, and after the hunts, braggarts gloried in their real and imagined skills, boasting that they only shot the
creatures through their right (or left) eyes or that they preferred to “bark” (hit the limbs beneath the animals and kill them by impact without puncturing the pelts) rather than shoot them. Community squirrel hunts continued as favored events for many of the commonwealth's twentieth-century communities. In 1918, for example, squirrel hunters from Simpson County donated their catch to military authorities at influenza-stricken Camp Zachary Taylor in Louisville; the training facility's reduced kitchen staff had been hard-pressed to prepare sufficient food for thousands of sick and dying recruits.

Militia day also combined work and play. The law required that every able-bodied white male twenty to forty-five years of age enlist in the state militia. Using the courthouse lawn or a level field, the citizen-soldiers devoted three days a year to drills and the practice of military tactics. Men had to furnish their own rifles; because those without firearms substituted saplings or cornstalks, the home guard was nicknamed the “cornstalk militia.”

After the War of 1812 and the end of potential Indian raids, the martial aspects of militia day diminished and the occasion became an excuse for the family to socialize, feast, and dance. James Weir's mid-nineteenth-century novel, Lonz Power, described a “mimic battle” in Muhlenberg County, in which the men used “old shotguns, rusty rifles, long untried fowling pieces, cornstalks, and hickory sticks.” Political candidates shook hands, dispensed liquor, and spoke of “past, present and future glory and the renown of Kentucky and her gallant sons,” Weir wrote. Militia day remained an important social event in many areas until after the Civil War.

**Special Events**

Weddings provided an excuse to frolic without the accompanying necessity for work. Relatives and friends gathered at the bride’s home or at the church for the brief ceremony. The “knot tied,” the bridal couple and friends enjoyed dinner and dancing. Frontier wedding celebrations resembled house-raisings and other period merriment. The shivaree—a noisy serenade and general harassment of newlyweds—remained a favorite part of the nup-
tional festivities in some communities. By late century, however, many receptions were elaborate and sedate. The 1885 wedding dinner of a Fulton couple featured a table draped in white lace, set in shining silver, and accented with tall goblets filled with long peppermint sticks. Bad weather delayed the honeymoon and forced the wedding guests to spend the night with the bride’s family. The next morning a neighbor served breakfast to the couple and well-wishers. That evening the bride’s parents hosted an elaborate ball, where young ladies in formal white gowns and men in long-tailed coats danced into the night.

Unfortunately, few nineteenth-century couples lived happily ever after. Desertions were common, for throughout the antebellum period divorce required an act of the legislature. Many women died in childbirth, and perhaps only half of the infants who survived birth grew to adulthood. “There is no balm . . . that can heal the broken heart of a mother who has borne her precious lamb to the grave,” mourned a young mother who had lost four of her eight children during the 1840s. Diseases (including diphtheria, typhoid, smallpox, and tuberculosis), infections, and accidents claimed victims of all ages. Life could be particularly hard for single women, for few jobs outside the home were available to them. Consequently, following a brief mourning period, eager suitors began to court surviving (or abandoned) spouses.

Courting often took place at political rallies, Fourth of July picnics, and pie socials. The latter events sometimes served as money-making schemes for churches and schools. For these occasions, women baked their favorite pies and packaged them attractively for auction. Each man bid briskly for the privilege of consuming a pastry in the company of its maker. “Woe be unto the husband who became confused and purchased pie not baked by his wife or daughter,” wrote a veteran of Calloway County fund-raisers. Simi-
ilar auctions of well-laden picnic baskets profited area groups and gave young men the chance to enjoy the cooking and company of their favorite young women.

Although patriotic and fund-raising hooplas usually were community affairs, religious celebrations remained private, family gatherings. Christmas past lacked the commercialism of Christmas present. Most employers acknowledged Christmas Day as a holiday, yet few schools and businesses set aside time for seasonal festivities. Many nineteenth-century families did not have Christmas trees. Those who did generally trimmed them with items made by youngsters. Gifts usually were simple, often were homemade, and generally were exchanged only with immediate family. For a mid-century family in Logan County, Santa Claus “dealt out cake and candy—almonds, butternuts, [and] fire crackers,” and a mouth harp, kitten, or handkerchief “kept [the children] in constant excitement and surprise.”

Certainly not all play was family-oriented or tranquil. The diaries and memoirs of visitors to early Kentucky are filled with tales of fights in which the men attempted to gouge out each other’s eyes and bite off ears and noses. Eventually, the state legislature approved a law making such mayhem punishable by imprisonment and fines. Also popular were contests between beasts and between men and animals. An Englishman traveling through the Louisville area about 1816 witnessed a gander-pull. A goose, hung by its feet from a tree, flapped wildly as men galloped by on horseback and tried to grab the fowl’s greased neck and pull off its head. In his memoirs, the visitor concluded his grisly tale by suggesting that society was improving and that “Lexington probably already possesses inhabitants who are polished and refined.” Indeed, because of its college, botanical garden, debating and musical societies, dancing schools, and other cultural attractions, Lexington claimed to be the “Athens of the West.” An 1825 letter from a new arrival assured her father in middle Tennessee that “a number” of Lexington women had “polished manners and highly cultivated minds” and that the town was a “suitable place to spend a few months.”

Vacationers with money often spent a portion of the summer at spas that offered resort-like atmospheres and promised healthful air and congenial amenities. Mercer County’s fashionable Gra-
ham Springs, called the “Saratoga of the West,” was probably the state’s best-known resort, but nearly every county claimed at least one. In their quest to draw families from all areas of the South, the state’s spas stressed healthful offerings. “At the sound of a violin the gout forgets its hobbling gait,” promised Olympian Springs in Montgomery (now Bath) County. A Laurel County spa guaranteed it was a “veritable Eden for children, a sanitarium for the invalid, a paradise for lovers and a haven of rest for the tired.”

Traveling Shows and Fairs

People loved a visit from the touring circus, with its acrobats, magicians, and exotic animals. Louisvillians enjoyed their first circus about 1808; the town nearly “closed down” so that all who wished to do so could attend. An 1850s traveling show had elephants too large to cross Frankfort’s wooden footbridge spanning the Kentucky River. Anticipating a unique parade, court recessed, the session of the Methodist Conference dismissed, and hundreds of residents flocked to the river banks. When the pachyderms reached the river, they lined up, each with its trunk wrapped around the tail of the one in front, and walked into the water. Only their heads were visible as they crossed. Lumbering up the opposite bank, the elephants nonchalantly went on to the circus grounds outside of town, and the people returned to their routine, not realizing that they had witnessed a historic swim that would be the talk of the town for generations.

Crowds gathered for many kinds of traveling shows. In the decade before the Civil War, a number of panoramas (series of topical paintings accompanied by sound effects and narratives) visited the Falls City (Louisville). Stressing the educational value of the extravaganzas, the Louisville Journal urged its readers to arrive early for good seats. The admission fee was thirty cents. For forty or fifty cents (or perhaps a gallon or two of blackberries), Kentuckians living near navigable waterways could attend show-boat productions of such popular farces and melodramas as “Ten Nights in a Bar Room” or “Saintly Hypocrites and Honest Sinners.” Between acts, audiences sang “old tearjerkers” and were entertained by comics
whose jokes the young folk retold for weeks.

Fairs were popular events in the commonwealth's early days. Originally intended as opportunities for area farmers to meet and exchange information on livestock, they gradually expanded to include cattle shows, agricultural exhibits, and horse races. Women competed with their neighbors by exhibiting pickles, preserves, baked goods, quilts, and other examples of their handiwork. Counties and various agricultural societies sponsored most nineteenth-century fairs. The first Kentucky State Fair was held at Churchill Downs in September 1902.

Some fairs chose themes. Benton's Tater Day Fair, for example, began in April 1842 as an opportunity for local farmers to distribute sweet potato seeds. In 1883, Louisville hosted an industrial fair, the Southern Exposition. It attracted 770,000 people (including President Chester A. Arthur), who saw 1,500 exhibits that included everything from agricultural implements to art. Forty-eight hundred incandescent bulbs—the first electric lights many people had ever seen—lit the park-like grounds and buildings. An electric railway, concerts, concessions, fireworks, and a roller coaster attracted young and old alike. The popular exposition opened each summer through 1886.

By the end of the nineteenth century, fairs began to acquire a carnival-like atmosphere. Both country and city folk loved to ride the Ferris wheel and carousel and visit the tent shows that exhibited everything from two-headed dogs to glass lantern slides. The latter, forerunners of modern transparencies, directed sing-alongs or acquainted audiences with distant parts of the world.

Another visual wonder—the moving picture show—grew in popularity during the early years of the twentieth century. Going to the movies was a special occasion and often a family affair. Saturday morning ten-cent matinees featured cowboy and science-fiction serials for youngsters. During World War II a piece of scrap metal or the purchase of savings stamps sometimes served in lieu of money for admission. After the war, the drive-in movie found popularity among teenagers and with couples whose small children slept on the back seat while the parents watched a film.

Large communities built movie houses, but as late as the 1930s, small villages still depended on itinerants who showed films in tents, schoolhouses, vacant stores, and outside on the courthouse
lawn. The assistant to a Green River area showman remembered that, in addition to helping pitch the tent, "a task which we could accomplish in forty-five minutes," she sold candy and tickets and cried out the coming attractions. "It was not an easy life," but on Saturday nights "we packed 'em in," she recalled.

Races and Chautauquas

Races drew huge crowds whenever and wherever held. Early in the state's history, William Whitley of Lincoln County ran races in a counter clock-wise manner—opposite from the fashion of the then-hated British. Favorite pastimes in frontier Lexington included races along Main Street. To protect pedestrians, a track was built outside of town. By the middle of the antebellum period, it was a poor community indeed that lacked a track.

The state's best-known race, the Kentucky Derby, first ran on May 17, 1875, at the Jockey Club track in Louisville. The club had been formed the previous summer to stimulate thoroughbred racing and breeding and had leased land for the track from John and Henry Churchill. Of that first Kentucky Derby, an attendant recalled that the day was "glorious . . . blue sky and fast track" and the race was a "royal" one. Black jockey Oliver Lewis rode Aristides to victory and a $2,850 winning.

Lexington's Red Mile track for harness racing also opened in 1875. Perhaps akin to modern sports car enthusiasts, harness racers enjoyed testing the speed of their horses and carriages on streets and byways. The state's first trotting association opened a track in 1859 on what is now the Lexington campus of the University of Kentucky. In the 1870s and 1880s, the sport's popularity increased following the invention by a Cynthiana harness maker of a leather "boot" to protect the trotters' legs.
During the decades after the Civil War, labor-saving devices and inexpensive domestic help freed many middle-class women from home drudgeries. Proper Victorian women did not pursue careers, but some educational and social activities outside the home were deemed acceptable. Those who wished to help solve their communities' social problems or address cultural needs joined groups that raised funds for kindergartens, hospitals, libraries, and community centers. Others started clubs whose members met periodically to discuss literary works and to socialize.

Chautauqua programs reflected the desire to combine recreation and self-improvement. Defined by an 1880s minister as "a cross between a camp meeting and a picnic," they were particularly popular among white, middle-class Protestants in predominantly rural areas between the 1880s and 1920s. Often held in tents, chautauqua meetings usually featured circuit lecturers who spoke about religion, literature, foreign travel, and social issues. Eventually, the term "chautauqua" referred to a variety of adult education programs. In 1913, for example, Madison and Warren counties held "Farmers Chautauquas" on their local college campuses. The four-day affairs featured lectures about crop cultivation and cattle care, demonstrations on how to build a "sanitary privy," and exhibits prepared by the State Board of Health on the cause and prevention of typhoid fever. To entertain farm families who flocked to the chautauquas, choral and instrumental groups gave concerts. At dinnertime, participants gathered near the barbecue pits, socialized, and exchanged ideas.

Parks and Playgrounds

As towns and villages developed, so did the belief that communities should establish areas for public recreation. Many towns set aside a few acres for parks. In the 1890s, Louisville's Park Board created three large parks: Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee. The board also equipped four open-air playgrounds in the city's tenement areas with swings, seesaws, and sandpiles. A decade later, the city's Recreation League created six model playgrounds that offered daytime supervision and scheduled competitive games—baseball
Growing Up in the 1930s

Selections from an interview transcription by Jim Spradlin with Dwight, Virginia, Bill, and Geneva Spradlin, March 5, 1984, in Folklife Archives, Department of Library Special Collections, Western Kentucky University. In the interview, the Spradlins discuss growing up in Floyd County in the 1930s.

Jim: What did you all do instead of watching television at night?
Dwight: Listen to the radio for one thing.
Virginia: Pop popcorn and listen to the Grand Old Opry.
Geneva: We'd sit over at my grandfather's and he'd tell us stories.
Dwight: We always had a group of cousins that we were closer to in those days than people are now. Maybe, again, it was because of the small-town atmosphere, you know, where you are close to everybody.
Geneva: Well, where we lived out in the country, all we lived around were relatives, you know.
Virginia: We were closer because we all lived in the same area. And, of course, I guess that was one reason you visited the family on the weekends. I would go with Daddy round on Stone Knob to visit Grandma.
Geneva: But that's what people did on Saturdays.
Dwight: That wasn't changed until the war [World War II] came along. . . . Children would grow up and they'd marry and move three doors from [the parents]. Like over on Little Paint where Uncle Willie and them lived, the boys would go across the mountain to another holler and marry one of the girls and they'd come back and Uncle Willie would build them a house in the apple orchard and you know families all lived together and you didn't get that far from home, from your birthplace. Until the war came along, and then . . . it sorta broke all that up. Everyone started the outward immigration from that area to Cleveland and Detroit.
Geneva: They left to get a job in a factory.
Bill: Well . . . I don't know whether it was the war or better education, but one generation kinda broke the chain where they didn't want to be farmers, they didn't want to go in the coal mines. Just like when we came [to Jeffersontown] because there wasn't any work in the mountains. . . .
Virginia: Well, during school weeks you went to bed at dark. . . . Of course, I can remember before we had electricity.
Bill: I told Mom one time, and it made her mad, I said I don't believe we took a bath every night. Yes you did too.
Virginia: Lord, we didn’t.
Bill: I don’t believe we did, I’ll tell you the truth.
Dwight: I don’t know, but I can’t remember living in a house that
didn’t have a bathroom.
Bill: Well, we had a bath.
Dwight: Had a bath tub and a bathroom.
Bill: Still don’t think we took a bath every night. . .
Dwight: I remember the first washing machine Mom ever got. It
was gasoline, had a gasoline motor on it, and you could hear that thing
for ten miles when you started it.
Bill: Well, I told David that our refrigerator at home ran on gas and
he gave me a look like I don’t know.
Dwight: Not gasoline, natural gas.
Bill: Yeah, natural gas. I don’t know what the process was but—no,
the first refrigerator we had was an Electrolux, and it ran on gas.
Bill: Sure did, had a pilot light underneath and everything.
Dwight: Before that you had to go to Wayland and get ice and
bring it home and put it in the ice box.
Bill: I remember doing that. You could buy a fifty pound block of
ice for fifteen or twenty cents.

(played without gloves!), track, tennis, and croquet. The staffs
enforced, with some success, rules against smoking and crude lan-
guage. One of the board’s annual reports bragged that a youthful
patron who “went to the country for a week . . . told the instruc-
tor that while he was away he had not cussed once.”

By the 1930s, Louisville’s eighteen playgrounds hosted nearly
a million visitors during the summer months. Pet shows, doll buggy
parades, storytelling sessions, art classes, courses in building and
racing go-carts, and instructions for making and operating mar-
onettes appealed to young children; older ones enjoyed tennis and
track matches as well as baseball, basketball, and volleyball.
Throughout the depression years, the city also operated commu-
nity centers with classes and games for adults.

Two national parks—Cumberland Gap and Mammoth Cave—
and numerous state resorts and historic sites serve as playgrounds
for modern Kentuckians. Mammoth Cave began to attract curi-
ous travelers after the War of 1812, and its owner constructed an
inn and hired a guide. The hotel became a regular stop for the
Louisville-to-Nashville stagecoach and later for the train, steamboat, and millions of private cars traveling highways 31-W and I-65. Today's blue jeans and sweatshirts are appropriate clothing for cave tours, but in the era when women wore floor-length dresses, visitors were advised that "the bloomers or Turkish dress is the proper costume for a lady."

The twentieth century has witnessed an array of new activities as well as a continuation of time-honored ones. After the introduction of the safety bicycle in the mid-1880s, the popularity of cycling skyrocketed. Bicycle clubs planned lengthy races and held contests for stunt riders. Those who rode at night fastened oil-burning lamps to their handlebars; on a warm summer's eve, Cherokee Park and other cycling areas in Louisville often "appeared to be circled with fireflies." Bicycle riders were among the first to demand better roads, street and road signs, and road maps. Lacking appropriate sportswear, women tied on their hats with veils and let their long, full skirts "billow in the breeze." Eventually, clothiers considered safety and designed cycling togs for women.

Organized Sports

The amusements that perhaps have most characterized the past century are organized sports. Baseball, football, and basketball, once relegated to sandlots on Saturday afternoons, now are played in expensive stadiums and gymnasiums. Baseball gained popularity in the years after the Civil War as communities formed teams whose games stimulated local pride. During the first half of the twentieth century, a number of towns belonged to the Kitty League, a professional baseball circuit comprised of teams in Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee. They played on ill-kept diamonds, and their fans cheered from rickety grandstands. Nevertheless, the Kitty League sent more players to the major leagues than any other Class D circuit. With the advent of television in the 1950s, Kentuckians apparently lost interest in most minor league baseball.

Three Kentucky names have important links with major league baseball. The "Louisville Slugger" (made in Kentucky until the
mid-1970s) has been a favorite bat among professional players for nearly a century. Among the Hall-of-Famers from Kentucky, Pee Wee Reese, a native of Meade County, was perhaps the best known. He held the record in runs scored and bases stolen during his career with the Brooklyn (now Los Angeles) Dodgers. As baseball commissioner in 1945-51, former governor and senator Albert B. “Happy” Chandler made decisions on several key issues.

Crisp autumn weather means football and the bands, parades, floats, pep rallies, tailgate parties, and other mirth that are part of school rivalry. Kentuckians take football seriously; for weeks fans rehash plays and denounce calls. The state’s most talked about game, however, did not pit Warren Central against Shelby County, Mayfield against Fort Thomas, or the U.K. Wildcats against Tennessee. Fought in 1921, this “Upset of the Century” involved Centre College and Harvard University, then a football powerhouse. Ignoring Centre’s impressive record of only three losses in four years, a New England sportswriter ridiculed that “Harvard has more players on their team than Centre has enrolled for classes.” Before a crowd of 50,000, Centre’s “Praying Colonels” defeated Harvard, 6-0.

Basketball has been the state’s number-one game and, like football, has centered around local schools and stimulated community spirit. Basketball was introduced as part of the physical fitness program at newly organized high schools in the World War I era. Other school activities in Kentucky have consistently paled in comparison to basketball. Even during the depression years, schools that could afford no other equipment erected basketball goals on the playground. Young folk practiced their skills on barrel hoops fastened to barn and garage doors and dreamed of making the high school teams. Students and alumni crowded into school gymnasiums to watch games. Few activities catch the attention of an entire community—or entire state—like the heated rivalry for a basketball championship or the victory of a single game.

Figure 4.5 An early baseball team (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).
Soccer invaded the commonwealth during the 1980s as leagues organized for every age. Parents who a few years earlier had never heard of the game learned from their children about “juggling” and “heading” the ball. Every Saturday during the fall and spring seasons, playing fields came alive with shin-guarded boys and girls practicing soccer techniques. Summer months found similar enthusiasm for Little League baseball and for team swimming.

Summary

Kentuckians still enjoy hoedowns and horse races. Television has replaced panoramas and glass-lantern slide shows, but church socials and fairs continue in popularity. Despite changes created by technology, Kentuckians of the twenty-first century enjoy social and recreational activities that bear basic similarities to those that delighted their ancestors. Family relationships also remain important, and, although the ease of travel and far-flung job opportunities entice some Kentuckians to distant lands, the commonwealth’s resources still beckon newcomers. In the last century, natives from every state as well as from Central and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia have settled in the Bluegrass State. They have introduced new customs, new foods, new ideas, and new challenges. Their contributions enrich the state and all its people.
Although a surprising number of Europeans had explored in Kentucky before 1775, the first permanent settlements were not made until that year. In March 1775, James Harrod led some fifty men to the 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. Other stations soon followed, for neither the Indian threat nor the American Revolution could halt the westward migration. Fear of Indians forced most of the early settlers to live in the tiny stations, although the farmers longed to be on their own land. Instead, they often worked in cooperative fields near the station while half their number stood guard. Life in the crowded stations could be harsh and depressing, especially during the winter months. Precious livestock shared the crowded space, disease was common, and privacy was rare. A 1779 visitor to Boonesborough commented that “the Fort is a dirty place in winter like every other station.”
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, Virginia’s capital, was hundreds of dangerous and difficult miles from the expanding Kentucky settlements, and many

---

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).
Kentuckians were convinced that 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. Ken-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>1790(%)</th>
<th>1820(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch-Irish and Scots</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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

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."
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 of this era to serve two 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 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 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.
Voting

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 inter-
ested 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. Over twenty people 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.

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.
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 1829.

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.
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. 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 if 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

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.

Although the earliest Catholic settlements were lay-founded, the pioneers appealed to the Bishop of Baltimore for priests; many

---

**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.

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 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.

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 Boles 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 in 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, kindliness, 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 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 twenty 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 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 had significant female leadership 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 re-
nowned 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 Ken-
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 1990 figures, over two million Kentuckians (about 60 percent of the population) adhered to specific religious traditions ranking the state twenty-second nationally. 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.

The three largest religious traditions in Kentucky in the 1990s (with numbers rounded) are Baptists (963,000), Catholics (365,000), and Methodists (227,000). 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.

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.
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 elsewhere along the trans-Appalachian frontier, slavery thrived and grew rapidly in pioneer Kentucky. Whereas white slaveowners moved west with hopes of establishing new homesteads and farms, black slaves had little hope of new opportunities and new "freedoms." According to one scholar, slaves on Kentucky's expanding frontier "had little to gain yet shared all the risks and discomfort of western life. They exercised limited influence in making the decision to migrate and were subject to a much greater degree of social upheaval—traumatic departure, resale in the West, and geographic dispersal in small slaveholdings." Most slaves lived in small units (an average of 4.39 slaves per slaveholder statewide in 1800) and found spouses beyond their masters' houses and reproduced rapidly.

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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>% of blacks in slavery</th>
<th>% of slaves to total pop.</th>
<th>Total black pop.</th>
<th>% of all blacks to total pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>11,830</td>
<td>99.05</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11,944</td>
<td>16.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>40,343</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>41,084</td>
<td>18.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>80,563</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>82,274</td>
<td>20.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>126,732</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>22.46</td>
<td>129,491</td>
<td>22.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>165,213</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>24.01</td>
<td>170,130</td>
<td>24.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>182,258</td>
<td>96.15</td>
<td>23.37</td>
<td>189,575</td>
<td>24.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>210,981</td>
<td>95.47</td>
<td>21.47</td>
<td>220,992</td>
<td>22.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>225,483</td>
<td>95.48</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>236,167</td>
<td>20.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>% of whites to total pop.</th>
<th>Total pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>61,133</td>
<td>83.66</td>
<td>73,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>179,871</td>
<td>81.41</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>324,237</td>
<td>79.76</td>
<td>406,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>434,644</td>
<td>77.05</td>
<td>564,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>517,787</td>
<td>75.27</td>
<td>687,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>590,253</td>
<td>75.69</td>
<td>779,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>761,413</td>
<td>77.51</td>
<td>982,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>919,517</td>
<td>79.56</td>
<td>1,155,684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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 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 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

---

**$150 REWARD.**

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

about 30 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high; of 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. He 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).
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.

**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

---

**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 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 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, 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 purpose 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 “Insomuch 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 your 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 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

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.

Carter Tarrant (1765–1816) was another early opponent of slavery in the commonwealth. A Baptist minister, from 1798 to 1806 Tarrant was an outspoken emancipationist who preached against slavery before three congregations in Woodford County. A militancy “immediatist” abolitionist, Tarrant believed that slavery was an evil institution and that slaveholding was a conspiracy with the devil. He refused to compromise with slavery's defenders—even with his fellow Baptist ministers. Though no evidence survives to support the claims, Tarrant's critics alleged that he urged slaves to rise up against their masters. Not surprisingly, because of his radi-
cal abolitionist views, in 1806 Tarrant was excommunicated from the Baptist church, his life was threatened, and he died within a decade an impoverished, sick, and disillusioned man.

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 commonwealth (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 manumitted 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 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
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."

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.

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 le-
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, 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.

gality 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.

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

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

---

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 property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.
constitutional amendment. Still, no matter how dramatic emancipation was for whites, it paled in comparison with the social upheaval experienced by the blacks.

As historian Marion B. Lucas has explained:
At war’s end, blacks in Kentucky found themselves in a bewildering situation. Federal officials said they were free, but slaveholders rejected emancipation and labeled blacks who left their cabins “fugitives.” Generals urged blacks to find employment, but slaveholders threatened to prosecute anyone hiring their “slaves.” Reformers told blacks to move to regions where opportunities were greater, but railroad conductors refused to transport them without permission of their “owners”; and when blacks migrated to towns, officials tried to arrest them as vagrants.

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.

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.
Race Relations after 1865

George C. Wright

Though scholars have often tried to present the view that the racial problems Afro-Americans encountered in post-war 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 but 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 many 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, Ken-
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.

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.

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 learn-
ing 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Day Law Segregating All Kentucky Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act to prohibit white and colored persons from attending the same school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 of-
ten 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 college and university presidents, key administrators, and board members to maintain “all white” schools. Establishing the tone was Governor A.B. “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 Negroses, 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.

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,
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 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 the best till he's taken on all comers.

Before the school 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 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.


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.”

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

---

No Separate but Equal

The United States Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) ended segregation in 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.
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.
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.
At War, 1776-1999

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 settled frontier Kentucky, the "dark and bloody ground" of legend, also, made a fateful choice. By coming to Kentucky, they 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. This 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-
year-old George Rogers Clark wanted to take military action without the time-consuming matter of sending to Virginia for aid or approval.

Young Clark became a major in the militia and the leader of Kentucky's military, until a county lieutenant—a colonel commanding the militia of a Virginia county—could come to Kentucky. 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 by 1778) 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.

![Figure 9.1 The Virginia-Kentucky Militia Sphere of Action, 1774-1813](source: Richard G. Stone Jr., A Brittle Sword)
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 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 militiamen and Indians. This successful defense of a major settlement boosted the pioneers’ sense of security. A more important result

Frontier Military Problems

[Jefferson County, Kentucky] August 11th, 1781

Dear [Col. 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 the 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.

[Col.] John Floyd

Source: Draper Manuscripts, 17CC138—39 (microfilm), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
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, the so-called "Hair Buyer," who commanded at 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). In Kentucky, the settlers' confidence continued to grow as numerous stations were founded.

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 Rivers. 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 based on forts, 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 sixty Kentuckians 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 one hundred Wilderness Road travelers were killed. A year later, 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 es-
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 James 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. In fact, enough Kentuckians enlisted
in the regular U.S. Army to fill two and a half new regiments.

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. Darnell wrote that 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, which included many Kentuckians. 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. On January 18, most of them 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 sixty prisoners, nearly all of whom were Kentuckians. Harrison
then placed the remainder of his force (expiration of terms of service also reduced his numbers) at Fort Meigs on the nearby Maumee River.

The fort withstood a British-Indian siege, but the loss of about six hundred captured militia (Dudley’s Defeat, May 5) and the massacre of about forty American prisoners once again shook Kentucky support for the war. Volunteering declined sharply. In response, highly respected Governor Isaac Shelby proposed a sixty-day 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 Northern Ohio’s Fort Stephenson, led by twenty-two-year-old George Croghan (nephew of George Rogers Clark). Croghan’s 160 Kentuckians withstood an attack by 500 British troops and a few hundred Indians. Afterwards, Kentucky again showed enthusiasm for the war.

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 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 400 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-American War

Kentuckians believed the war with Mexico could be fought as the 1812 war had been conducted—with more enthusiasm than prepa-
ration. In response to the U.S. War Department’s 1846 call for Kentucky volunteers, far more men offered their services than the Bluegrass State was authorized to accept. But Kentucky had to borrow money from private sources to equip its thirty volunteer companies. By war’s end about 5,000 badly equipped, poorly trained, and ill-fed Kentuckians had served. In all, one volunteer cavalry, three volunteer infantry regiments, and one militia infantry regiment (plus one U.S. infantry battalion) marched from Kentucky to Mexico. (Significantly fewer Kentuckians had stepped forward at the 1847 call for volunteers to fill twenty companies.)

Kentucky troops fought in several actions, most notably the battle of Buena Vista (22–23 February 1847). Of thousands of Kentuckians who served in the war, fewer than one hundred were killed in action; several hundred died from accident, disease, and the commonwealth’s mistaken ideas about war. Yet by 1848, victories in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War had convinced Kentuckians that characteristics of the militia/volunteer units were really principles of war. Although their military history contradicted them, Kentuckians, like other Americans, incorrectly 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; all campaigns would be short and triumphant; and the war 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.

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, individual 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 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 claimed to be the state’s rightful government. Unionists under Governor Beriah Magoffin, James F. Robinson, and Thomas E. Bramlette in Frankfort opposed Confederates under George W. Johnson in Bowling Green and Richard Hawes, who followed the Confederate army. (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 entered Kentucky.
Edmund Kirby Smith’s army captured Richmond, Lexington, and Frankfort. Braxton Bragg’s army took Munfordville, installed 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
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 Brig. Gen. 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 description of the battlefield the poor dust covered ghastly looking fellows dead in every posture, some with heads 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,

[Lt.] S.M. Starling

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

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.

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 and the 25,000 to 40,000 Confederate soldiers from Kentucky, about one-third died from battle wounds, accidents, or disease. Like the Revolution, the Civil War touched every Kentuckian and produced dramatic examples of war's effect on society. Unlike the War of Independence, the "brothers' war" of the 1860s brought Kentucky an abundance of split families and battle slaughter, economic loss and racial conflict, and the far-reaching abuses of military rule and guerilla warfare. The result-
The Spanish-American War

Nevertheless, 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 re-
placement 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 commonwealth and placed in uniform the largest number of Kentuckians in history.

Figure 9.5 Nineteen-year-old Franklin R. Sousley 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).

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, fires, 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.
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 Lt. 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 Lt. 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.


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 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 faraway 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 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 H. 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.

Of the 306,715 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. Over
100,000 Kentuckians served, 1,002 died, and 2,140 were wounded or missing.

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-ups. 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 that had blocked 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). Another young Kentucky volunteer who died was eighteen-year-old Marine Gary Lee Hall, one of the last Americans to perish in a Vietnam-related operation (the 1975 mission to rescue the crew of a U.S. ship captured by communist Cambodians). Over 115,000 other Kentuckians served during the Vietnam War. Of that group, 1,088 dead (plus 14 missing in action) were honored with an elaborate monument in Frankfort. But many wounds of this longest American war resist such efforts at healing.

The 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

Nine units of the state’s National Guard saw a wide variety of duties. The First Battalion of the 623rd Field Artillery 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. 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.

The Balkans, a Different Kind of War

After the Gulf War, Kentucky’s and America’s attitudes toward war changed. The military expanded its international commitments and continued to blend the roles of Guard and regular units. These changes in the military itself added to long-standing American policies like maintaining a “peacetime” society even during armed conflicts. Thus for most of the 1990s, Kentucky and the rest of the nation remained at ease—emotionally and politically—while their young soldiers once more went in harm’s way.

Many Kentuckians entered the Balkans in regular U.S. units. Since 1993, American aircraft occasionally fought actions over the region, as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) response to the conflicts in southeastern Europe. U.S. ground troops also took part in peacekeeping endeavors. Kentucky’s Guard first entered the Balkans in 1996, when the 123rd Airlift Wing (Louisville) flew NATO Implementation Force troops and
supplies throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Similar Guard efforts to support multinational peacekeeping in the aftermath of the 1999 bombing of Yugoslavia would follow recent trends.

Such difficult and dangerous duty has always been the Kentucky soldier’s companion. So it will remain in the future.

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 forty-nine years. (Major conflicts include the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Mexican-American War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, and the 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, until very recently, political backing for national wars. Despite America’s recent, relatively swift military successes like the 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.
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 of-
ten were underpaid and overworked, which meant that the best 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 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, be-
lieving 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 ad-

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.]
vantage in the fight but also sometimes led to the peaceful settlement of disagreements.

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 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 their honor.

Assassinations

Sometimes Kentucky’s murderous violence involved the assassination of public officials. In 1879, Thomas Buford shot and killed
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. After 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 unavailing? ... 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 vs. Commonwealth, 7 Bush 124 (1870).
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.
Lynchings and Other Acts of Racial Violence

Lynchings, illegal killing of a person or persons by a mob, constituted a particularly vicious form of violence in Kentucky between the years 1865 and 1934. The leading authority on the subject estimates that during this period Kentuckians lynched at least 353 persons. Usually the mob killed victims by hanging, although gunfire and even burning pyres were sometimes employed. Lynchings were most often directed against African Americans. (At least 258 of the 353 victims of lynching between 1865 and 1934 were black.)

Following the Civil War and with the end of slavery, mobs of white citizens began a campaign of lynching to exert what they saw as the supremacy of the white race and to keep African Americans in an inferior position in society. The mobs usually accused the lynching victim of criminal conduct such as murder or rape, but often the evidence of such conduct was flimsy at best. Sometimes African Americans were lynched because they were accused of not showing a white person proper respect or voting for the wrong candidate for public office.

A racist organization known as the Ku Klux Klan terrorized Kentucky African Americans in the years immediately following the Civil War. The Klan’s philosophy was separation of the races and the superiority of whites. Such groups forced significant numbers of former slaves to flee from Estill, Boone, Kenton, Grant, and Logan Counties. Between 1900 and 1910 white terrorism substantially reduced the population of African Americans in Marshall County.

Similar activity by white mobs occurred in the early part of the twentieth century. In 1919 such a mob forced 250 African American railroad workers out of Corbin, and a few years later similar incidents took place in Estill and Bell counties. That year, at the urging of Governor Edwin P. Morrow, Kentuckians amended their constitution, which allowed the legislature to pass an effective anti-lynching law in 1920. That action dramatically reduced the number ofynchings in the commonwealth.

Even as the number of physical lynchings declined, however, the practice of “judicial lynchings” continued. African Americans
were legally executed for capital crimes (such as murder) against white persons after being convicted on the basis of questionable evidence, usually without adequate defense counsel, before all-white juries. The number of judicial lynchings began to decline in the 1940s shortly after the United States Supreme Court ended the practice of excluding African Americans from Kentucky's criminal juries.

The last lynching in Kentucky occurred in 1934.

**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 en-
force 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 murder 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.

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 sher-
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 coalfields. One has to wonder whether Kentucky residents today are safer from violence than the Kentuckians who lived a hundred years ago.

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 min-
ers 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 coalfields, and high rates of homicide in southeastern counties undermine the notion that violence is a thing of the past in Kentucky.
A quick test: (a) Where are all the Corvettes in the world made? (b) Where is the factory that makes the most sport utility vehicles in the world? (c) the factory that makes the most popular passenger car? (d) the largest air cargo sorting facility in the world? (e) the second lowest electricity prices in the United States? (f) the headquarters for the largest number of fast food outlets in the world? (g) the state with the most number of coal mines? (h) the longest cave system in the world? (i) the geographic center of the United States population east of the Rocky Mountains? Correct. All of these distinctions belong to Kentucky and indicate the rich diversity of economic activity in the state at the turn of the century. (Answers on page 188)

The Economic Diversity Within Kentucky’s Borders

Indeed, it is not very enlightening to describe Kentucky economically using state averages and totals. To say that the average income of Kentuckians is $21,000 per year is to say very little about incomes around a state containing a county (Oldham) with per capita income of $29,400 and another county (Elliott) with per capita income of but $10,800. To say that 14 percent of Kentucky adults have a college degree is to say little about educational at-
tainment around the state—one-third of Fayette County adults have a college degree compared with fewer than 5 percent of adults in Allen County. Similarly, farming, forestry, and mining account for 7.5 percent of jobs in Kentucky, yet the share in Robertson County is 47 percent, while the share is less than 1 percent in Jefferson County.

No, to understand the economic structure and health around Kentucky one needs to become familiar with the rich diversity of landscape, assets, industry, and history in the state. White and black settlers first came to Kentucky in the late 1700s. Economic life revolved around hunting, farming small plots, making salt, and woodworking. Settlers came over the Cumberland Gap on today's southeastern border with Virginia or down the Ohio River to Maysville and Louisville, where they then made their way to the interior of the state. Lexington and Frankfort were the largest cities in Kentucky in 1800, each with a population of less than two thousand but thriving as the major places of agricultural and retail trade, real estate development, and legal practice. The mountains were seen as a barrier to cross, the Ohio River as a highway to move people and simple goods, and the western part of the state as the next lush frontier to conquer. The extensive river traffic to and from the west led to early commercial development in Ashland, Cincinnati, Covington, Louisville, Owensboro, Evansville, Henderson, and Paducah. Wharfs, warehouses, banks, insurance companies, law firms, and taverns sprung up to serve the river shippers and passengers. When rail technology developed in the nineteenth century, the investors naturally sought to connect the important river ports to the hinterlands and to the other ports. Thus rail enhanced the economic importance of the burgeoning population centers along Kentucky's northern border.

Waterways and rail lines also determined the location of much of the more modern industrial activity. Large manufacturing operations, making aluminum, plastics, appliances, gasoline, and automobiles required extensive transportation facilities, and in Kentucky these existed primarily in the cities along the northern border. Interstate highways, arriving here in the 1960s and 1970s, codified the transportation advantage of the existing industrial cities but also created a wave of economic opportunity for other communities through which they passed. During the past few decades
Economic Regions in Kentucky

Figure 11.1

trucking's flexibility relative to rail has fostered the growth of manufacturing and distribution centers far from the traditional industrial areas. The interstate highways through Kentucky have been crucial to capitalizing on the state's great locational advantage—the geographic centers of U.S. population and manufacturing activity east of the Rocky Mountains have passed through the middle of Kentucky during the last decade. Smaller cities, such as Bowling Green, Elizabethtown, and Georgetown have all recently leveraged their locations and interstate highway access to create a new economic base for their communities.

At the end of the twentieth century, Kentucky remains a place of enviable natural resources and beauty, well-endowed with farmland, forests, minerals, mountains, vistas, rivers, and lakes. Yet, in retrospect, this was a century of tremendous economic development. Major new highways, the telecommunications revolution, urbanization, advances in education levels, and steady corporate investments in Kentucky have led to a modern and diverse economic foundation for the state.
Eight Economic Regions in Kentucky

The state of Kentucky can be usefully subdivided into eight fairly distinct regional economies, each with a common topography, infrastructure, industrial specialties, workforce, housing market, educational institutions, and economic challenges. (There are many possible subdivisions of Kentucky, including the fifteen Area Development Districts defined by state government; counties in the seven metropolitan areas versus the nonmetropolitan counties; or the eight Economic Areas that include Kentucky counties as defined by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. Each subdivision has its analytical advantage. We chose the present scheme as a way to cover the whole state in a manageable framework and with counties aligned closely to economic market areas.) Because of topography and economic history, most of these regional economies cross the state border. Let us consider each in turn, starting with the one most contained within the state borders—the Lexington area.

The sixteen counties surrounding and most connected to Lexington have 625,000 residents or about one-sixth of the state’s population. Fayette County is the industrial, shopping, and recreational center of the region. Sitting in the crosshairs of two important interstate highways, I-75 and I-64, the area has gained key manufacturing facilities during the past two decades. The largest, Toyota and Lexmark, produce technically complicated items (automobiles and computer printers) that are in great demand worldwide. Lexington area manufacturing operations employ 66,000 persons and pay on average around $44,000 per year. Lexington is also arguably the international center of the thoroughbred horse breeding industry, with signature horse farms spread throughout the Bluegrass, an enchanting racetrack at Keeneland, and the top horse sales in the world each fall. The Lexington area also produces about one-third of Kentucky’s tobacco crop annually.

The Lexington area has a larger government presence than any other region in Kentucky, with the exception of the south central area where military payrolls are swelled by the presence of Fort Campbell. The state capital in Frankfort has become part of the
Lexington market, with Franklin and Fayette counties being a top destination for workers commuting out of their home counties. Many state government operations are sprinkled around the Lexington area, including Kentucky Educational Television, the Kentucky Geological Survey, the Racing Commission, the Department of Mines and Minerals, and the Kentucky Horse Park. The Lexington area includes three of the state’s eight public universities—University of Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky University, and Kentucky State University. The University of Kentucky, with its large medical center and array of graduate and professional programs, is the largest employer in the Lexington area—with nearly 10,000 jobs. These state-financed operations provide a thick layer of recession-proof and high-paying professional jobs to the regional economy. A steady inflow of young college students and eastern Kentucky migrants has provided a ready labor force for industry and has made the Lexington area the fastest-growing region of Kentucky during the last half of the twentieth century.

The economy of the mountain region to the east and south of Lexington differs greatly from other areas of the state. Its topography, infrastructure, industrial base, and culture are similar to that of adjacent areas of West Virginia and Virginia. There are no large cities and agriculture is limited because of the rugged terrain, yet

**Farming, Forestry, and Mining: Share of All Jobs in Each Region, 1997**

![Bar chart showing farming, forestry, and mining share of all jobs in each region of Kentucky](image)
Table 11.1. Summary Data for Economic Regions in Kentucky

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By County of Work</th>
<th>Kentucky: All Counties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of counties</td>
<td>Lexington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land area (square miles)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth, 1987-97 (%)</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of jobs in agriculture and mining, 1997 (%)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of jobs in manufact., 1997 (%)</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of jobs in local, state, and federal government, 1997 (%)</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings of workers and proprietors, 1997 (millions)</td>
<td>$11,491.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth, 1987-97 (%)</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aver. annual earnings per job, 1997</td>
<td>$27,439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By County of Residence

| Population, 1997 | 624,930 | 591,071 | 170,996 | 408,430 | 1,068,315 | 293,651 | 232,905 | 520,068 | 3,910,366 |
| Growth, 1987-97 (%) | 11.4 | -0.3 | 2.4 | 13.0 | 5.3 | 1.7 | 6.5 | 8.6 | 6.2 |
| Population density (persons per square mile) | 157 | 63 | 73 | 165 | 204 | 73 | 63 | 60 | 98 |
| College attainment rate for adults, 1990 (%) | 21.5 | 7.7 | 10.5 | 14.2 | 17.6 | 10.0 | 11.7 | 9.5 | 14.0 |
| Wealth measure (income from dividends, interest, rent per capita), 1997 | $3,580 | $1,590 | $2,082 | $2,858 | $4,198 | $2,999 | $3,410 | $2,201 | $3,070 |
| Dependency measure (income from transfer payments per capita), 1997 | $3,641 | $5,201 | $4,593 | $3,483 | $4,158 | $4,218 | $4,496 | $4,231 | $4,216 |
| Per capita personal income, 1997 | $23,434 | $14,647 | $17,070 | $22,048 | $24,150 | $19,363 | $20,761 | $17,093 | $20,570 |

Sources: Educational attainment from U.S. Census Bureau; land area from 1996 County and City Extra, Bernana Press; all other data from U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, 1969-97 Regional Economic Information System. May 1999.
the region is home to over 200,000 people. For most of the twentieth century, the primary industry was coal mining. The mountains are rich with a high-energy, low-sulfur form of coal. Both deep shaft and open pit forms of removal are used extensively there. Until the past few decades, coal mining was a very labor-intensive business, and at its peak in 1950 coal mining employed around 50,000 people in Eastern Kentucky. Many others were employed in coal processing and transportation, and especially in the industries that served the miners and their families—grocers, banks, auto dealers, hardware stores, gasoline stations, and other retail businesses. At the close of the century coal mining only employed 20,000 in the Eastern Kentucky coalfields, as major advances in mining technology has reduced the demand for labor while coal production remained steady.

Forestry, some light manufacturing, and tourism are other important components of the region's economy. It is well known that the region also has a vibrant underground economy, where goods and services—many illegal—are sold for cash, thus avoiding scrutiny and taxation. The area has the lowest concentration of manufacturing jobs of any region in Kentucky. It also has the least household wealth and is most dependent upon federal and state income support programs. Kentucky state government has invested billions of dollars to improve the mountain road system and the local public schools during the past twenty years. Better physical access, the spread of satellite television reception, and more pervasive usage of computers and the Internet have reduced the longstanding isolation of the region's population and hopefully introduced an end to its high levels of illiteracy, unemployment, dependency, and poverty.

Just north of the mountains, where the Big Sandy flows into the Ohio River on Kentucky's eastern border, lies the Ashland area. Ashland is Kentucky's tenth largest city, with 23,000 residents. Boyd, Carter, and Greenup counties in Kentucky join with three counties in West Virginia to form the Huntington-Ashland metropolitan statistical area. With 315,000 residents it is easily the largest urbanized area in eastern Kentucky. The Huntington-Ashland area also feels a strong economic pull toward West Virginia's state capitol, Charleston, only forty miles away. Charleston is home to the major television affiliates, the largest regional
Table 11.2. Economic Factoids About Kentucky

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organization with most employees (1)</td>
<td>U.S. Department of Defense</td>
<td>43,500 employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largest private sector employer (2)</td>
<td>United Parcel Service, Louisville</td>
<td>16,000 employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largest manufacturing employer (3)</td>
<td>General Electric, seven sites</td>
<td>13,000 employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County with greatest coal production (4)</td>
<td>Pike County</td>
<td>35 million tons in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County with greatest receipts from crop production (5)</td>
<td>Christian County</td>
<td>$63 million in 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County with greatest receipts from livestock production (5)</td>
<td>Fayette County</td>
<td>$262 million in 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest per capita income (6)</td>
<td>Oldham County</td>
<td>$29,400 in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest per capita income (6)</td>
<td>Estill County</td>
<td>$10,800 in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest rate of high school graduation, adults (7)</td>
<td>Fayette County</td>
<td>88.3 percent in 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest rate of high school graduation, adults (7)</td>
<td>Owsley County</td>
<td>35.5 percent in 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greatest growth in population, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Boone County</td>
<td>23,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least growth in population, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Pike County</td>
<td>-4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fastest growth rate in population, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Spencer County</td>
<td>46.6 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slowest growth rate in population, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Fulton County</td>
<td>-10.1 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greatest growth in jobs, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Jefferson County</td>
<td>89,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least growth in jobs, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Greenup County</td>
<td>-1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fastest growth rate in jobs, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Scott County</td>
<td>118.2 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slowest growth rate in jobs, last ten years (6)</td>
<td>Hickman County</td>
<td>-19.2 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hospital complex, and the source of thousands of jobs for residents throughout the region. Ashland has a rich industrial history. Ashland Oil, begun in Catlettsburg and headquartered there until 1999, was the largest corporation based in Kentucky for decades. Ashland refines petroleum products and markets products through its SuperAmerica and Valvoline labels. Armco Steel employed over 4,000 persons there until its closure in the early 1990s. The Ashland and the adjacent mountain regions have been the two slowest growing during the last decade—in terms of jobs, payrolls, and population—among the eight regions considered here.

By contrast, the Northern Kentucky area, south of Cincinnati, has become the fastest-growing region in the state. The strong growth can be attributed to two factors, both transportation related. First, Interstate 75, which runs through the heart of the region, has become one of the biggest industrial corridors in the United States. The Cincinnati-Northern Kentucky area is centrally located for shipments of expensive consumer goods to all the major markets east of the Rocky Mountains. Thus, the area has boomed with distribution and manufacturing facilities. Second, Cincinnati has steadily expanded its international airport in Boone County, Kentucky. The airport has become a major hub for Delta Airlines. Interstate highway loops and bridges were built to connect workers, shoppers, and companies on both sides of the Ohio River. This has led to a spurt of home construction, office complexes, distribution centers, and large retail outlets in Northern Kentucky. Toyota chose Northern Kentucky for its North American headquarters. Fidelity Investments built a major processing office there. And in 1999, Ashland Oil moved its corporate headquarters from Ashland to Covington.

Northern Kentucky accounted for a large share of Kentucky’s population, industry, and tax base long before the more recent boom. Covington and Newport were major industrial and population centers in the nineteenth century. Covington was the second largest Kentucky city in 1850 and is the fourth largest today, with 42,000 residents. Early in the twentieth century, the area thrived on river and rail traffic and boasted a large steel plant and a major brewery. Northern Kentucky’s many bridges across the Ohio River, its bisection by Interstate 75, and the growth in air traffic there have laid a competitive foundation for lucrative dis-
One enters the Louisville economic sphere about fifty miles west of Cincinnati. Indeed, Louisville's market for housing, shopping, health care, air travel, entertainment, and media now stretches fifty miles in every direction from the city's central business district. This region includes fifteen Kentucky counties containing over one million Kentucky residents. Louisville was first settled in 1778 as a natural outpost on the western frontier. The Falls of the Ohio, now largely covered by a controlled pool of water, is the only break in navigation in the 981-mile length of the Ohio River. Thus, early travelers and shippers were forced to disembark and portage around the dangerous falls. This led in the early 1800s to warehousing, transportation, insurance, banking, legal, and hospitality industries. The introduction of the steamboat accelerated Louisville's growth in the 1820s, and by 1830 it was the largest city in Kentucky—a position it has never relinquished. Rail access in the nineteenth century and three interstate highways in the twentieth century solidified Louisville's national position as a key manufacturing and distribution center. Louisville's industrial prowess has been fairly steady through the waves of technological change over one hundred and fifty years, hosting signature national firms in liquor distilling, tobacco processing, and the manufacture of automobiles, appliances, plastics, paints, and food products.

Fort Knox, the famed Army base between Louisville and Elizabethtown, continues to be an important economic driver in the region. The installation employs around 14,000 persons and accounts for over one-half billion dollars in payments annually to soldiers, civilian workers, and retirees around Fort Knox. Jefferson and Hardin counties are the two most popular retirement destinations in Kentucky for military personnel, the source for over $300 million in federal payments statewide annually.

In the early 1980s Louisville landed the site of United Parcel Service's promising new international air freight hub. Because of UPS, Louisville's airport was ranked tenth (of 635) in the world for air cargo shipments in 1998; and UPS was Kentucky's largest private employer (with 16,000 jobs) and taxpayer. The many shipment modes (water, rail, interstate highway, and air) for freight, combined with Louisville's central location, inexpensive energy,
and large labor force, has led to an economic resurgence. Just during the last decade, Louisville can point to major investments at the two Ford Motor plants and at General Electric's Appliance Park, an expanded airport, several thriving new industrial parks, an expanded convention center, a new football stadium, the largest riverboat casino in the world (nearby, in Indiana), a new minor league baseball stadium, a revived downtown, and a thriving real estate market. This is in sharp contrast to the economic news of the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the area lost 25,000 manufacturing jobs and the number of residents actually declined for several years.

The service sector has been the other significant source of jobs in the Louisville market during the last two decades. Health care and insurance firms, like Humana, Providian, Vencor, ResCare serve national markets and have become significant local employers. The downtown medical complex, hosting several hospitals, the University of Louisville medical school, and many research labs and clinics, has become a major regional provider of high end medical care and innovation. Louisville also claims a collection of headquarters of well-known retail food chain stores, including Tricon (parent company for KFC, Pizza Hut, and Taco Bell), Papa John's pizza, Rally's hamburgers, and Tumbleweed Mexican Food. Louisville's traditionally strong manufacturing and distribution base, combined with its recent success in some of the lucrative service industries, has given the region the highest earnings per job, per capita income, and wealth of any of the eight Kentucky regions considered here.

Down the Ohio River another one hundred miles, one arrives at a group of smaller though industrially important cities—Owensboro (population 54,000) and Henderson (population 26,000) in Kentucky, and Evansville, Indiana (population 129,000). The area is tied together by the Ohio River, a limited access highway system, and strong industrial linkages. Several major aluminum production plants are there along the river, attracted by the inexpensive electricity, barge shipping, and nearby manufacturing operations that use aluminum products. There is also a new steel plant across the river near Tell City, Indiana, and a large paper mill near Hawesville, Kentucky. This part of Kentucky is also an important agricultural region, accounting for nearly one-half
Table 11.3. Largest Corporations Headquartered in Kentucky

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fortune 500 Ranking</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>1999 Revenues (billions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Humana</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>$9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Tricon</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>$8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>Ashland</td>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>$6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>LGE Energy</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>$5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464</td>
<td>Vencor</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>$3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>486</td>
<td>Lexmark</td>
<td>Lexington</td>
<td>$3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Fortune Magazine

Of Kentucky's corn, soybean, and wheat production annually. Coal is also mined in the area, and accounts for over 4,000 jobs. In fact, the first coal mine in Kentucky opened near Paradise, in Muhlenberg County, in 1820. The western Kentucky coal has lower energy content and higher sulfur per ton than its eastern Kentucky counterpart, but the seams are more accessible and it is easier to get the coal from mine to market using the nearby Green and Ohio rivers. Nevertheless, production is down one-third and employment is down by more than one-half from coal's peak in the mid-1970s.

The westernmost area of Kentucky is called the Purchase region, named after the 1819 Jackson Purchase from the Chickasaw Indian Nation of 6,000 square miles of Tennessee and Kentucky land east of the Mississippi River. The landscape is primarily a flat, delta-type terrain. Paducah is easily the largest city in the area with around 27,000 residents; and it is the retail, health care, and media center for perhaps twelve Kentucky counties. The Paducah uranium enrichment plant is the region's largest single employer with 1,800 jobs. Interstate 24 now links the region to St. Louis and Nashville, and the Purchase Parkway provides good access to Memphis. Adjacent to the Purchase region are two of the largest manmade lakes in the United States—Kentucky Lake and Lake Barkley. The lake area, formed by massive dams on the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers just before they drain into the Ohio River, is the largest outdoor recreational spot and retirement lure in the state. The nearby Calvert City area has a major concentration of
chemical and metal manufacturing plants, with nearly 3,000 combined employees. Murray State University, to the south near the Tennessee border, is the largest institution of higher learning in the region, with around 7,000 students.

The south central area along and to the north of Kentucky's border with Tennessee is characterized by rolling farmland, small towns, and diverse manufacturing. There are twenty-two Kentucky counties between Lake Barkley on the west and Lake Cumberland on the east. Over one-half million residents live in this region, though because of its large expanse has the lowest population density of the eight considered here. The largest cities are Bowling Green and Hopkinsville, with population of 45,000 and 32,000, respectively. The Army installation at Fort Campbell straddles the state line with Tennessee, but has its post office on the Kentucky side. Fort Campbell is the largest military operation around Kentucky, with soldier, civilian, and retiree payments of around $1 billion annually, as well as about $200 million in contracts with local businesses. Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green, with 15,000 students and a large payroll, is another key economic engine in the region. Farming remains an important industry in this

Population and Income: Kentucky's Share of United States, 1997

Figure 11.3

High Concentration Industries: Earnings by Workers and Proprietors.

![Bar chart showing earnings by industry categories.]

Figure 11.4


part of the state as well, with three (Logan, Christian, and Todd) of Kentucky's top ten counties in terms of agricultural cash receipts. Major manufacturing operations include Logan Aluminum in Russellville and the GM Corvette plant in Bowling Green.

The southern part of Kentucky is dotted with high quality natural and manmade outdoor amenities. Mammoth Cave, Kentucky's only national park, is the most popular tourist attraction in the state. The massive Cumberland Falls has been a tourist attraction for more than a century. The Army Corps of Engineers built large reservoirs in the region after World War II, including Barren River Lake, Dale Hollow Lake, Green River Lake, Lake Cumberland, Laurel River Lake, and Nolin River Lake. Kentucky state government built parks, lodges, marinas, and golf
courses around the lakes, as a draw for tourists but also as facilities for local residents. The Lake Cumberland area, in particular, has boomed as a fishing, boating, and retirement destination. The latest addition to the region’s natural draws is the the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, 100,000 acres of Kentucky and Tennessee set aside as a wilderness area by the federal government in 1974.

The reader is probably now aware how much of Kentucky’s economic activity is along its border with other states. Indeed, Kentucky’s forty-nine border counties account for 62 percent of the payrolls and 56 percent of the population in the state. Six of Kentucky’s seven metropolitan areas either include counties in other states or border other states. As many as one in three Kentuckians receive their television broadcast from a nearby large city in an adjacent state, use an out-of-state airport, or regularly shop for major purchases in a nearby non-Kentucky city. The interstate highway system has made Kentuckians more intertwined on a daily basis with our neighbors in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, and West Virginia. And, of course, our neighbors are equally intertwined with us.

**Kentucky from a National Perspective**

Despite the strong economic growth in Kentucky during the last decade of the twentieth century, the state remains less affluent than most other states. Kentucky has 3.9 million residents, about 1.5 percent of the U.S. population. But Kentucky only accounts for 1.2 percent of wages and salaries paid nationally, and Kentuckians receive only around 1 percent of wealth-related income in the United States. By contrast, Kentuckians receive about 1.5 percent of transfer payments nationally. Transfer payments refer to payments and benefits received by residents for which no labor or risk is required of recipients. These include social security benefits, Medicare and Medicaid benefits, unemployment compensation, workers’ compensation for injuries, and the like. Because of the relatively low amount of wages, salaries, and wealth of Kentuck-
rians, the state’s per capita income is 81.3 percent of that for the U.S. as a whole.

While most industrial activities have a presence in Kentucky, some stand out because of their special prominence in the state, while others are noticeably missing. Kentucky industries stand out nationally and some internationally in coal mining, tobacco production, automobile and truck production, apparel manufacturing, air transportation, aluminum production, and military activity. Because of its inland midwestern location, Kentucky has little economic activity in industries like seafood, citrus fruit, marine trade, and snow skiing. However, Kentucky also has a relatively low concentration of activity in industries where location is not such a factor, e.g., engineering firms, management consulting, hotels and
entertainment, television and movie production, financial brokers, and manufacturing of scientific instruments.

Six Fortune 500 firms were headquartered in Kentucky, as of 1999. Four of these—Humana, Tricon, LGE Energy, and Vencor, are based in Louisville. Humana’s prime business is managing health maintenance organizations, and it had nearly $10 billion in sales that year. Tricon is the parent company for KFC, Pizza Hut, and Taco Bell franchises around the world. Ashland, in Covington, is an oil refiner and retailer of petroleum products. LGE Energy is the parent company for Louisville Gas and Electric Company and Kentucky Utilities, as well as several other large energy ventures around the United States. Vencor though in some financial flux is the largest owner and manager of long-term care facilities for ventilation-dependent adults and children in the United States. And Lexmark, International manufactures a line of computer printers.

This brief survey only hints at the rich and interesting economic landscape around Kentucky. Each town has its own stories of industrial successes and failures. Books have been written on many of Kentucky’s most famous enterprises. Hopefully, this sampling will stimulate you to learn more about your community, about what generates the dollars that put groceries on your table as well as your own commercial options around the state.

Answers: (a) the GM plant in Bowling Green; (b) Ford Plant in Louisville; (c) Toyota Camry plant at Georgetown; (d) UPS Hub 2000 under construction at Louisville’s airport; (e) Kentucky is second only to the state of Washington—where hydroelectric plants abound; (f) Tricon (KFC, Pizza Hut, Taco Bell) in Louisville; (g) Kentucky has 529 coal mines, 30 percent of the U.S. total; (h) Mammoth Cave; (i) near Lexington.
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 one of only two states (New Jersey is the other) 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 trust-
ees. 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.

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 in 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, regardless 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.

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 favor-
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 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 housekeeper 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

ite 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 per-

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 recoding 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.
mitted 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.

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, the Kentucky State Senate elected Emma Guy Cromwell of Allen County state librarian; she was the first woman in the commonwealth to hold a statewide office. All of these officeholders were white women. Records do 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.

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 light-
ning. 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 Associa-
Celebrating Suffrage

The following version 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 on 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.


...tion 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.

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 an-
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

---

*Figure 12.4 Cora Wilson Stewart set up “moonlight schools” for adults who desired further education (University of Kentucky, Special Collections).*
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 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 1998, “Mrs. Breckinridge’s nurses” had served over 335,000 registered patients and delivered 24,546 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 deserving children. Her efforts in the Floyd County Save Our Kentucky organization exerted enough pressure to stop strip miners from mining hillsides above area homes.

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. Soon after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Frankfort elected women to its city council, and a few years later Louisville selected its first woman alderman. At the state level, Mary E. Flanery of Catlettsburg took her seat in the Kentucky House in 1922; Caroline Conn Moore of Franklin became the first woman senator, in 1950. Emma Guy Cromwell was the first woman to hold a constitutional office in the executive branch when she won election as secretary of state in 1923. At the national level Katherine G. Langley of Pikeville became Kentucky's first female member of Congress in 1927.

Other indications of success can be found in the post-WW II legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Kentucky government. In 1967, Georgia M. Powers was the first female Afro-American to be elected to the state Senate, and Mae Street Kidd
had the same distinction in the House. In 1975 Thelma Stovall took the oath as the commonwealth's first female lieutenant governor, and in 1983 Martha Layne Collins became governor of Kentucky. Some ten years later voters elected Janet Stumbo to the Kentucky Supreme Court; she followed Sara Combs, the first woman to serve there.

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.

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 through the twenty-first century. Thus the struggle and the work of women reformers go on.
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. Bitter feelings remained after the war, making compromise difficult and violence more likely. Truly, the victors in the war lost the peace.

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 con-
trol 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 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 by 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. In 1880, a contract system replaced the convict lease system by allowing private contractors to bid for the right to use convict labor outside the penitentiaries. 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. In 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 of northern Kentucky, 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.

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 the riotous nine-day Music Hall 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 issuing free railroad passes and placing key politicians on the L & N payroll. The campaign was bitter, and election day was marked by voter fraud. The Board of Election Commissioners, thought to be under Goebel’s control, declared Taylor 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. Although several people served prison terms for the assassination, the identity of the actual murderer remains a mystery.

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 and added to the stereotype of Kentucky as a violent place. 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.
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 as mayor had won 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 passage of the 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. Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, political bosses formed a so-called "invisible government" that directed state policy through behind-the-scenes deals.

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
Letters from a President

During World War I the Kentucky legislature passed a bill prohibiting the teaching of German in public schools, but Governor A.O. Stanley vetoed it.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10 October, 1916.

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, not 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,

[Signature]

Hon. Polk Lafoon,
Kenton County National Defense,
Covington, Kentucky.

Source: University of Kentucky, Special Collections.

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 bills 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. They also enacted laws creating a commission to select textbooks, a state highway department, and a department of state banking.
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,

Woodrow Wilson

Hon. Augustus O. Stanley,
Governor of Kentucky,
Frankfort, Kentucky.

Source: University of Kentucky, Special Collections.

Democrat Augustus Owsley Stanley, a six-term congressman from Henderson and one of Kentucky's outstanding orators, 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 col-
orful campaigns in the state’s history. The two called for similar reforms, but Morrow advocated a “general housecleaning” in Frankfort and emphasized his longtime 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 liquor. 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 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 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 of Paducah 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, known as “Honest Bill from Olive Hill,” 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 Democrats endorsed the Republican nominee, Flem D. Sampson of Barbourville. 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.

Figure 13.7 Gov. Edwin Morrow signs Kentucky's bill ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment as members of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association look on. Madeline McDowell Breckinridge (second from right) stands behind Morrow (Kentucky Historical Society).

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.

Figure 13.8 Congressman John M. Robson (left) and Governor Flem D. Sampson survey the possibilities at Cumberland Falls, 10 October 1929 (Kentucky Historical Society).
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 the victims of violence. In 1904 the Day law specifically prohibited integrated schools. 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. The image of Kentucky as a place of violence that was forged in the late-nineteenth century seemed impossible to escape in the twentieth.

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.
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**

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 houseful 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 Ken-
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 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 rea-
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 works 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 east-
ern 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 north-eastern 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 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.

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
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 of the pupils of 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

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. Willie Snow Ethridge (1900—1982), author of biographies, memoirs, and novels, was born in Macon, Georgia, but lived in Louisville for twenty-eight years with husband Mark Ethridge, an executive with The Courier-Journal, writing such Kentucky books as I’ll Sing One Song (1941), a comic portrayal of life in her adopted state. James Still 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 No 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

---

**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
reputation. *The Seven-Storey Mountain* (1948) is the story of his religious conversion and decision to become a 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.

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 (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 neph-
ews 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.

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 spent most of her life in Connecticut, where she wrote 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.” She died in 1995.

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

---

**From “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 lead 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
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 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. In 1999 she published Clear Springs, a memoir of three generations of her family in Graves County.

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."

A native of Bellevue in northern Kentucky, artist and naturalist Harlan Hubbard (1900–1988) lived with his wife, Anna, in an almost inaccessible area on the Ohio River near Milton in Trimble County for more than thirty-five years. In his remote home, without such conveniences as electricity and plumbing, he wrote hauntingly beautiful poetry and memoirs of "life on the fringe of society," including Shantyboat (1953) and Payne Hollow (1973).

The 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. One of Eastern Kentucky's younger voices is Chris Offutt (born in 1958), a native of Rowan County and author of short stories, Kentucky Straight (1992); a memoir, The Same River Twice (1993); and a novel, The Good Brother (1997). The winner of several important literary prizes, including a Guggenheim Fellowship, Offutt has been called by one critic "the outstanding Kentucky-born writer of his generation."

Central Kentucky authors include novelist Gayl Jones, poet Eve Spears, novelists Martha Bennet Stiles and David Dick, 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. A member of the younger generation of Kentucky writers is Fenton Johnson, a native of New Haven, author of several novels and a memoir, *Geography of the Heart* (1996).

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. Another Louisville writer is Michael Dorris, who, before his death by suicide in 1997 at the age of fifty-two, had achieved considerable success as the author of fiction and nonfiction, including *A Yellow Raft in Blue Water* (1987), a novel of contemporary Native American life (Dorris was part American Indian), and *The Broken Cord* (1989), the story of his adopted son's struggle with fetal alcohol syndrome. Sena Naslund, who teaches at the University of Louisville, is author of short stories and novels, including *Ahab's Wife* (1999), which she describes as a "feminist redemption" of the all-male world of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*.

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 poet Joy Bale Boone of Elkton make their homes in that region. The late Jim Wayne Miller lived in Bowling Green. 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 rich legacy from the past.

Joseph Bolton (1961–1990) was a poet of great promise and considerable achievement before his suicide at the age of twenty-eight. A native of Cadiz, he wrote poems of great beauty and despair. There is nothing, he said, “That is not beautiful or that will last.” His poetry is filled with restless moods and “places haunted/Now with whatever it was we left there/To find whatever it was we wanted.”

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, its rich culture, and its talented writers have produced an impressive literature.
Performing Arts

Robert Bruce French and
Lori Meadows

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. The town also boasted teachers for dancing and fencing. Pianos were built there as early as 1805 by Joseph Green, who advertised that his pianos would hold up in Kentucky’s climate. A piano made in 1824 by William Thompson stands today in the Mary Todd Lincoln House.

The Beethoven of America

In 1817, an important musical event took place in Lexington. Anthony Philip Heinrich, an immigrant of German-Bohemian parentage, walked from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, took a boat down the Ohio River to Limestone (Maysville), and journeyed overland to Lexington. 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 included Beethoven’s First Symphony and instrumental and vocal music by Mozart, Viotti, Pleyel, Haydn. 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; he commemorated the experience by writing a song called “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 composed his Opus 1, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*. Of his orchestral works, nine described Native American life. He was considered America’s first professional composer, and critics called 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 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. An introductory section explained the rudiments and notation of music, using letters on the staff instead of notes; the balance of the book contained sacred music. In 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, who settled in Fleming County in 1794. He traveled throughout Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio for almost forty years, teaching short-term singing schools. One of the most popular tunebooks used by 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.

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.

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, or 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 to 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. “Gifts” of songs and messages were received through visions, and some songs were received from Native American, African 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 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 of the time 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. Luke Usher's New Theatre opened in Lexington in 1808, and by 1810 a theater circuit included Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville. In 1815, Samuel Drake brought his company of performers to Frankfort from Albany, New York, and founded a theatrical empire that dominated the southern United States for years.

In the twentieth century, the number of amateur and professional theaters increased. 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 and the Little Theater and the Carriage House Players in Louisville all gave productions of real merit. Actors Theatre of Louisville (ATL), a professional theatre, was founded in 1963 and in 1974 was designated the state theater of Kentucky. ATL has received international acclaim for its production of new plays. The annual Humana Festival of New American Plays has produced several works that have received major awards or have been produced on Broadway. Stage One: The Children's Theatre and Walden Theatre are located in Louisville, and Lexington boasts the Actors' Guild of Lexington and the Lexington Children's Theatre. In Bowling Green, the Public Theatre of Kentucky performs locally and presents plays for young audiences in rural areas throughout the state. Horse Cave Theater presents an annual series of
contemporary, classic, and new plays. Many of these companies and groups tour as well as perform in their home location. Summer productions throughout the commonwealth include *The Floyd Collins Story* in Brownsville, *The Legend of Daniel Boone* in Harrodsburg, and *The Stephen Foster Story* in Bardstown.

**Theaters and Performing Arts Centers**

Since 1973, a number of theaters and performing arts centers have been built or renovated in Kentucky. Centers are located in Bowling Green, Danville, Lexington, Louisville, Madisonville, Owensboro, Prestonsburg, Ashland, and Somerset, and they present everything from community theater to local, regional, nationally and internationally acclaimed performers, and Broadway shows. They provide a means to showcase local performers and bring the arts to the community.

**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. During that period many of 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 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 the tunes. Many ballads which originated in the British Isles, have been passed along from generation to generation and are kept alive today through performances, recordings, and annual festivals. The early Scotch and English ballads and tunes were performed alongside influences from African and European cultures, creating new musical traditions and styles that were community driven. Kentucky folk music is performed throughout the state in churches, on stages, in barber shops and bars, in homes and in theaters, and includes variations of gospel, jazz, country and blues styles.

An example of this community based music is found in the thumbpicking tradition of western Kentucky, made famous by country music star Merle Travis. Originated by Arnold Schultz, an African American musician born in the coal fields, this complex style of playing has become a tradition in the Muhlenberg and Ohio County area. Today, Chet Atkins, Eddie Pennington, and Mose Rager among others, carry on the tradition.

The Kentucky Folklife Festival, coordinated by the Kentucky Folklife Program celebrates the many community and cultural traditions of the commonwealth, including music, dance, and storytelling. The Folklife Program, an inter-agency program of the Kentucky Arts Council and the Kentucky Historical Society, documents, interprets and presents Kentucky folk music and traditions.

**Country 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 internationally known perform-
ers. Conceived by radio program director John Lair as a way to preserve the local traditional country music, the Renfro Valley Barn Dance began in 1939 in Rockcastle County. The show was first broadcast on radio station WLW out of Cincinnati and was later picked up by Louisville station WHAS and broadcast to a national audience. In addition to the on-site live show and the radio broadcasts, Lair promoted and organized tours throughout the south for the performers. Many country performers of national acclaim began their career on the Renfro Valley stage. Today, many communities host local "oprys," or country music shows, which also include bluegrass and gospel music.

U.S. Highway 23, which runs through eastern Kentucky from Greenup to Letcher County, has been designated the "Country Music Highway" by the Kentucky Tourism Cabinet. More country music stars—including Billy Ray Cyrus, Naomi and Wynonna Judd, Tom T. Hall, Keith Whitley, Ricky Skaggs, Crystal Gayle, Loretta Lynn, Dwight Yokum, Patty Loveless, and Hylo Brown—have come from this region than from any other area of the United States. Many of these artists have had little formal training; nevertheless, their music appeals to a wide audience.

Bluegrass Music

Bluegrass music is a distinctive Kentucky form that grew out of the country music performed by Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys at 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, dobro, and string bass. Monroe showcased these instruments and combined traditional ballads with gospel, jazz, and African American–influenced blues to create the distinct style of bluegrass music. Known as the "Father of Bluegrass Music," Monroe composed and performed hundreds of tunes, including "Blue Moon of Kentucky," Kentucky-born bluegrass performers include Bill and Charles Monroe, both born in Rosine, 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 performances. Today, the Festival of the Bluegrass is held in Lexington annually, and Bluegrass festivals and celebrations abound throughout Kentucky. The International Bluegrass Music Association and Bluegrass Music Museum are located in Owensboro near Bill Monroe’s birthplace.

Performing Arts Groups

Louisville Orchestra, the oldest professional orchestra in Kentucky, was formed in 1937 as 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. These groups present many subscription, pop, and children’s programs each year.

In addition to its professional symphonies, Kentucky also has 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 Orches-
tra. 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 organiza-
tions 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. Many
organizations have contributed to the performing arts over the
years. Major groups in Louisville include the Louisville Bach So-
ciety (1964), the Chamber Music Society (1938), and the Jewish
Community Center Orchestra (1916), Kentucky's oldest sym-
phonic group. Based in Lexington are the Opera of Central Ken-
tucky (1990), and the Chamber Music Society of Central
Kentucky (1963). Dance companies include Louisville Ballet, the
modern company Art! Art! Barking Dog, Ballet Theater of Lex-
ington, Ballet Espanol, and the Lexington Ballet. Today Ken-
tuckians take pride in their fine performing groups and in their
unique cultural heritage.

Famous Kentuckians

Kentucky has produced a wide variety of native musicians, actors,
choreographers, playwrights and composers 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 rewrit-
ten and copyrighted in 1935 to become the world's most popular
song, "Happy Birthday to You." Baritone Robert Todd Duncan cre-
ated the role of Porgy in Gershwin's Porgy and Bess in 1935. Chor-
al director David L. Davies organized the Harlan Boys Choir in
1966 and made it into an internationally recognized group. Pia-
nist Lee Luvisi, upon graduating from Philadelphia's Curtis Insti-
tute 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. Playwright Marsha Norman, who received a Pulitzer Prize in 1983 for *night Mother*, first produces many of her works in Louisville, often at Actors Theatre. Well known performers with ties to Kentucky include Mary Anderson, Florence Henderson, Patricia Neal, James Varney, George Clooney, and Gregory Turay, who is rapidly establishing a national reputation as an operatic tenor.

Summary

When Kentucky became a commonwealth 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.

Today, performing arts centers, theaters, and performing artists, ensembles and companies are located throughout the commonwealth. Festivals such as the Kentucky Folklife Festival in Frankfort, the Master Musicians Festival in Somerset, Kentucky Music Weekend in Louisville, the All Night Gospel Sing in Renfro Valley, the Kentucky Highlands Folk Festival in Prestonsburg, and the Kentucky State Championship Old Time Fiddlers Contest in Falls of the Rough attest to the great talent and interest in performing arts found in Kentucky.
All people create art. Every time we take pleasure in the form and beauty of something we make and feel pride in our skill and technique, we are artists. We often think of art as set aside from ordinary life, something to be framed in a gallery. But art also exists in our everyday life. This art of the everyday is called folk art.

Many forms of folk art can be described as “traditional”—that is, they are learned informally, passed on from friends, neighbors, or community members. Many traditions are quite old, but something does not have to be old to be folk art. Nor is folk art confined to certain regions or people. Eastern Kentucky does not have more folk art than western Kentucky. Folk art is found in Kentucky’s cities as well as its rural areas, among its young as well as its old people. It is made by the Commonwealth’s recent immigrants as well as by individuals whose families have lived in Kentucky for generations.

Too often folk art is described as “untrained” or “self-taught.” A folk artist may not go to art school, but he or she does receive training, often in the form of an informal apprenticeship. The training of a folk artist may be as simple as watching a family member sew a quilt and then learning by doing. Folk artists are not unskilled. Many folk artists have spent years perfecting their technique or are uniquely gifted. To call something folk art does not mean that anyone can do it.

Many people distinguish between folk arts and craft. Craft, according to some, is the ability to produce an item primarily functional in intent—an item made to be used. To create something
that is functional but is also a work of beauty, however, is an art unto itself. In truth, many, though not all, of Kentucky's folk arts are functional, at least in their original purpose. Increasingly, functional folk arts are appreciated for their beauty rather than their use. An oak basket or a dough tray may be put on a shelf to be admired rather than used to gather eggs or make bread. Often these shifts in use have acted to preserve folk art traditions, even as they change their very nature.

Kentucky is rich in the folk art traditions commonly associated with the rural American South, including basketry, quilting, and carving. While these arts are often thought of as reflecting the Anglo-American background of Kentucky's early white settlers, the Commonwealth's folk art tradition is, in truth, multi-ethnic. The basketry tradition draws from Native American as well as European heritage. The making of pottery, Appalachian dulcimers, and Kentucky rifles owes much to Pennsylvania German tradition. And early African Americans in Kentucky applied west African color and design preferences to the European quilting tradition.

The Arts of Kentucky’s Shakers

Some folk art traditions were shaped not by ethnic or regional affiliation but by religious association. Among the distinctive craft traditions of Kentucky are those of the two Shaker communities. The Shaker religion, known properly as the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, came to America from England in 1774 and spread across the northeast section of the United States. The two Kentucky communities, Pleasant Hill and South Union, founded in the early 1800s, represent the southern and westernmost extent of the Shaker’s permanent settlement in America.

The philosophy of the Shakers stressed simplicity, order, neatness, function, and perfection. Adults who converted to the religion adopted strict religious guidelines for their lives but did not give up all they had learned prior to joining. Therefore the material culture of the Kentucky Shakers was shaped by regional traditions as well as Shaker philosophy.
The Shakers are now perhaps best known for their furniture production. They did not believe in elaborate ornamentation but instead lavished their attention on craftsmanship and design. Not all Shaker furniture is alike, however. Individuals who joined the Kentucky communities brought distinctive southern traditions into Shaker furniture production. Hence the furniture produced at Pleasant Hill and South Union were both “Shaker” and “southern” in nature.

The Shakers in Kentucky shared another tradition with their non-Shaker neighbors—the production of functional baskets. Unlike the Shakers in the northeast, who made their baskets from ash, Kentucky Shakers, similar to their neighbors, used white oak. Shaker baskets show the careful attention to detail and craftsmanship that is found in other Shaker crafts. Larger Shaker baskets were used to harvest apples and for other field work, while smaller baskets were used inside. Although Shakers produced baskets for their own use, they were also sold to the “world’s people.”

The Kentucky and Ohio communities were the only Shaker societies with the climate necessary for raising silk worms. In fact, Shakers were among the first people in United States to commercially produce silk. Shakers spun silk and wove beautiful iridescent-colored kerchiefs, an enormously labor intensive task. Frequently these beautiful kerchiefs were given as gifts to Shaker brothers and sisters from other communities.

Kentucky Shakers are no more. Pleasant Hill and South Union closed in the early decades of this century. Both communities are now museums where Shaker art and architecture can be appreciated. Shaker art is now very popular and very expensive to own. A number of contemporary Kentucky craftspeople produce reproductions of Shaker designs.
These include furniture makers in a Kentucky Mennonite community who produce pieces from a Shaker design book with horse-powered woodworking tools.

Survival and Revival

The oldest craft traditions in Kentucky are probably basketry and pottery. Native Americans were making baskets and pots thousands of years before the arrival of European American settlers. Other traditions of considerable antiquity were brought from Europe and Africa. All traditions, however, change with time. Sometimes they are “revived” by influences outside the tradition focused on preserving, encouraging, or marketing folk art.

Notable among the craft revivals in Kentucky were those encouraged by charitable efforts in the mountains in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the late nineteenth century, Berea College, under the presidency of William Goodell Frost, began to promote weaving and other crafts as part of its fund raising and efforts to help the local population. In 1902 Berea established Fireside Industries as part of its industrial education program. Berea also trained a number of craft teachers who would go on to work at other schools and settlements in the mountains. The Hindman Settlement School, founded in 1902, and the Pine Mountain Settlement School, established nine years later, also created fireside industry programs to both teach manual skills and generate income. During the 1930s, various agencies of the New Deal, including the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Works Progress Administration, also became involved in marketing Appalachian crafts.

It is now recognized that these programs changed as much as they preserved folk craft traditions. At Berea, weaving teacher Anna Ernberg introduced Swedish designs and Swedish looms to local people. Hindman promoted the making and selling of dulcimers, elevating a relatively uncommon instrument to the status of “the Appalachian instrument.” In an effort to help local economies, all the fireside industry programs encouraged local craftspeople to make items that would sell well to customers out-
side the region even if the practice encouraged changes that were not traditional. In some cases innovations were introduced by local craftpersons. At Hindman, noted basketmaker Aunt Cord Ritchie introduced the making of willow baskets, a skill that she had taught herself.

Nationwide crafts revivals also affected Kentucky folk art traditions. The national quilting revival, encouraged by interest in colonial America during the 1920s, homogenized regional quilting traditions and led to a national preference for pastel colors and patterns such as Grandmother's Flower Garden, Dresden Plate, and Double Wedding Ring. While many Kentucky quilters still learned from tradition, quilt patterns became available from mail order catalogs and magazines.

During the 1960s and 1970s, quilting again became part of a nationwide revival, and many Kentuckians were newly inspired to take up the craft. During the administration of Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown Jr. (1979–83), First Lady Phyllis George Brown promoted an interest in Kentucky crafts and found outlets for their sale at places such as the New York department store, Bloomingdales. Recent revivals have also created a market for
highly individualistic, nonfunctional art such as sculpture and painting, which has been represented as Kentucky folk art.

Changes in Function and Production

The oldest crafts in Kentucky have survived because they have found new audiences and new functions. As noted, sometimes the crafts changed under the influence of outside revivals. However, changes also came from the craft producers themselves.

Over two centuries ago, white settlers brought European basket-making techniques to the upper South, where they influenced and were influenced by Native American traditions. Throughout Kentucky, white oak became the preferred material for most functional baskets. Rounded baskets were made of thin splits woven on a foundation of curved ribs. Simpler baskets were made from interweaving splits.

During the 1800s and early 1900s, some basket makers sold their wares, and others produced them for home use. Baskets were sometimes used as barter in local stores, and middlemen peddled them throughout the countryside, often traveling long distances with wagons piled high with handmade goods. These baskets were

Figure 16.3 Edith Ponder and Edna Green of London, Kentucky, in Laurel County, demonstrate quilting at the Sue Bennett Folk Festival. (Photo by Bob Gates.)
primarily functional rather than decorative. One Kentucky basket maker still remembers that his family would leave farm baskets in the field to rot because it was such a simple process to make new baskets each season.

During the early twentieth century, cheaply made commercial baskets became common, and many thought it was no longer worthwhile to make or buy handmade baskets. Some basket makers, however, found new markets. The fireside industries in Appalachia began to market baskets as decorative items to people outside the region. Eventually an even more successful outlet was found in central Kentucky. During the 1920s, as automobiles became common, more and more tourists began to visit the cave area. A number of basket makers started to sell handmade baskets to tourists who wanted to an inexpensive souvenir of their visit to the region. Thus an ancient craft was sustained by the advent of automobile tourism.

Eventually the interstate highway system bypassed rural communities and made the traditional method of peddling baskets along the highway unprofitable. Basket makers, many of whom were farmers or had other occupations, gave up the practice of making baskets to sell. However, when Phyllis George Brown began promoting Kentucky crafts, some basket makers again were motivated to create white oak baskets. Unlike the often roughly made baskets used for farm work or the quickly made baskets sold as souvenirs, these baskets became increasingly refined and decorative.

Among the best known traditional basket makers from the cave area are Lestel and Ollie Childress of Park City. Both came from basket making families. Lestel made his first basket when he was eight and sold it for a dime. The Childresses gave up basket making after Interstate 65 was built, but they returned to it in the 1980s. In 1998, they won the Sarah Gertrude Knott Award at the Kentucky Folklife Festival for preserving their craft tradition.

The handmade pottery tradition has also been preserved in Kentucky, although on a much smaller scale than the basket-making tradition. Clay deposits along the Kentucky River near Richmond have been mined by potters since the late 1700s. During the early nineteenth century, several families of German and Dutch descent settled nearby and established potteries. Among them was
the Cornelison family, whose ancestors had emigrated from Holland in 1647. By 1845 they had a thriving pottery business at the site of the present day Bybee Pottery, now run by the fifth and sixth generations of Cornelissons to operate a pottery at that site. Bybee is possibly the oldest existing pottery west of the Alleghenies.

Suitable clay for pottery was also found along the Ohio River. Among the notable potters along this river was James Miller, who learned his craft in Strasburg, Virginia. In the late 1830s Miller emigrated west and a few years later set up a pottery at Brandenburg in Meade County, Kentucky. During the nineteenth century, James Miller and the Cornelison family, like potters throughout the south, produced practical pottery used primarily for the preparation and preservation of food and drink. Miller made crocks, jars, churns, and jugs of salt-glazed stoneware, which were typical of the folk pottery of the time. What was distinctive about his wares were the artistic blue cobalt designs that decorated his
functional pieces. Unlike some potters, Miller did not expand his pottery, and he remained the primary craftsman in his shop. The business was destroyed by fire in 1884, and Miller spent the final decade of his life as a storekeeper and postmaster.

By the early twentieth century, the market for the jugs, crocks, and churns declined as cheaper mass-produced glass and china became available and as fewer people raised their own food. Many southern potteries went out of business. Others survived by marketing flower pots or by making decorative dinnerware. As early as 1915, the Cornelisons began producing brightly glazed gardenware. In the 1940s, they added a line of dinnerware and gradually discontinued the gardenware. The simple dinnerware, glazed in distinctive colors, is now the hallmark of the Bybee Pottery.

Artistic Recycling

A characteristic of much, if not all, folk art is that it is made from materials close at hand. Making “something from nothing” is an ability highly prized among most folk artists. Many forms of folk art involve recycling. Recycling is usually thought to be motivated by economy or, today, by environmentalism. Some forms of recycling, however, have an artistic dimension. To make a thing of beauty from materials or objects that would be thrown away gives us pleasure.

Quilting is one of the best known forms of artistic recycling in folk art. Patchwork quilts are often cherished because family memories are evoked by the patches of material. This was the fabric used to sew the dress mother wore on the first day of school.
is the material used for grandmother’s favorite apron. Looking at a quilt can be an occasion for family storytelling.

Ruby Haynes Caudill, born in 1917 in Gander (now Carcassonne), remembers: “We bought feed, some what we didn’t raise for the stock, and it came in bags made of fabric and [Mom] used those to make quilts out of. I have one of them yet that she made from feed sacks that she quilted in fans. When clothing would wear out, if there were good pieces in the back or shirt tails, or whatever, she would save that and tear it into squares and set it into quilt tops and make quilts out of them” (interview with Beverly Caudill, 30 September 1998).

Cloth flour sacks were also used to make quilts. Quilters would take the bags apart and dye them with homemade or storebought dyes. By the 1930s, the time of the Great Depression, flour companies were acknowledging this use by including instructions on how to remove the lettering printed on the sacks and by marketing flour in sacks colored with pretty pastels. The interior filling of quilts was also often made of recycled material. Until commercial batting became inexpensive, rags were often unraveled to make batting.

Not all quilts, of course, use recycled materials. Even in the nineteenth century, the fanciest quilts were made from fabric bought just for that purpose. And some forms of quilts made of recycled material were less decorative. During the last century, the most functional quilts were made of coarse fabric sewn in simple squares or strips. These quilts were not preserved by families or museums as readily as fancier quilts. Generally this type of quilting died out when cheaply made blankets became widely available. Ruby Caudill, who was interviewed in 1998, remembers that when the process became more economical than quilting, her family would shear their sheep and send the wool to Louisville, where a company would make blankets for them.

Material for quilts was recycled from industrial sources as well. In Bowling Green, Kentucky, women who worked at the Derby plant brought home scraps of materials to make quilts or gave the scraps to family members or neighbors who were quilters. So, during the mid-twentieth century many quilts in the area around Bowling Green were made from scraps of fabrics used to sew men’s boxer shorts.
Rag rug weaving is another form of artistic recycling. Rags are cut and sewn together and then woven on a cotton weft. Unlike the quilts, the original fabric is transformed into an abstract pattern of color, giving pleasure to the weaver, who is able to make a thing of beauty from material that might otherwise have been tossed out. Pauline Proffit of Paint Lick continues to weave rugs on the old loom purchased by her grandfather. One of her most popular designs is made from old blue jeans. She devised this form of rug in response to her customers’ demands for rugs colored “Williamsburg blue.”

Other more contemporary forms of artistic recycling are found throughout the commonwealth. An old tire cut open to look like a flower and painted white becomes a planter. Soft drink bottles become bird feeders, and bleach bottles are transformed into whirligigs. On a more individualistic level, old tools and machine parts become transformed into fantastic animals or human figures. A former tobacco farmer fashioned a rocking chair from tobacco sticks. All these forms of artistic recycling demonstrate frugality combined with creativity, humor, and the power of human memory.

**Art of the Individual**

Folk art is usually a product of community tradition, or it expresses a community’s sense of values and beauty. Community tradition and individuality are not mutually exclusive, however, and some highly unusual or individualistic creations are also labeled as folk art. Sometimes an artist trained in a tradition will take that tradition in an unusual direction or an individual artist will create a tradition that is adopted by the community.
One of the best known chair makers from Kentucky was Chester Cornett (1913–1981) of Perry County. Cornett learned chair making in a traditional way, from his grandfather and other family members. At a time when many chair makers in southeastern Kentucky were adopting methods to turn out chairs cheaper and faster using machine tools, Cornett clung to the old hand made techniques of chair making. Although Cornett lavished attention on traditional craftsmanship, he also broke from tradition, particularly later in his life, by experimenting with unusual decorations and forms. The chairs that Cornett is best known for producing were unusual to the point of eccentricity, chairs with extra legs, rocking chairs with bookshelves built in.

Later in his life, Cornett received attention from journalists, folklorists, and filmmakers. This modest amount of fame did little to ease the life of this troubled and often reclusive man, however. After his death, Cornett's chairs became museum pieces, a tribute to the art of a traditional craftsman who produced highly untraditional chairs.

Minnie Adkins of Elliott County has dealt more successfully with fame. As a child, Adkins was fascinated with knives and whittling. Although the craft was considered a male tradition, Adkins taught herself to carve. As an adult, Adkins decided to supplement her family’s income by selling her carvings. Eventually her whimsical painted animals caught on, attracting the attention of important collectors and galleries. Adkins’ late husband, Garland, also got in on the business of carving and creating marketable folk art. Despite some initial skepticism from family and neighbors, many have been inspired by Adkins’ success. Aided by the encouragement of Adkins herself, a new folk art tradition has been created, centered around her home in Pleasant Valley.

The success of certain carvers and painters, especially in eastern Kentucky, has been based in part on the fact that they have created an art that looks like popular conceptions of folk art, despite somewhat tenuous connections to traditional artistic forms. While many of these artists are uniquely creative and talented, their success comes as a result of the successful marketing of the idea of Appalachian folk art. Ironically, although this art is often highly individual and creative, it has the power to create new traditions inspired in part by the financial success of individual artists.
Art on the Landscape

In Kentucky, one can see folk art simply looking at the landscape through a car windshield. One of the oldest craft traditions in the commonwealth, dry stone masonry, can be found along many of the back roads of central Kentucky. During the late-eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, the abundance of limestone found in the Bluegrass provided a building material for mills, bridges, homes, and especially, rock fences.

European stone masonry traditions were brought to Kentucky by early white settlers from England, Ireland, and other countries. In Kentucky, the art of laying a stone wall without the use of mortar was also maintained by African American craftsmen. Many of the early stone buildings have disappeared from the landscape, but the stone walls, known locally as “rock fences,” still line the routes of older roads, though they are endangered by increased traffic and development.

Folk art is also found in the means by which people decorate their yards or tend their gardens or mow their fields. People manipulate the world of nature to create beauty, and they also enhance nature’s beauty with adornments made from a variety of manmade materials. Handmade whirligigs, mailboxes, and other lawn ornaments are found throughout the commonwealth.

Religious belief is also found in yard and roadside art. Among Catholics, this may take the form of lawn shrines. A upended recycled bathtub is sometimes used to surround a statue of the Virgin Mary. Protestants often use crosses, sometimes with religious messages painted on them. One Kentuckian, Harrison Mayes, devoted his life to placing crosses and religious signs along the highways throughout America. Mayes’s own home, known as “Air Castle,” was shaped in the form of a cross, with the message “Jesus Saves” painted across the roof so that it could be read from an airplane.
Expressions of grief are also found along the highway, and the creation of roadside memorials to accident victims has become a tradition. While sometimes these memorials are just a simple cross with a name and date, they are frequently decorated with artificial flowers, ribbons, photographs, and objects. As with cemetery decorations, the creation of beauty plays a role in these public expressions of grieving.

Summary

A few Kentucky folk artists have become famous. Their art is sold in galleries or displayed in museums. There are hundreds of thousands of other folk artists in Kentucky who are known only to their co-workers, friends, or families. Their art may be created in their kitchens and may be evident in rows of home canned goods beautifully arranged on the shelf. Or it may be found in the well-bred hound dog. Some Kentuckians preserve traditional craftsmanship in their occupations—the tobacco farmers who can still rive a tobacco stick, the fisherman who still weaves a net. As immigrants introduce their own arts of everyday life, the traditional arts of many other lands become part of the folk art tradition of Kentucky. As Kentucky changes, so does its art.
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 such as 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 Kentuckians of the past.

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 17.2** Single Pen (stone).

**Figure 17.1** Single Pen (rectangular).

**Figure 17.3** 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.

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.

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 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.

People enter a hall/parlor house through a door leading directly into the larger of the two rooms—the hall. Another house plan provided access into a buffer space. The side passage plan includes a passage or hallway running the depth of the building along one side, with one or two rooms on the other side. When there are two rooms, they are placed one behind the other. When the house is two stories high, the passage usually contains the stair. Side passage plans were popular in early Kentucky towns such as Lexington, Harrodsburg, Bardstown, and Washington and were built only rarely in the countryside. Whatever their form, many buildings constructed before 1835 have Federal ornament, which features geometric shapes, especially ovals.

Between 1780 and 1820, Kentuckians preferred to create distinct spaces for cooking and other heavy household work such as laundry and soapmaking, and they did this in one of three ways. Most people probably did these dirty tasks outside. During the early
part of the period and in especially in towns, kitchens were often in the basements of houses and entered only from outside the house. Later in the period, the wealthiest Kentuckians built separate buildings in the back yard for domestic work. Kentuckians rarely constructed agricultural outbuildings before 1830.

The Antebellum Period, 1821–1865

House plans with passages appeared in the state as early as the 1790s but were not widely used until about 1830, except in towns. In addition to the side passage plan already mentioned, there are two other plans with passages. In both of these the passage is located in the center of the house. The double-pile, central passage plan has a total of four rooms, two arranged one behind the other on each side of the passage. The single-pile, side passage plan is basically the front half of the four-room type. The single-pile version has only two rooms on the ground floor, one on each side of the hallway.

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 ground-floor rooms opening onto the passage, homeowners could 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, cen-
tral-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. 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 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 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 shot-gun 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 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 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 of-
ten 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 featuring 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 highways 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, manmade 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 buildings 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.

*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.
In the more than seven 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. In the 1990s Kentucky, the nation, 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. Ameri-
cans 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." "Hoovervilles" (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 elected 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 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

Figure 18.1 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).
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 African Americans than any previous governor had.

Postwar Kentucky

The end of the war brought thousands of veterans home to a new world. The GI 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 running 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 income was only 70 percent of the national average.
But great changes were brewing. By 1960, there were more manufacturing jobs in the state than 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 Thurston B. Morton were elected to the United States Sen-
ate in 1956, riding the coattails of Dwight Eisenhower's 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 Robsion 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 Cumberlands 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 white-wash 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 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

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.
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 had to scale down her objectives. But Collins pushed industrialization during her term and succeeded in encouraging Toyota to build an ultra-modern automobile plant outside Georgetown.

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 K.E.R.A., 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. Appalachian sage Harry Caudill died in 1990. The death of Happy Chandler in 1991 ended an era of old politics.

On the threshold of a new century Kentuckians worried about many of the same things they had at the beginning of the Great Depression. Economic issues often 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 seven 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 control of the General Assembly and the Governor’s Mansion, the Republican party dominated U.S. Senate and House of Representative seats.

Kentuckians in the new century faced great challenges. Educational reform held out the promise of dynamic change. The question remained: would Kentucky be able to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century?
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, a task that 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 on 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’s educational his-
tory not because of his teaching but because he had a vicious en-
counter with a wildcat in his classroom. An academy at Crow's
Station on the outskirts of present-day Danville was the beginning
of Transylvania Seminary.

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 pio-
near 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 his-
torical significance today are hand-scribed arithmetic and geom-
etry textbooks that teachers brought across the mountains with
them. These contained not only problems but also their solutions.

Schools met 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 cour-
age of teachers by bullying them. In many cases, a teacher was con-
sidered 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 ex-
pand the academy plan to all the counties. These new academies
were to be organized on the plan of the Kentucky Academy at
Pisgah in Woodford County and supported by grants of cheap public lands. 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 in America. 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 Kentucky's 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 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 starvation 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 se-
lect 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 the 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 education or 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 some-
times 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 on 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 expenditures 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 student bullies, 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 debating 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 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.

Running through all the reports of the state and country 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, 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 con-
tributed 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 teacher 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.

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, agricul-
ture, 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 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 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, or candidates for the office. The constitution itself set no professional standards for this officer.

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. Then, James H. Richmond, superintendent of public instruction, 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 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, 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.
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. Separated and segregated, 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 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 through a dual, duplicate system. 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 section 183 and 186 of the Kentucky constitutions. 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 investigation 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.

Summary

The Kentucky Education Reform Act has been in force for more than a decade, and many changes have occurred since its enactment. The constitutional office of superintendent of public instruction was discontinued, and a nonpolitical position, commissioner of education, was created. The inequity of the distribution of public educational funds provoked contention that led to changes in the state's educational system. Schools have broader-based site councils than they have in the past to deal with the issues of decision-making in the schools. A system of uniform testing was instituted to determine educational accomplishments and the effectiveness of the Kentucky Educational Reform Administration.

After a decade under the reform act, there remain shocking deficiencies in the learning areas of reading, writing, and mathematics, yet statistical advances have occurred as well. The uniform tests have revealed wide variations in the quality of teaching and learning in the Kentucky public school system. There persists the age-old problem of how to keep school rooms staffed with properly trained teachers.

During the first decade of its application no substantial changes or amendments were made in the reform act. Predictably, there was some public dissatisfaction. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, and in the light of social, economic, and technological changes, education has become an open-ended fact. The very process of education itself presupposes an on-going condition of change and reform.
Buoyed by a strong national economy, many Kentuckians greeted the new century free of the tensions and fears that agitated the state a hundred years before. In Frankfort, Democrat Paul Patton became governor again in a low-key ceremony attended by seven former governors. Historians and journalists compared the unity with the turmoil of January 30, 1900, when an assassin’s bullet felled William Goebel, the Democrat in a contested election for governor.

By contrast, Patton, the last governor of the twentieth century, was re-elected with only token opposition, almost “by acclamation,” a reporter joked. Although Republicans had recently seized control of the state Senate and the congressional delegation, their leaders failed to field a serious challenger to Patton for the unprecedented second successive term that was constitutionally set up in 1992. The frightening hostilities of 1900, when a thousand armed men in a Frankfort faced off over Goebel’s shooting, were buried in history along with fifty years more of intense factionalism and bigotry that tore apart the commonwealth’s efforts at progress. Republicans at Patton’s inauguration, some of whom said they voted for him, applauded when he promised to treat the legislature as equal and independent in a bipartisan approach to “a brighter future.”

That future, Patton said, must find Kentuckians investing in education, which will be the “new capital of the knowledge-based
economy of the 21st century . . . the intellectual capital of our people. It’s not the kind of capital you get at the bank or on Wall Street. It’s the capital we put in the minds of our people day by day; in the classrooms of our common [public] schools and our colleges; with the labors of our teachers; with the efforts of our learners."

With the state still near the bottom in high school and college graduates, other Kentucky leaders supported Patton’s insistence that, in order to compete in a truly global economy, Kentuckians must improve their math, science, computer, and language skills and commit to lifelong learning—that is, retraining over and over to remain productive and competitive in the changing workforce.

Productivity—working smarter to obtain more profit at less cost—and competitiveness—selling Kentucky-made goods and services (whether soybeans or Toyotas, UPS packaging, or credit card processing) in worldwide markets—were the concerns voiced by business people who voted for Patton. Aware that other states were improving productivity and competitiveness, they wondered if Kentucky, often a laggard in the indexes of achievement, could catch up—much less keep up.

Kentuckians welcomed the new century with two claims for economic recognition. In 1990 they had enacted and voted taxes to pay for the nation’s most comprehensive reform of public schools. Meanwhile, their workforce was producing automobiles and trucks that were best sellers. Admittedly, the gains from the Kentucky Education Reform Act (KERA) were still spotty, but they were measurable, and backers pointed out that it would take more than ten years to correct decades of neglect. As the automobile industry shifted southward, Kentucky manufacturing output of all products increased, defying a nationwide decline. Those gains helped offset steep job losses in farming, mining, and garment making.

What the state had achieved in crafting KERA, in building Camrys, Corvettes, and Ford pickups, was more than monetary. There was a perception that Kentuckians could, indeed, change, could learn to value brains above brawn—and, possibly, above basketball—and could find a bigger payoff in making a truck than in driving one.
This image of flexibility might keep Kentucky in the traditional jobs creation game a little longer, economists said, meaning that the effort to attract more outside industries with “incentives”—tax rebates, training programs, and costly infrastructure investments in utilities, roads, and airport expansions. But not much longer. The old game was proving too costly for the additional demands made on health, education, and public protection services. In Kentucky and across the country communities were sorrowfully learning that incentives given to branch plants could be ignored or forgotten by parent industries lured away by more tax breaks and lower wages elsewhere, especially abroad.

In Kentucky, defenders of state incentive packages for Toyota at Georgetown and UPS in Louisville pointed to thousands of jobs and millions in payroll dollars. Even the most conservative industry recruiters, however, were conceding that there was legitimate need for a change of emphasis. The new focus, critics said, should be that of high-wage jobs created by “home grown” entrepreneurs who deserved some of the state assistance formerly reserved to attract outsiders.

New plants at the cutting edge of technology and expansion of small businesses already clustered in different regions of the state (such as horses in the Bluegrass, houseboats at Somerset, computers and health technology in Louisville) should be the focus of development. This was a radical change from the old smokestack-chasing ways of Kentucky and other southern states, but our policy pundits, who pointed to the successes of the computer industry in Silicon Valley and the impressive number of e-commerce businesses springing up elsewhere, said Kentucky must change strategies and learn to nurture “brain workers.”

In the new knowledge economy, where capital investments and sales decisions flow through cyberspace in a nanosecond, where the growth of knowledge jobs exceeds manufacturing employment (already evidenced outside of Kentucky), how fast can Kentuckians change? In the warp-speed world of dot-coms, can we improve response time by learning from our Toyota, UPS, Lexmark, and KERA experiences—or are we fatally burdened with poverty deficits and cultural blinders?

If anything will be constant in the new century, it will be rapid and recurring change. But another question—beyond ability to
cope with the volatility of a one-world economy driven by the Internet—is how can we avoid destructive change? How can we adjust and master the imperatives of change without destroying our heritage—not the stereotypical images of feuds and hillbillies and racist Kentucky colonels, but the precious connectedness to our beautiful land, to our better natures remembered in the heroes of our unique history?

Once upon a time, after World War II, cars from other states traveled the highways to Eastern Kentucky. From cities like Akron, Detroit, and Cincinnati, like fireflies strung along a matrix of wires, the cars traveled south on Friday nights, 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 coalfields of Appalachian Kentucky. They wound up in the industrial belt cities north of the Ohio River—the nearest place they could find jobs. Those who did go in the last half of the twentieth century left the most rural sections—such as the forty-nine counties in Appalachian Kentucky 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, and a tax base too small for adequate local government services.

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 jobs—had done little to free them from their longing for home. But times have changed. The weekend “return” has faded as family ties were strained by deaths, divorce, high rates of mobility, low fertility rates, and the effects of all those years of leaving. Most families who left Kentucky now have two wage earners (part of the strain) and less time to go back home and “sit on Mamaw’s porch.”

But connections to this place, to the land, to the sense of community that is so evident, still run deep. Indeed, Kentucky has been characterized as a “placebound” state. It ranks among the top five states that have the largest populations of people unlikely to leave the region in which they were born. One eastern Kentucky woman, remembering posters sold for a campaign to repeal the infamous broad form deed on coal rights, cites the slogan they used, “Ken-
tucky, the Homeland of the Heart.” That’s who we are, she says, and maybe that’s what should be on our license plates instead of another horse or a puffed-up claim about business.

The strength of the commonwealth is that people are spiritually bound to it, and for good reason. It is a lovely and restful place with many communities that often seem outside of time. It is that physical and emotional distance from the mainstream that is at once compelling and at the same time subtly destructive. The world beckons, but it is moving at a pace we disdain.

How We Got Here

A century-long history of out-migration. Although many loved it intensely, Kentucky was a state that people left as a matter of course, to find work, opportunity, and prosperity. Only two decades were the exception: the 1970s with its coal boom and the 1990s, a decade of remarkable economic growth if not spreading prosperity.

The out-migration from Kentucky was reversed in the mid-nineties, when the state began to experience significant growth where jobs were available. The net in-migration was notable in some of the more attractive rural areas of the state, like Somerset, but many of these immigrants are retirees, hence of debatable benefit to the state.

In the rural areas, the so-called “brain drain” continues, with the more educated migrants from other states attracted only to urban areas. In general, our census experts report, newcomers to the state are less educated than those who left. We really need more and better-schooled young people, more families with children moving into the state to replenish our youth population and the future labor force and to pay the taxes to support services for an increasingly larger number of non-working elderly.

Population trends have happily reversed. The state’s population was approaching four million at the end of the twentieth century. Rapid growth in other regions, however, still leaves us dragging behind much of the nation. Outside the urban triangle (Louisville, Lexington, and Covington) growth is relatively slow, but it is growth and part of what is called an interstate economy:
near good roads, airports, and universities. Although several eastern Kentucky and a handful of western Kentucky counties lost population in the last decade of the twentieth century, they were exceptions.

Kentucky is still virtually half urban and half rural in population. Although some Kentuckians are classified as urban because they drive to adjacent cities to work, a slightly higher percentage of the population lives in rural counties. These counties are more difficult to develop and have consistently lower wages, household and per capita incomes, higher poverty, and higher rates for health insurance. The rural elderly are also particularly vulnerable in that they are more likely to live alone, to be isolated, and to be poor—a bad combination.

Kentucky has attracted new residents, ranking sixteenth in the country for domestic in-migration. We attract relatively few foreign born—seen as a deficiency by those who value diversity to stimulate the economic mix. We ranked twenty-fifth in the nation in 1998 population, down from twenty-third in 1990. While the U.S. population grew by 8.7 percent between 1990 and 1998, population grew more slowly here, increasing by only 6.8 percent. Nevertheless, that was better than the 1980s, when population grew less than 1 percent over the entire decade while the nation grew by nearly 9 percent.

The bad news was that we have fewer young people, the number between the ages of 0 and 19 shrinking from 26 percent in 1990 to 24.6 percent in 1997 (U.S. Census Bureau). And during the 1980s Kentucky had one of the most significant declines in youth population in the nation. With our population of 65 and older at 12.5 percent, the full brunt of the aging that is so frequently remarked will not be felt until about 2020, when Baby Boomers (born 1946-64) begin retiring.

However, our population is aging at a faster pace than many states because of the historic out-migration of our young and the estimated in-migration of older people in this decade. The University of Louisville’s experts think that the number of citizens over age 65 could rise by 16.7 percent by the year 2020. U of L’s Dr. Michael Price, the state demographer, predicts that Kentucky will be a major attraction for retirees in the twenty-first century. With scenic appeal, a low cost of living, a relatively mild climate, and
“distance from the fray,” Kentucky may indeed be very attractive to older citizens. The good news is that many will have substantial resources, time to give in volunteerism, and a tendency toward civic mindedness that we have often been short on. The movement out of urban centers, a national pattern, does present problems—namely, sprawl and more distance between poor, inner city folks who cannot afford to get to the surrounding county areas where many new businesses and industries are locating.

**Historic inattention to education.** The effects of a poor educational system are difficult to reverse and enormously costly in terms of our economy, our relative wealth, the intractable problem of poverty, and, ultimately, on our own image of ourselves. The evidence of the link between poverty and a host of negative outcomes is overwhelming. Undereducation is perhaps the worst outcome because it affects so many other things: behavioral/lifestyle choices, health, mortality, productivity, lifetime earnings—on and on.

Undereducation and corollary poverty literally cuts lives short. Because leaders of this state did too little when so much was needed, we are faced with the awful challenge of climbing our way up from the bottom. Evidence suggests we are making progress, but ever so slowly. And so long as poverty remains so widespread, it will be enormously difficult to achieve real parity with other wealthier, better-educated states.

Dr. Stephan J. Goetz, a University of Kentucky farm economist, says that a state starting from below the national average but with a successful economic development strategy should see its earnings per job move over time toward the national average. Using the earnings-per-job yardstick, Kentucky has made virtually no progress over the last quarter century, he says.

Average earnings per job in Kentucky were only 90 percent of the national average in 1997, down from about 93 percent in 1969, according to Goetz. In rural areas, the discrepancy is even greater. Average earnings per job were only 75 percent of the national average in 1997, exactly the same as in 1969.

Unfortunately, the net in-migration of less educated older folks has kept us at the bottom. The most frequent (1997) ranking of states based on the percent of the population age 25 and older with a high school diploma still places us near last. In 1998 the Census Bureau reported that 77.9 percent of Kentuckians age 25 and older
had high school diplomas. In the area of college degrees we've made real gains from the 13.6 percent in 1990 to an estimated 20.1 percent in 1998, compared to 24 percent nationally.

Too much transfer of wealth—and, we might add, subservience—to outside interests—namely, coal, timber, and, more recently, poultry processing and, seemingly, any other industry willing to snap up incentives. In the past, the railroads and then coal ruled Kentucky. Today, we still appear too willing to permit industries to degrade the environment, erode quality of life, and pay poverty wages in the name of jobs we do not have and, many would argue, do not want. In short, we too often assume an economic posture that reflects little confidence in our own abilities and resources.

As more thoughtful Kentuckians, such as the writer Wendell Berry, appear to agree with Dr. Goetz that rural areas may need solutions that differ from those suitable for urban areas; but we need something better than industrial recruitment, animal factories, and more road building, and we are hearing the call to offer only selective incentives in metro areas. UK studies claim continuing benefits at high multiples from the state's 1986 incentives package for Toyota valued at $147 million. Including interest, the total outlay spread over twenty years was estimated at $305 million, approximately 42 percent for an on-site training facility and training programs.

According to Dr. Charles F. Haywood, UK economist, the state taxes directly and indirectly from Toyota will total $1.5 billion over the same twenty years. This projects the commonwealth's rate of return on the incentive package through 2005 at 36.79 percent per year. In 1997 Toyota employed 7,600 persons and made outlays of $1.7 billion in Kentucky for parts and material, payroll, and plant and equipment.

Would Toyota have come to Georgetown in Scott County without the incentives? Don't bet on it, says former Gov. Martha Layne Collins, who made the deal after another auto company bypassed Kentucky for Tennessee. "If you don't offer incentives, you are not in the ballgame with other states," she declares.

Kentucky's other mega-incentives offer, $235 million in 1997 to encourage UPS to build a $1 billion expansion with 6,000 new jobs at its Louisville airport hub, was scrutinized in a Wall Street
Journal article that suggested that in the end the state paid more than it wanted for “what might have been an enormous bluff by UPS—a bluff that Kentucky’s Gov. Paul Patton could not bring himself to call.”

To complaints that pay for the average job in Kentucky has fallen further behind the average job in the U.S., the Cabinet for Economic Development blames Kentucky’s lower educational attainment levels. It points out, however, that this problem is addressed by KERA and recent post-secondary educational reforms, including a new merged system of community colleges and technical schools, research challenge grants for the universities in a “bucks for brains” program, a system of internet-connected “virtuals”—university, high schools, and library—and a stronger governance system, the Council on Post Secondary Education.

Too little entrepreneurial energy. This is probably the reason we are so dependent upon outside industries and interests. While noteworthy examples of entrepreneurs can be found, they are rare exceptions in a culture that, to some extent, still holds personal and innovative intellectual achievement somewhat in disdain and looks beyond its borders for answers and for resources. There is capital, but too few qualified people asking to borrow it. Again our relative poverty and undereducation works against us.

While Kentucky has the third highest rate of home ownership and the fifth lowest crime rate, ranks high in the competitiveness of existing businesses and in the diversity of industries, it suffers in new business. On a national report card in 1999, the Corporation for Enterprise Development ranked Kentucky forty-first in both technology companies and “gazelles”—fast growing companies. The state is bogged down by a shortage of money for research and development, ranking dead last in federal R and D funding.

Leadership that is, sadly, a reflection of us and has too often been corrupt, lacking in vision, and “behind the times.” As high-tech innovations dominate the national and the global economy and information technology permits informed, precise policymaking, our perspective appears unfocused and even desperate at times. And we know too little about too many critical topics. Inadequate data and inattention to its importance hampers effective policymaking on every front.

One may argue that our governors since the mid-1930s have
been more progressive overall than has been conceded by their political foes or editorial writers and that each occasionally overrode objections from financial backers to "do the right thing"; clearly the rise of an independent legislature in the 1970s inspired receptiveness for the acclaimed KERA initiative, constitutional amendments for a more efficient judiciary, election reforms, more environmental protection, and repeal of the broad form deed on coal mining rights.

But leadership, while improving in some areas, is still a reflection of an undereducated, impoverished population that does not place enough value on the very resource that today's economy has made readily available—information. This is a real Achilles heel: We're still looking for our salvation in manufacturing, where employment and status are declining. Manufacturing jobs are widely predicted to continue declining even as manufacturing establishments increase. We have made gains in both establishments and workers, but the question is: How long will they last? Yes, manufacturing will continue to be vital to our economy, but progressively fewer people will be needed to run these operations. Fewer people also will be needed for agriculture, where billions of dollars in sales are produced from a dwindling number of farms, and for coal, where a diminished band of some 20,000 hardy miners, using more machines than ever before, maintains Kentucky's competitive production.

Even in the auto industry, clearly a boon to the state and one that will likely endure for years to come, we will be building more cars with fewer people, but credit Kentucky men and women for mustering the talent to build the most sought after cars in the nation. Their example provides a stellar marketing tool for our leaders to sell the potential of the Kentucky work force.

**Stubborn homogeneity.** In short, we have not been attractive to racially and internationally diverse migrants—until recently. Slowly but irrevocably we are becoming a more diverse people, with Hispanics becoming a visible presence throughout the state. In the first six years of the 1990s, Kentucky's Hispanic population grew 29 percent, compared with 4.8 percent for whites and 5.7 percent for African Americans (who number 7 percent of the state's total). It's important to note that Hispanics and Asian/Pacific Islanders together make up only part of the 1 percent of the state
that is classified as “other”; growing, yes, but how will a state with 92 percent whites fare in a country that is far more diverse? (Note: the Hispanics, who increasingly are in demand for a labor force in a full employment economy, are poorer than any other racial or ethnic group. Another note: Kentucky university students who complain they cannot understand foreign-born graduate assistants teaching math/science classes sometimes hear this reply from professors: “We depend on foreign born to fill the slots in our graduate programs that Kentuckians can’t or won’t qualify for.”)

Challenges We Face

*Adapt to constant change.* Perhaps the most important trend influencing the future is that of constant change—demographic, economic, and, thus, as a matter of adaptation, social. The last decade brought profound change, largely driven by technology and the resultant changes that it has compelled, namely organizational change in the workplace and globalization in the economy. Virtually every sphere of our lives—it is hard to think of an exception—has been affected by advances in information technology. Change is so rapid that yesterday’s advice to become computer literate almost seems out of date. Indeed, computer literacy is of little advantage if you are not connected to the Internet. Technology races ahead of us, and we are all scrambling to catch up.

We also are stressed by changes in family structures, the distance that high rates of mobility have wedged between family members, and expectations of high divorce rates. At the same time it is increasingly likely that women will be engaged in the workforce regardless of their marital status and even after they have children. Female labor force participation here and nationally has grown even as male participation has declined.

Change is the one true certainty we face. It demands that we Kentuckians, despite our affinity for the past and for distance from the fray, undergo fundamental change. We must become more adaptive, learn to embrace change, and become flexible and less afraid of the new. That is a tall task for anyone but especially difficult here, given that part of our fundamental identity seems to
be an abiding attachment to a rural, agrarian way of life and to the simplicity of a past life that we tend to view as comforting and reassuring in spite of the harsh realities of it.

*Compete in a global economy.* This alone has enormous implications. We must become far more educated, more receptive to and supportive of entrepreneurial ideas, more willing to change fundamental relationships in the workplace via organizational change (which has filtered down into layer upon layer of workplaces, even government), we must stay abreast of the ever-changing world of information technology, and ultimately we must make globalization something other than repugnant to working people everywhere. So long as the global economy is viewed as a threat to economic well-being—and in many ways it is a threat—it will not be broadly embraced. Indeed, resistance to it persists, and political “leaders” are eager to exploit this dissatisfaction. Ultimately, international standards that go well beyond product quality must be implemented. Without the promise of improved quality of life, decent wages, benefits and working conditions, globalization will remain hard to love even though the evidence shows it has created far more than it has destroyed.

But try persuading people in Adair or Russell Counties, among others, that the benefits are worth it. Once the state’s largest manufacturing employer, they have seen significant erosion of the garment industry there in recent years, and further losses are expected. Other low-skilled manufacturing plants are expected to drift offshore eventually, just as they drifted to Kentucky in search of cheap labor.

*Become part of the New Economy.* As Lee Todd, perhaps our best known engineer-scientist entrepreneur, tells Kentuckians, better that we have folks doing business on the Internet from trailers in eastern Kentucky than waiting for a branch plant to come to town. Information and technology drive the New Economy, but too many of us are still anchored to the past. While computer ownership has kept pace with national rates, our Internet access has not. One survey placed us last in Internet access, but maybe not so. Kentucky’s invaluable Long-term Policy Research Center (which provided much of the background, for this chapter) finds through a 1998 UK-conducted survey that 65 percent of Kentucky folks had access to a computer somewhere and Internet use in the
state had risen dramatically in just two years, from 26 percent to 42 percent in 1998. We still may not have enough rural Internet providers to close the gap, but low-cost computers will soon make information technology as ubiquitous as TV.

Kentucky’s traditional core industries remain under stress. Tobacco quotas have plummeted; the cigarette industry is gasping for breath, so universally hated for deceptive practices that one might question whether the tobacco settlement funds will ever be paid in full to the states and their farmers, dependent as they are on the future financial status of these companies.

As for farming in general, the 1997 Agriculture Census found 8,000 fewer farms in the state than five years before, predominantly small ones. The Ag Census count of 82,273 farms tracked a decline from 101,642 in 1982. While their income was vital to poor farm families, 32,000 farms, about 38.5 percent, had sales below $5,000 a year. Kentucky may be almost 50 percent rural, but that does not mean that many folks out there are raising corn and milking cows. The heavy lifting in Kentucky is done by manufacturing and in sales and services.

While coal production continued strong well into the 1990s, the declining accessibility of remaining reserves and increasing costs of regulation could abbreviate the future for this industry. As attacks on mountaintop removal gain intensity, making surface mining more difficult and costly, mining has increasingly shifted underground. Employment has declined 60 percent in twenty years and shrunk to one-tenth of a percent—from 49,000 in 1979 to 18,900 in 1999.

We offer much in potential appeal to tourists, but where does the tourist economy lead us? Impressive totals, replies the Travel Development Cabinet as it expands its province to include all phases of the “hospitality” business, including conventions, racing and other gambling enterprises, restaurants and hotels, arts and sports entertainment, parks and historic preservation sites. But it’s still an economy with low-paying, seasonal jobs, the least likely to offer health insurance and other benefits, despite its value as entry-level or part-time employment.

As with much of the nation, employment in the broadly defined service industry has boomed while extractive and goods producing industries declined. Jobs in service, including
transportation, communications, and public utilities; retail-wholesale trade; finance, insurance and real estate services have accounted for eight of every ten new jobs over the past twenty-five years.

Address potentially destructive gaps in well-being. No matter how well economic data suggest we are faring, poverty has become far more difficult to escape. Too many Kentuckians, indeed, Americans, are poor, and children far more likely than adults to live in poverty, which portends disproportionate ability, diminished productivity, and a host of social and economic ills that an aging population can ill afford to accommodate.

Our working poor usually have no health insurance, no pension plans, no resources to weather crisis, few prospects for home ownership, and no computers to gain entrance to the New Economy. Many of our working poor are familiar with pressures to stay off welfare, problems with transportation, lack of doctor care except what they receive in emergency rooms, and myriad frustrations with schools, banks, the law, and the stresses on have-not kids in a consumer-driven society.

In the deepening divide between economic classes, the American dream has become just that—a dream. So long as we remain complacent about these inequities, problems will worsen, and the likely consequences as well. They undermine a fundamental cornerstone of democracy, that of possibilities, and in Kentucky these ever-present persistent inequities are a demeaning barrier to our considerable potential.

Nationally, income inequality is now the worst among all industrial nations. It’s worse in the South than in the nation as a whole and worse in Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas than any other states in the region, according to the Chapel Hill, N.C., research firm, MDC, Inc.

Nearly 100,000 people in Kentucky live below the poverty line, and that line is widely regarded as woefully out of date. Nearly 12 percent of that group is age 5 while 37 percent are under age 18. In short, children bear much of the brunt of poverty here and across the nation, and that does not bode well for our future. Fortunately, the economic prosperity of recent years has begun to make a dent in Kentucky poverty rates, which fell 2 percent in 1998. Median household incomes have improved, rising to $34,633
for Kentucky, compared to $37,779 nationally.

Approximately 15 percent of Kentuckians, 585,000, do not have health insurance. With one million more added yearly to the national ranks of the medically uninsured (44 million in 1999), poverty is the unremedied common denominator. Ironically, if you are poor and work, you are even less likely to be insured than if you do not.

Revamp our system of taxation in an anti-tax era. At the beginning of the year 2000, Kentucky taxed the poor at one of the highest rates in the nation. There were good arguments about the centralization of services in Kentucky and the resultant lower local tax rates, but this seemed little comfort to low-income families.

Equally important is recognizing that a sales tax that excludes services will not hold up over the long run. Moreover, the incursion of the Internet into the marketplace means untold lost revenues. Projections for sales and sales tax losses change as quickly as they are written down. Thus, as we confront more challenges from the federal divestment of responsibility, our state’s public resources are out of touch with the new, service-based, increasingly electronic economy. Whatever peace existed between the political parties in Frankfort in the dawn of the new century promised to be shattered over efforts to “reform” taxes.

Revise our notions of aging. Demographics are on a collision course with economics, and this situation may force a revision of the roles of older citizens. We face difficult choices about entitlements to Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, but a number of forces will definitely mitigate the often “dreaded” impact of having a huge population of older citizens. In short, it may not be the fiscal catastrophe that some doomsayers suggest.

Graying Baby Boomers will be the most educated, wealthy, and healthy older population in history. Many will continue working and the anticipated burden they create may be offset by the declining birth rate. Still, the aging will consume vast public resources, especially for health care, hence the necessity of revising our notion of age as an automatic “entitlement.”

Because it is in the nation’s interest to encourage older citizens to keep working, incentives to business are likely to emerge. Peter Drucker, the eminent social commentator, has said that de-
mographics will be the most serious problem of the future—too few workers to do the work of nations. Developed nations in particular will face problems, the beginning of which we are already dealing with. But even in some of the poorest of nations, populations are aging and birth rates falling. Consequently the threat of immigration that has swayed so much political rhetoric here in recent years will disappear, giving way, perhaps, to amazement at economic growth in countries such as Canada that have actively recruited brainy immigrants.

Visionary leadership. We have been the beneficiary of some of it recently—in Frankfort and our big cities, and sprinkled across the rural sectors. In government, Patton’s efforts to reduce workers compensation costs earned him the enmity of his home region’s miners and trial lawyers, but when profits increased, business fell in line with his crusade to restructure higher education and rewarded him with an easy re-election. Could he win a promised campaign for improved social well being? His second term would be the test.

While historians and journalists made lists of the old century’s most influential leaders, observers marveled at the endurance of the Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence and its director, Robert Sexton, one of the state’s most effective change agents. At London in the mountains, the Kentuckians for the Commonwealth continued to press for tax justice and environmental reforms, often aided and abetted by lawyer activists such as Tom FitzGerald, Phil Shepherd, Hank Graddy, and Joey Childers.

Sprawl and greenbelt protection was the concern of Bluegrass Tomorrow, a Lexington-based organization of horse farmers who tried to mediate between the developers and the conservationists. In Newport, a civic renewal effort converted a once seedy zone of strip dance bars and other joints into a dynamic riverfront attraction centered on a new aquarium and the proximity to nearby bright lights in Cincinnati. While east and west Kentucky leaders tackled some regional problems through non-profit corporations, leadership conferences, and a Kentucky Appalachian Commission, Louisville worked on its riverfront and added a baseball stadium and several museums to its downtown attractions.

Among the leaders most respected by the upper and middle classes and most listened to by the politicians were still the rich
who “gave back”—entrepreneurs turned philanthropists such as Louisville’s David Jones, David Grissom, and George Fischer and Lexington’s W.T. Young. The creativity of horseman John Gaines was credited for the development of the Kentucky Horse Park and the Breeders Cup while, in another region, a retired newspaper owner, Larry Hager of Owensboro, was admired for his support of social programs to help the working poor in his home town.

Three corporate giants, Humana, Ashland and UPS, continued to pour resources into school improvements. Similar support for the arts, education, and conservation came from Louisville’s distillery family, the Browns and Fraziers of Brown Forman, the state’s largest remaining family-controlled corporation. But former Gov. Edward T. Breathitt worried that mergers and acquisitions in the New Economy were wiping out the corporate headquarters base, the personal interest in civic life and philanthropy that Kentucky enjoyed in the old economy. In the mountains, Tom Gish, the famed editor of the Whitesburg Mountain Eagle, agreed. Reflecting on the sales to outsiders of locally owned banks, hospitals, media, and retail stores across the commonwealth, Gish commented, “We are all Appalachians now.”

Our Emerging Strengths

The KERA legacy. Even as we debate endlessly about the efficacy of measuring and leveraging academic success, the very climate for reform and change that KERA created unquestionably goes in the plus column for Kentucky. If all else fails to garner results, we have elevated the public dialogue and dramatically underscored the importance of education. Look for a significant effort to raise standards for teachers, the measures by which they become certified, stay employed, and demonstrate merit. There is a big national push for change and a lot of bright folks working on the issue in Kentucky.

University research status. While it is debatable whether this will have much if any effect on our fundamental problems with poverty and undereducation, it will likely contribute to the economy over time and will probably attract more educated people to the
state. Investment at the other end of the spectrum—adult education, literacy training, and recruiting and rewarding people for participation in either—might have produced greater results over the long term. After all, despite the famous Research Triangle, a lot of poor people still live in North Carolina.

Women. The feminization of higher education will almost certainly elevate the status of women over the long term. If our society continues to place the kind of value on education that it has throughout this century, women will be running a number of industries and institutions in the years to come. At present, women still fare poorly in the workplace, but largely as a consequence of occupational and industrial segregation, as a study by Mark Berger and Amitabh Chandra at UK shows. In their analysis of current population survey data, they allowed for socioeconomic factors such as education and poverty and for the occupations and industries in which women are heavily concentrated in Kentucky. Then they found that the gender gap that looks so formidable here compared to the national gender gap is actually narrower than the national gap and has closed faster.

This likely means that women are not subject to undue discrimination here, contrary to what many may assume, and that professional women, while still earning lower salaries on average, are gaining significant ground. The challenge will be to continue motivating women to choose education and training, which they are doing in record numbers, and to encourage them to choose higher-paying occupations. They outnumber men as college entrants and graduates, but they are still choosing professions that have not typically paid well.

We need women and their sensibilities and intuitive skills to help us catch up in the areas in which we are trailing in terms of investment, imagination, and initiative, and then we need to stay a step ahead, “to see around the corner,” as Bill Bradley suggested, a difficult achievement in a state where too many “leaders” are still looking at the past for guidance and answers. Women do appear to be gaining clout politically, though their numbers in elective office are woefully weak. But legislators in particular do not want to appear insensitive to women’s issues; it is death at the polls because women are more likely to vote and to vote for candidates and issues of importance to women.
A sense of community. Face it, we’ve got what most people think they want, a strong sense of community, of trust of neighbors, of identity with the place where we live: a place where four million of us could forget our deficits and proudly cheer in the new Millennium for the glory of eighty-one-year-old Bill Young who won the Derby and then the Breeders Cup, for four truly young people of achievement—Tori Murden who rowed across the Atlantic, Heather Renee French, our first homegrown Miss America, Tim Couch, the mountain boy who became first pick in the NFL draft, and eighteen-year-old Michael Lanham, from Greasy Creek, the youngest Rhodes scholar in history.

We felt our connections to them all, as if they were a part of our own family and friends, and in so doing we connected them to the other heroes of our unique past, from the traveling Baptist Church in the eighteenth century to Muhammad Ali, the Baptist turned Muslim and champion fighter of the world, the most famous Kentuckian in the world of the new twenty-first century. Every state has its own history, but in Kentucky, once known as “the dark and bloody ground,” wasn’t it fun to be around while Ali prayed to Mecca and his Louisville friends built a center for him in the name of peace and justice and world brotherhood?

Now that’s community!
# Appendix 1

## Kentucky Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>FOUNDING DATE</th>
<th>PARENT COUNTY</th>
<th>COUNTY SEAT</th>
<th>ORIGIN OF COUNTY NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Barren, Warren</td>
<td>Scottsville</td>
<td>Col. John Allen, a Virginian and Indian fighter, who was killed at the River Raisin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Franklin, Mercer,</td>
<td>Lawrenceburg</td>
<td>Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., a public official who died in 1826 while enroute to Panama to attend a congress of South American States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Hickman, McCracken</td>
<td>Wickliffe</td>
<td>Capt. Bland W. Ballard, an early Indian fighter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Green, Warren</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>The Barrens, the name once given to the entire prairie section of Kentucky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>Owingsville</td>
<td>Medicinal springs in the county.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Harlan, Knox</td>
<td>Pineville</td>
<td>Joshua Fry Bell of Danville. It was first known as &quot;Josh Bell County.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>Burlington</td>
<td>Daniel Boone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>The royal house of Bourbon of France, which provided the colonies with men and money in the Revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Carter, Greenup, Lawrence Lincoln, Mercer, Danville</td>
<td>Carlettsburg</td>
<td>Linn Boyd, a longtime resident of Kentucky prominent in public life. Judge John Boyle, chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals for nearly 17 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyle</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Campbell, Mason</td>
<td>Brooksville</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Campbell, Mason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullitt</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Logan, Ohio</td>
<td>Shepherdsville</td>
<td>Alexander Scott Bullitt, lieutenant governor of the state the year Bullitt County was formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td></td>
<td>Morgantown</td>
<td>Gen. Richard Butler, a Pennsylvanian who served in the Revolution and who was killed in St. Clair's defeat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>Princeton</td>
<td>Gen. John Caldwell, a Virginian who served under Gen. George Rogers Clark in the 1786 Indian expedition. He was later lieutenant governor of Kentucky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calloway</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Hickman</td>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Col. Richard Calloway, one of the early settlers of Kentucky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Harrison, Mason, Scott</td>
<td>Alexandria, Newport</td>
<td>Col. John Campbell, an Irishman, who at one time held a Virginia land grant of 4,000 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td>Bardwell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Gallatin, Henry, Trimble</td>
<td>Carrollton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Greenup, Lawrence</td>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>Hopkinsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Bourbon, Fayette</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Floyd, Knox, Madison</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Cumberland, Wayne</td>
<td>Albany</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crittenden</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>Marion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Burkesville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daviess</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>Owensboro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Col. William G. Carter, a state senator when this county was formed. Col. William Casey, a Virginian who settled in Kentucky for nearly a half century. Col. William Christian, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution. He was killed by Indians in a battle north of the Ohio in 1786.

Gen. George Rogers Clark of Virginia. Gen. Green Clay, a Virginian prominent in Kentucky for nearly a half century. Gov. DeWitt Clinton of New York. John Jordan Crittenden, senator and governor. 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. Maj. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, an attorney and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edmonson</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Grayson, Hart,</td>
<td>Brownsville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Carter, Lawrence</td>
<td>Sandy Hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estill</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Clark, Madison</td>
<td>Irvine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Kentucky (Virginia)</td>
<td>Lexington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>Flemingsburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Fleming, Mason,</td>
<td>Prestonsburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Mercer, Shelby,</td>
<td>Frankfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Hickman</td>
<td>Hickman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Franklin, Shelby</td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

troop commander under Gen. William Henry Harrison in an Indian expedition. He was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe.

Capt. John Edmonson, a victim at the Battle of the River Raisin.

Judge John M. Elliott, who was murdered while a judge of the Court of Appeals.

Capt. James Estill, Virginian and settler of Estill's Station. He was killed by Indians in 1782.

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.

Col. John Fleming, a Virginian who settled Fleming's Station in 1790 in what is now Fleming County.

Col. John Floyd, a Virginian and one of the early surveyors of Kentucky.

Benjamin Franklin.

Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamboat.

Albert Gallatin, a Swiss native who became secretary of the Treasury under President Jefferson. He was an authority on North American Indians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garrard</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Lincoln, Madison, Mercer, Pendleton</td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>James Garrard, a governor of Kentucky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Williamstown</td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Grant, who was killed by Indians on the north bank of the Ohio, opposite this county, in 1794.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graves</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Hickman</td>
<td>Mayfield</td>
<td>Maj. Benjamin Graves, an officer in the War of 1812 and a victim of the Battle of the River Raisin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Hardin, Ohio</td>
<td>Leitchfield</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenup</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>Greenup</td>
<td>Gov. Christopher Greenup, who was elected in 1804.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hancock</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Breckinridge, Daviess, Ohio</td>
<td>Hawesville</td>
<td>John Hancock, the first signer of the Declaration of Independence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardin</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>Elizabethtown</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlan</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>Harlan</td>
<td>Maj. Silas Harlan, a Virginian and Indian fighter under Gen. George Rogers Clark. He was killed in the Battle of Blue Licks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>Bourbon, Scott</td>
<td>Cynthiana</td>
<td>Col. Benjamin Harrison, a legislator, public official, and member of the convention that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>New County</td>
<td>Old County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Hardin,</td>
<td>Munfordville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>New Castle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopkins</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>Madisonville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Clay,</td>
<td>McKee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Estill,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laurel,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Owsley,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Madison,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rockcastle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Virginia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessamine</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>Nicholasville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Floyd,</td>
<td>Paintsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>Independence,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Covington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Col. Richard Henderson, a Virginian who purchased a large part of Kentucky from the Cherokee Indians and who settled Boonesborough.

Patrick Henry.

Capt. Paschal Hickman, a victim of the massacre that followed the Battle of the River Raisin.

Gen. Samuel Hopkins, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution and later settled on the Green River.

Andrew Jackson, president of the United States.


Jessamine Creek, in turn named for Jessamine Douglas.

Col. Richard M. Johnson, Indian fighter, congressman, and vice president of the United States.

Gen. Simon Kenton, one of the greatest of the Kentucky pioneers.
APPENDIX 1


Larue 1843 Hardin Hodgenville John Larue, a Virginian who settled Phillips Fort.


Lawrence 1822 Floyd, Greenup Louisa Capt. James Lawrence, a naval officer.


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.


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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>Eddyville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Hickman</td>
<td>Paducah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCreary</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Pulaski,</td>
<td>Whitley City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wayne,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Whitley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daviess,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhlenberg,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magoffin</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Floyd,</td>
<td>Salyersville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Calloway</td>
<td>Benton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Floyd,</td>
<td>Inez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pike</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>Maysville</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Col. Matthew Lyon of Vermont, Revolutionary soldier and congressman. He was reelected to Congress while imprisoned for remarks about the Alien and Sedition Laws.

Capt. Virgil McCracken, who was killed in the Battle of the River Raisin.

Judge Alney McLean, longtime friend of Henry Clay. The judge twice cast the electoral vote of Kentucky for Clay for president.

James Madison, fourth president of the United States.

Gen. Francis Marion, the South Carolinian who became known as the "Swamp Fox" during the Revolution.

Supreme Court Justice John Marshall, the great jurist.

Col. John P. Martin, a congressman and state legislator from Prestonsburg.

George Mason of Virginia, a leader both in his state and in the early United States.
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.

Metcalfe 1860 Adair, Barren, Cumberland, Green, Monroe Edmonton Gov. Thomas Metcalfe, who also served as congressman and senator.

Monroe 1820 Barren, Cumberland Clark 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.


Nicholas 1800 Bourbon, Mason Carlisle George Nicholas, one of the most famous lawyers of the early days in Kentucky.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franklin, Gallatin, Scott, Pendleton</td>
<td>Owenton</td>
<td>Col. Abraham Owen, a Virginian who settled in Kentucky and was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Breathitt, Clay, Estill</td>
<td>Booneville</td>
<td>Gov. William Owsley, who was also prominent as a judge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owsley</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Bracken, Campbell</td>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>Judge Edmund Pendleton, presiding officer of the Virginia Court of Appeals and a congressman from Virginia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pendleton</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comodore Oliver Hazard Perry, naval commander at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1812.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gen. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, one of the great explorers of the West. He was killed at York in Upper Canada in 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Clay, Floyd</td>
<td>Hazard</td>
<td>Gov. Lazarus W. Powell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>Pikeville</td>
<td>Gen. Joseph Pulaski, the Polish count who fought in the Revolution. He was mortally wounded in fighting in Savannah in 1779.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Clark, Estill, Montgomery, Green, Lincoln</td>
<td>Stanton</td>
<td>Judge George Robertson, chief justice of the Court of Appeals in the controversy between the Old Court and the New Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td></td>
<td>Somerset</td>
<td>Rockcastle River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Bracken, Harrison, Mason, Nicholas</td>
<td>Mt. Olivet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockcastle</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Knox, Lincoln, Madison, Pulaski</td>
<td>Mt. Vernon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>Morehead</td>
<td>Judge John Rowan, one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>Jamestown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td>Georgetown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Shelbyville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Allen, Logan, Warren</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Bullitt, Nelson, Shelby</td>
<td>Taylorsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Campbellsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Christian, Logan</td>
<td>Elkton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigg</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Caldwell, Christian</td>
<td>Cadiz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimble</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Gallatin,</td>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of the state's greatest attorneys. 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. Gen. George Scott, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution and who in 1808 was elected governor of Kentucky. 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. 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. Capt. Spear Spencer, who fell at the Battle of Tippecanoe. President Zachary Taylor. Col. John Todd, an Indian fighter who was killed in the Battle of Blue Licks. Col. Stephen Trigg, who established Trigg's Station on Cane Run near Harrodsburg and who was killed at the Battle of Blue Licks. Judge Robert Trimble,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Other Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td></td>
<td>Morganfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>Bowling, Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>Springfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cumberland,</td>
<td>Monticello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webster</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Henderson,</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hopkins,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitley</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Knox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Knox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Breathitt,</td>
<td>Campton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morgan,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Owsley,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Powell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>Versailles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Henry, chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and later a judge of the Supreme Court. Origin in doubt.
- Wayne, Gen. Anthony Wayne, sometimes known as Mad Anthony, Revolutionary War general and famed Indian fighter.
- Webster, Daniel Webster, U.S. senator from Massachusetts.
- Whitley, Col. William Whitley, Indian fighter, who served under Gov. Shelby in the War of 1812.
- Wolfe, Nathaniel Wolfe, Louisville attorney and the first graduate of the University of Virginia.
- Woodford, Gen. William Woodford, a Virginian who fought in the Revolution. He was taken by the British in the Siege of Charleston and imprisoned in New York, where he died.
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 until Paul Patton.

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 E. 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 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 1; 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 Clement'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.

Martha Layne 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: 1991-95; born in Ohio; of Woodford County; Democrat; horse farm owner; lieutenant governor.

Paul Patton: 1995-; born in Lawrence County; of Pike County; Democrat; engineer and businessman.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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:


For a brief look at works published since then, see:


The best sources for short articles on Kentucky topics are two historical quarterlies—the Filson Club History Quarterly and the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society. Both have indexes published each year, and the Register’s summer 1989 issue has a general index to all articles appearing there since 1903.

Three key reference works that all students of Kentucky history should examine are:


And, finally, in the 1970s The University Press of Kentucky published a series of books in the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf series. Only a few of those concise works are included here, but they are, as a rule, good examinations of their topics. Following are more sources of information on many aspects of Kentucky.


Center for Business and Economic Research, College of Business and Economics of the University of Kentucky. Kentucky Annual Economic Report. Lexington.


———. Rampaging Frontier: Manners and Humors of Pioneer Days in the South and Middle West. Indianapolis, 1939.


MDC, Inc. *Income Equality Study*. Chapel Hill, N.C.


CONTRIBUTORS

• Nancy Disher Baird, professor in special collections, Kentucky Library at Western Kentucky University, has published books and articles concerning Kentucky’s medical and political past.

• Paul Blanchard serves as director of the Center for Kentucky History and Politics at Eastern Kentucky University, where he has taught political science for nearly thirty years. He has written on elections and political parties, executive-legislative relations, and school politics in Kentucky.

• Thomas D. Clark, historian laureate of Kentucky and professor emeritus of history at the University of Kentucky, has published books and articles on nearly all facets of Kentucky history and has been active in preserving the state’s past.

• Paul A. Coomes, professor of economics and National City Research Fellow at the University of Louisville, has published many scholarly articles on regional economics and measurement issues.

• Clyde F. Crews is a professor in the Department of Theology at Bellarmine College. He has written many works on Louisville, Catholicism, and religion in Kentucky.

• Carol Crowe-Carraco, professor of history at Western Kentucky University, has written and lectured widely on the women’s rights movement in Kentucky.

• William E. Ellis, professor emeritus of history, foundation professor, and university historian at Eastern Kentucky University, won the 1999 Governor’s Award for Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique. He is currently at work on a history of EKU.

• Robert Bruce French, co-founder of the Louisville Academy of Music and the Louisville Youth Orchestra, is president of the academy and author of articles on Kentucky music and musicians.

• Wade Hall, professor emeritus of English at Bellarmine College, is author of books, articles, and reviews on Kentucky and southern literature and history.

• James Russell Harris is assistant editor of the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society and has edited or authored various works on Kentucky military history.

• Lowell H. Harrison, professor emeritus of history at Western Kentucky University, has written a number of books and articles on Kentucky history before 1865.
• Melba Porter Hay, currently division manager at the Kentucky Historical Society and formerly editor of The Papers of Henry Clay, has studied Madeline M. Breckinridge and other Progressive Era figures.

• Robert M. Ireland, professor of history at the University of Kentucky, has written numerous books and articles dealing with county government, legal history, and violence in Kentucky.

• James C. Klotter is the state historian and professor of history at Georgetown College. He has written, co-authored, or edited over a dozen books, including, with Lowell Harrison, A New History of Kentucky.

• Lori Meadows, is director of Artist Programs for the Kentucky Arts Council and manages the annual Performing Arts Directory and Performing Arts on Tour programs.

• Nancy O'Malley is a senior staff archaeologist and museum curator in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky and conducts research on the prehistoric and historic archaeology of Kentucky.

• Julie Riesenweber has studied Kentucky architecture and worked with the Kentucky Heritage Council, the state's historic preservation office, for the past fifteen years. She is currently teaching in the University of Kentucky's Graduate Program in Historic Preservation.

• Al Smith, a veteran Kentucky journalist, is now adjunct professor in the political science department at the University of Kentucky.

• John David Smith, Graduate Alumni Distinguished Professor of History at North Carolina State University, has authored and edited books and essays on the history of the South, slavery, and the Civil War.

• Dennis L. Spetz is a distinguished teaching professor emeritus at the University of Louisville. He served as Kentucky's first state geographer, was a founder of the Kentucky Geographic Alliance, and is currently an educational consultant.

• Michael Ann Williams, professor of folk studies at Western Kentucky University, is the author of Homeplace and Great Smoky Mountains Folklife.

• George C. Wright, author of works dealing with race relations in Louisville, racial violence in Kentucky, and the history of blacks in Kentucky since 1891, is senior vice president for academic affairs and provost at the University of Texas at Arlington.
INDEX

Italic page numbers indicate illustrations

Aaron Burr Conspiracy, 82
Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine, 115
abolitionist movement. See antislavery movement
academy schools, 298–300
activists, 329
Actors' Guild of Lexington, 249
Actors' Theatre of Louisville, 249
Adair, John, 84, 143, 333, 345
Adair County, 133, 235, 333
Addams, Jane, 202
Adena culture, 92
burial mounds, 21, 31–32
Adkins, Minnie, 267
adult education, 203, 204
African Americans. See blacks
agriculture. See also farmers; tobacco
Bluegrass region, 12
decline of small farms, 326
growing season, 3
Jackson Purchase region, 7, 8–9
Mountains region, 13
outbuildings, 276, 277–278, 282
Owensboro-Henderson region, 182
Pennyroyal region, 9
prehistoric, 30, 32, 33, 34
slavery and, 108, 109–110
South Central region, 184–185
Western Coal Field region, 11
Ahb's Wife (Nasland), 243
"Air Castle," 269
Albany, 335
alcohol. See also temperance movement
national Prohibition, 101, 202, 221
state prohibition, 201, 218
violence and, 156, 167
Aleck Maery, Sportsman (Gordon), 232
Alexandria, 334
Ali, Muhammad, 134, 332
Allen and Sedition Acts, 82
Allen, James Lane, 229, 229, 230, 245
Allen, John, 333
Allen County, 173, 333
All the King's Men (Warren), 238
Altsheler, Joseph, 230–231
aluminum industry, 182
American Colonization Society, 115
American party, 89
American Plan, 83
American Tobacco Company, 168, 220
American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), 192
Anderson, Richard Clough, Jr., 333
Anderson County, 333
Angel of Blindness, 204
Anglican Church, 93
animal contests, 67
Anthony, Susan B., 191
antigambling movement, 222
anti-lynching laws, 130, 164
Anti-Separate Coach Movement, 129
antislavery movement
churches and, 93, 99, 114–115
history of, 112, 114–119
antislavery tracts, 114
Appalachian Plateau, 13
appellate courts, 158
archaeology. See also prehistoric era
Adena burial mound excavation, 21
"contract archaeology," 22
"culture areas" concept, 20–21
early notions of prehistoric era, 19–20
established at the University of Kentucky
21–22
modern excavation, 18
modern improvements in, 22–23
overview of, 17–19, 37
radiocarbon dating, 22
stratigraphic studies, 20, 21
Archaic period, 27–30
Aristides (race horse), 70
Arizona (USS), 152
Armco Steel, 180
Army Corps of Engineers, 185–186, 294
Arnold, Harriette Simpson, 227, 237, 245, 296
arrowheads. See projectile points
art. See folk art
Arthur, Chester A., 69
Asbury, Francis, 94
Ashland, 13, 173
regional economy, 178, 180
Ashland Oil, 180, 188, 330
Asian/Pacific Islanders, 323
assassinations, 161–163, 216, 225
Association of Colored Women, 202
Atlantic (magazine), 229
Atlas of Kentucky, 1
atlatl, 28
Audubon, John James, 247
automobile industry, 12, 315
Ford Motor Company, 182
General Motors, 185
increased productivity and, 323
Toyota, 12, 175, 180, 296, 316, 321
automobiles. See automobile industry; interstate highways; roads; transportation
AWSA. See American Woman Suffrage Association
Ayers, Leonard P., 309
Azof, 5

Back Home (Cobb), 231
Baker, Kenny, 251
Balkans conflict, 154–155
“Ballad of Billie Potts, The” (Warren), 239
Ballard, Bland W., 333
Ballard County, 8, 333
ballet, 254
balloon frame houses, 280
Band of Angels (Warren), 238
banks
BancoKentucky, 286
Bank of Kentucky, 84
Bank of the Commonwealth, 84, 300
baptism, 98
Baptist Church
antislavery movement, 99, 114–115
current membership levels, 103
frontier period, 93
Baptist Licking’Locust Association, Friends of Humanity, 93
Barbourville, 339
Bardstown, 247, 250, 275, 341
Bardwell, 335
Barkley, Alben W., 222, 288, 288, 290
Barlow, James M., 146
barns, 282. See also farm buildings
Barren County, 333
Barren River Area Youth Orchestra, 253
Barren River Lake, 185
Barret Park, 128
Barrie & Daughter (Caudill), 240
Barrow, David, 93
Barry, William T., 300
Barry Committee, 300
baseball, 74–75, 75, 128, 291
basketball, 75
basket making, 258, 259, 260, 261–262
Bataan “Death March,” 152
Bath County, 333
Bean Trees, The (Kingsolver), 242
Beattyville, 339
Beauchamp, Frances, 193
Beckham, John Crepps Wickliffe, 216, 217, 218, 222, 347
Bedford, 343
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 246, 247
Believers, The (Giles), 236
Bell, Joshua Fry, 333
Bellarmine College, 102
Bell County, 164, 333
Bellevue, 242
Belmont quilting group, 260
Benjamin, Robert Charles O’Hara, 125
Benton, 248, 340
Berea, 5, 251
Berea College, 102, 118, 202, 243, 259, 312
Berger, Mark, 331
Berry, Wendell, 240–241, 245, 321
Bet, 5
Bethel, 5
Bethlehem, 5
Bibb, Henry, 111
bicycling, 74
Big Black Mountain, 13
Big Sandy River, 2, 4
Big Singing, 248
Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, 186
bill of rights, state, 41–42
bills, legislative process, 44–46
Bingham, Barry, Sr., 296
Bingham, Robert Worth, 218
Bingham, Sallie, 243
Birney, James G., 116
“Bivouac of the Dead, The” (O’Hara), 228
Black, James D., 221, 348
Blackburn, Luke Pryor, 64, 212, 213, 347
black churches, 98, 123, 124
Blackfoot (Indian chief), 78
Blackfoot War, 217
blacks
challenges to segregation, 126, 129–133
churches, 98, 123, 124
constitution of 1890, 225
emancipation, 120–121
migration trends, 59
population figures, 108, 323
post-Civil War era, 207–208, 211
reluctance to leave America, 115
violence against. (see racial violence)
Simeon Willis and, 288
writers, 228–229, 231

black schools
Central Colored School, 132–133
establishment of, 123
Freedmen's Bureau School at Camp Nelson, 124
inferior conditions in, 128–129
Lyman T. Johnson and, 132–133
Kentucky State College for Negroes, 129, 130, 131
state support, 312
violence against, 124

black troops
Civil War, 119
World War I, 150
World War II, 152

black women
political activities, 198
in public office, 205

Bladen, Wilford A., I
Blair, Francis P., 85
blindness, 204
Bloody Monday riot, 89, 99
Bloomingdale's, 261
Blue Grass Boys, 251
bluegrass music, 251
Bluegrass Music Association, 251
Bluegrass Music Festival of the United States, 251
Bluegrass Music Museum, 251
Bluegrass region, 12–13, 19–20, 282
Bluegrass Tomorrow, 329
Blue Licks, battle of, 136, 140
Bolton, Joseph, 244
Bombard, Moritz von, 253
Boone, Daniel, 77, 79, 90, 106, 227, 333
Boone, Israel, 136
Boone, Joy Bale, 243–244
Boone, Squire, 78
Boone County, 164, 180, 230, 333
Boonesborough, 12, 77, 78, 90, 93, 138–139
Booneville, 342
Border Watch, The (Altsheler), 230
Bourbon County, 5, 95, 96, 229, 244, 333
"Bourbon" Democrats, 210, 211, 214
Bowles, Russell, 250
Bowling Green, 344
black churches, 98
industry, 185
performing arts, 249, 250, 251, 254
population of, 184
quilting tradition, 265–266
Western Kentucky University, 9, 184
writers from, 241, 243
Bowman, John, 139
Boyd, Linn, 334
Boyd County, 178, 334
Boyle, John, 334
Boyle County, 334
Bracken, William, 334
Bracken County, 118, 169, 243, 334
Bradley, Bill, 331
Bradley, William O., 214, 215, 347
Bragg, Braxton, 147
Bramlette, Thomas E., 146, 148, 207, 209, 346
Brandenburg, 263, 341
Breathitt, 334
Breathitt, Edward T., Jr. "Ned," 293, 330, 349
Breathitt County, 334
Breckinridge, John C., 82–83, 89, 334
Breckinridge, Madeline McDowell "Madge," 198, 198–201, 203, 223
Breckinridge, Mary, 204
Breckinridge, Robert Jefferson, 87, 99, 117, 304–305
Breckinridge, W. C. P., 194, 196, 210, 210
Breckinridge affair, 194, 196
Breckinridge County, 334
Breckinridge family, Civil War and, 145
Breeders Cup, 330
Brescia College, 102
Brescia-Owensboro Orchestra, 253
brick houses, 273
Broken Cord, The (Dorris), 243
Broken Ground (Berry), 241
Brooklyn Dodgers, 75
Brooks, Cleanth, 238
Brooks, Robert H., 152
Brooksville, 334
Brothers to Dragons (Warren), 237–238
Brown, John Young, 212, 215, 260, 347
Brown, John Young, Jr., 295, 349
Brown, Phyllis George, 260–261, 262
Brown, William Wells, 228–229
Brown Forman corporation, 330
Browning, Jack, 152
Brownsville, 250, 336
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 133, 291, 312
Bryan, William Jennings, 101
Bryan's Station, 78
Buchanan, James, 89
Buchanan, June, 203
Buckhorn Lake state park, 15
Buckner, Richard A., 86
Buckner, Simon B., Jr., 151
Buckner, Simon Bolivar, 212, 213, 347
budget, state, 48, 49, 213
Buell, Don Carlos, 147
Buena Vista, battle of, 144
Buford, Thomas, 161–162
Bullington, Elizabeth, 268
Bullitt, Alexander Scott, 334
Bullitt County, 334
Bullock, Joseph J., 300, 301
bungalows, 283, 284
Bunning, Jim, 295
burial customs, prehistoric, 26–27, 30, 31–32, 33, 35
burial mounds, 21, 31–32, 33
Burkesville, 335
burley tobacco, 9
Burley Tobacco Society, 169
Burlington, 333
Burman, Ben Lucien, 239–240
Bush, Sam, 251
Butler, Richard, 334
Butler County, 334
Bybee Pottery, 263, 264, 264, 266
Cabbage Patch settlement house, 202
Cabinet for Economic Development, 322
Cadiz, 244, 343
Cahokia, 138
Caldwell, John, 334
Caldwell County, 168, 334
Caleb the Degenerate (Cotter), 231
Calhoun, 340
Calhoun, John C., 83
Calloway, Richard, 334
Calloway County, 334
Calvert City, 8, 183–184
Camden, Johnson N., 222
campaign finance laws, 50
Campbell, Alexander, 97, 99
Campbell, John, 334
Campbell, Olive, 252
Campbell, Thomas, 97
Campbell County, 334
Campbellsville, 343
Camp Boone, 145
Camp Breckinridge, 151
Camp Campbell, 150
Camp Dick Robinson, 145
camp meetings, 97
Camp Nelson, 119, 119, 124
Campton, 344
Camp Zachary Taylor, 65
Canada, War of 1812, 141
Cane Ridge Revival, 95, 96
Caney Creek Junior College, 203
Caneyville, 250
Cantrill, J. Campbell, 222
Carcassonne, 265
Carlisle, 341
Carlisle, John Griffin, 211, 335
Carlisle County, 335
Carriage House Players, 249
Carroll, Alfred M., 131
Carroll, Charles, 335
Carroll, Julian M., 294, 295, 349
Carroll County, 335
Carrollton, 335
Carter, William G., 335
Carter Caves state park, 15
Carter County, 165, 178, 335
carving, 267
Casey, William, 335
Casey County, 335
cast iron, 281
Catholic Church
   Bloody Monday riot, 89, 99
   Civil War and, 99
current membership levels, 103
frontier period, 94, 95–96
hospitals, 100
Second Vatican Council, 101
“Social Gospel” movement, 100
women’s religious communities, 100
Catholics, lawn shrines, 268, 268
Catlettsburg, 334
Cattlesburg, 180
Caudill, Harry M., 292, 296
Caudill, Rebecca, 240
Caudill, Ruby Haynes, 265
Cave, The (Warren), 238
caves, 9. See also Mammoth Cave
Central Colored School, 132–133
Central Kentucky Philharmonic Orchestra, 253
Central Kentucky Youth Symphony Orchestra, 253
Centre College, 75, 93
Century (magazine), 229
Chaffin, Lillie, 242
chair making, 267
Chamber Music Society of Central Kentucky, 254
INDEX • 363

Chandler Medical Center (University of Kentucky), 291
Chandra, Amitabh, 331
Chapin, Lucius, 248
Charleston (WV), 179, 180
chautauqua programs, 71
Cherokee Park, 71
Chickasaw Indians, 7
childbirth, 66
Childer, Joey, 329
children
infant mortality, 66
organized sports, 75–76
youth orchestras, 253
Children of Noah (Burman), 240
Childress, Lestel and Oilie, 262
Chillicothe, 139, 140
choirs, 253–254
Christian, William, 335
Christian Church, 97, 99
Christian County, 107, 168, 185, 335
“Christian Reformers,” 97
Christmas celebrations, 67
churches. See also Catholic Church; religion
antislavery movement, 93, 99, 114–115
black, 98, 123, 124
civil rights movement, 102–103
Civil War era, 98–99
current membership levels, 103
current trends, 103–104
ecumenical movement, 101–103
frontier period, 92, 93–96
“Social Gospel” movement, 100–101
theological debates, 98–99
women in, 100
Churchill, John and Henry, 70
Churchill Downs, 13, 69, 71
cigarette industry, 326
American Tobacco Company, 168, 220
Cincinnati (OH), 173, 180
Cincinnati Southern Railroad, 208, 209–210
cinema. See movies
circuit courts, 51
circuses, 68
cities
migration trends, 59–60
population figures, 5–6
suburb development, 279, 283
Citizens Committee for a State Suffrage Amendment, 200
civil rights, post-Civil War era, 207–208
civil rights amendments, federal
content of, 120
Fifteenth Amendment, 123, 211
Fourteenth Amendment, 120, 123, 210–211
Thirteenth Amendment, 120, 123
white opposition to, 123
civil rights movement
churches, 102–103
desegregation of colleges, 130–131
desegregation of public accommodations and services, 134
desegregation of public schools, 133, 291, 312
NAACP and, 130
Civil War
black troops, 119
churches and, 99
damages from, 148–149
divided government in Kentucky, 146
divided loyalties in Kentucky, 145–146
end of slavery, 119–121
feuds and, 165, 167
fugitive slaves and, 119
guerrilla raids, 147
Kentucky neutrality, 90, 145
Kentucky’s secession crisis, 105
literature and, 228–229
military operations, 146–147
military rule of Kentucky, 147–148
post-war politics, 207–212, 225
Union and Confederate recruiting in Kentucky, 145
Clark, Billy, 240, 242
Clark, Francis, 94
Clark, George Rogers, 78, 137–140, 155, 227, 335
Clark, James, 87, 346
Clark, Thomas D., 2
Clark County, 165, 335
Clarke, Marcellus Jerome, 147
Clay, Cassius M., 116, 116–117, 190, 191, 243
Clay, Cassius M., Jr., 213
Clay, Green, 335
Clay, Henry
Aaron Burr Conspiracy, 82
colonization movement, 115
Compromise of 1850, 88
William Henry Harrison and, 142
political career of, 83, 85, 86, 88, 91
theological debates and, 99
Charles Wickliffe and, 87
Clay, Laura, 192, 192–194, 199, 200
Clay, Mary Barr, 191
Clay, Mary Jane Warfield, 190–191
Clay County, 335
Clearing (Berry), 241
Clear Springs (Mason), 241
Clements, Earle C., 290, 348
climate
Hypsithermal climatic interval, 28
Ice Age period, 25
modern, 2—3
Clinton, 338
Clinton, De Witt, 335
Clinton County, 335
Clooney, Rosemary, 251
Clotel; or, the President’s Daughter (Brown), 229
Clovis point, 26
Coal, 5
college company towns, 282–283
college mining
decline in, 326
Eastern Kentucky region, 178
“Joy” loader, 15
Mountains region, 15
oil embargo of 1973, 294
Owensboro-Henderson region, 182–183
reclamation, 11, 15
types of, 11
violence, 169–170
Western Coal Field region, 10–11
coal severance tax, 294
Cobb, Irvin S., 230, 231, 245
code duello, 160–161
codes of honor, 156, 159–161, 167, 170
Coleman, J. Winston, Jr., 110–111
colleges and universities, 293
black, 129, 130, 131
desegregation of, 130–131
foreign-born graduate assistants, 324
improving investment in research, 330–331
Lexington region, 176
Louisville region, 182
Paducah-Purchase region, 184
South Central region, 184
for teacher education, 217
teacher training, 300
women and, 193, 202
Collins, Floyd, 238
Collins, Martha Layne, 49, 205, 295, 295–296, 321
Colonial Revival houses, 282
colonization movement, 115
Columbia, 333
Columbia School District (Adair County), 133
Combs, Bert T., 134, 291, 292, 292–293, 294, 296, 348
Commission on Human Rights, 293
Committee on Committees, 45
common schools, 302. See also education; schools
commonwealth’s attorneys, 158
Compromise of 1850, 88, 89
computers, 325–326
Confederates
government in Kentucky, 146
guerrilla raids, 147
military actions, 146–147
postwar politics, 208, 209, 210
troop recruiting in Kentucky, 145
Conservative party, 209
corpus, constitution, state
of 1792, 38–39
of 1799, 39
of 1850, 39–40, 118, 302–304
of 1890
amendments and revisions, 42–43, 56–57
bill of rights, 41–42
body of, 42
character and length of, 40–41
creation of, 213
limitations of, 225
preamble, 41
public education and, 302–304, 309–310, 311
on slavery, 39–40, 118
“contract archaeology,” 22
convict labor, 213
Cook, Marlow, 294
cookbooks, 63
Coomes, Mrs. William, 298
Cooper, John Sherman, 291–292
Cordell, 251
corn
Paleoindians and, 32
slavery and, 109
Cornelison family, 263, 264
Cornett, Chester, 267
Corns, Ray, 312
Corporation for Enterprise Development, 322
Cosmopolitan (magazine), 231
Corter, Joseph Seamon, 231
cotton farming, 8–9, 109
Couch, Tim, 332
Council on Post Secondary Education, 322
country music, 252
county-unit law, 218
Court of Appeals, state, 51, 158
Goebel assassination, 163
relief law controversy, 85
court system, state. See judicial system
INDEX • 365

Covington, 173, 180, 188, 239, 250, 338
Crabb, Alfred Leland, 240
Crabbe, John Grant, 307
Crab Orchard culture, 32–33
Crafts, 257. See also folk art
Craig, Lewis, 79
Criminal justice system, failures encouraging violence, 156–159
Criminal law, 158
Crittenden, John Jordan, 88, 346
Crittenden County, 335
Crittenden family, Civil War and, 145
Croghan, George, 143
Cromwell, Emma Guy, 198
Crowe, J. D., 251
Crowe, John Finley, 115
Crow’s Station, 299
culture history
Archaic period, 27–30
Late Prehistoric period, 34–36
overview of, 23–25
Paleoindian period, 25–27
Woodland period, 30–33
Cumberland County, 335
Cumberland Falls, 15, 185, 223, 224
Cumberland Gap, 12, 14, 73, 77, 90, 173
Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 97
Cumberland River, 4, 146, 183, 335
Curtis Institute of Music (Philadelphia), 254
cycling, 74
Cynthiana, 337
dairy barns, 282
Dale Hollow Lake, 185
dancing
ballet groups, 254
schools, 61
Shaker, 248
square dances, 64
Danville, 227–228, 250, 254
Dark Tobacco District Planter’s Association, 168
Darnell, Elias, 142
Davenport, Gwen, 243
Davies, David L., 253–254
Davies, Joseph Hamilton, 335
Daviess County, 335
Davis, Jefferson, 1, 228
Davis, Skeeter, 252
Dawning of Music in Kentucky (Heinrich), 247
Day Law, 127, 225, 312
Deaconess Hospital (Louisville), 100
“Death of Floyd Collins, The” (play), 250
Delta Airlines, 180
Democratic party
antebellum era politics, 86
factionalism in, 210–211, 287–288
Goebel assassination, 163
Great Depression politics, 287–288, 289
Music Hall Convention, 215
number of registered voters, 53
organization of, 52–53
1960’s politics, 293
late 1800’s politics, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216
post-Civil War politics, 208, 209, 210–211, 212
post-World War II politics, 290, 297
Progressive era politics, 222, 225
state chairman position, 53
Whigs and, 89
demographic trends
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, 58–59
in-migration, 319
out-migration, 317, 318
population aging, 320–321, 328–329
of slaves, 106–107
twentieth century, 59–60, 290, 318–320, 323–324
Denny, Edwin R., 291
Department of Mines and Minerals, 176
Depression. See Great Depression
desegregation
of colleges, 130–131
of public accommodations and services, 134
of schools, 133, 291, 312
Desert Shield, 154
Desert Storm, 154
Desha, Joseph, 84, 85, 345
DeShannon, Jackie, 252
Desvigne, Sidney, 251
Detroit (MI), 78, 139, 140, 142
Dick, David, 242
diet. See also foodways
fast-food chains, 64
nineteenth century, 63
of slaves, 111
diphtheria, 66
Disciples of Christ, 97
disease, 66
distilleries, 330
district courts, 51
Dixion, 344
dogtrot houses, 272, 274
Dollmaker, The (Arnow), 237, 245

Dominican Sisters at Springfield, 100

Donaldson, J. Lyter, 288

Doniphan, Joseph, 298

Dorris, Michael, 243

double pen houses, 272

Dragging Canoe, 19

Drake, Samuel, 249

drive-in movies, 69

Drucker, Peter, 328–329

drugs, 170

Dublin, 5

Dudley's Defeat, 143

duels, 82, 160–161

Duerett, Peter, 98

dulcimers, 251, 259

Dummit, Eldon S., 290

Duncan, Robert Todd, 253

DuPont family, 223

Eastern Kentucky. See also Mountains region

corner conflicts, 169–170

feuds, 165–167

regional economy of, 176, 178

women reformers, 203

writers from, 242

Eastern Kentucky University, 176, 293

Eastern State Hospital (Lexington), 126

economy. See also industry; manufacturing;

New Economy

of border counties, 186

contemporary, 315–316

decline in traditional industries, 326

eyear nineteenth century growth, 84

future trends, 315

global, 325

history of, 173

improving investment in university research, 330–331

incentive packages for industry, 316, 321–322

income inequality, 327

income levels, 172, 187, 290, 327–328

ineffective political leadership and, 322–323

lack of entrepreneurial energy, 322

national comparisons, 186–187

panics and depressions, 84–85, 87, 211

(see also Great Depression)

poverty and, 327

regional

Ashland, 178, 180

Lexington, 12, 175–176

Louisville, 181–182

Mountains, 15, 176, 178

Northern, 180–181

Owensboro-Henderson, 182–183

Paducah-Purchase, 8, 183–184

South Central, 184–186

service industries, 182, 326–327

statewide diversity in, 172–173

tourism, 10, 185–186, 262, 326

transportation and, 173–174

underground, 178

Eddyville, 213, 340

Edmonson, John, 336

Edmonson County, 336

Edmonton, 341

education. See also black schools; music education; schools; teachers

academy system, 298–300

antebellum period, 299–305

Julian Carroll and, 294

commissions on, 309–310

compulsory school attendance, 308

corporate assistance to, 330

desegregation in, 130–131, 133, 291, 312

enrollment levels, 307

funding initiatives and issues, 293, 296, 300, 305–306, 311, 312


H. A. M. Henderson and, 306

improving university research status, 330–331

Kentucky Education Reform Act, 296, 313, 315, 322, 330

Kentucky Supreme Court on, 312–313

levels of attainment, 172–173, 320–321

Minimum Foundation Act, 290

New Economy and, 314–315


post-Civil War period, 305–308

problems of undereducation, 320–321

public school system development, 87, 301–308

rural reform, 203–204

schoolhouses, 299, 304, 306, 308

segregation in, 127, 128–129, 312

settlement period, 298–299

state constitution and, 302–304, 309–310, 311

Sullivan Law, 307–308

survey of public attitudes, 300
twentieth century, 308-313
violence in, 299
wage levels and, 320, 322
Simeon Willis and, 288
Eighteenth Amendment (U.S.), 101, 202, 221
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 286, 291
elections
campaign finance laws, 50
Goebel Election Law, 215-216
political parties, 52-54
problems of nonvoting in, 54-56, 57
during Union military rule, 147
violence, 163
Elizabethtown, 202, 337. See also Severns Valley settlement
Elk, 5
Elkton, 343
Elliot County, 267
Elliott, John M., 162, 336
Elliott County, 172, 336
Ellis Park, 13
ells, 276-277, 277
emancipation, 116
compensated, 119, 120
difficulty of, 120-121
Emancipation Proclamation, 119
Emberton, Tom, 294
emigration, 317, 318
employment discrimination, 134
Enduring Hills, The (Giles), 236
English, Logan, 244
Episcopal Church, 99
"Era of Good Feelings," 86
Embery, Ann, 259
Estill, James, 336
Estill County, 164, 336
Estill's Station, 336
Erhridge, Mark, 234
Ethridge, Willie Snow, 234
Eubank, Charles L., 131
Evansville (IN), 173, 182
evolution, opposition to teaching of, 101
Ewing, Finis, 97
excursion boats, 251
fair bank, Calvin, 99, 116
fairs, 69
Fallen Timbers, 141
Falls City, 68
Falls of the Ohio, 139, 181
Falmouth, 250, 342
family life, 60-64
1930s, 72-73
Civil War and, 145

feuds, 165-167
of slaves, 111-112
family nurse practitioners, 204, 205
farm buildings, 276, 277-278, 282
farmers. See also agriculture
chautauquas, 71
Farmers' Alliance, 214
Grange movement, 211
tobacco wars, 168-169, 217
Farmers' Alliance, 214
"Farmers Chautauquas," 71
Farmington, 247
fast-food chains, 64
Fayette County, 5, 79, 229, 336
adult levels of education, 173
economy of, 175, 176
hemp farming, 110
women's rights associations, 191, 192-193, 194
Fayette County Equal Rights Association, 192-193
Fayette County Equal Suffrage Association, 191, 194
"Federal Hill" (E. Litsey), 240
Federalist party, 82, 86
Federation of Women's Clubs, 198, 202
Fee, John G., 99, 116, 117-119
fencing, 246
feuds, 165-167, 225
Fidelity Investments, 180
Field, Thomas P., 5
Fields, William J., 222, 348
Fifteenth Amendment (U.S.), 123, 211
fighting contests, 67
films. See movies
Filson, John, 19, 298
Firebase Tomahawk, 153
Fireside Industries, 259
First Baptist Church (Lexington), 98
Fischer, George, 330
Fitzgerald, Tom, 329
Flagler, Benedict Joseph, 94
Fleming, John, 336
Fleming County, 248, 336
Flemingsburg, 336
Fleming's Station, 336
flooding, 288
flour sacks, 265
Flowering of the Cumberland (Arnow), 237
Flower Mission, 202
Floyd, John, 138, 336
Floyd County, 205, 336
family life in the 30's, 72-73
Flute and Violin (Allen), 229
Foley, Red, 252
folk art
  artistic recycling, 264–266
  basket making, 258, 259, 260, 261–262
  changes in craft function and production, 261–264
  craft revivals, 259–261
  individuality, 266–268
  on the landscape, 268, 268–269
  overview of, 256–257, 269
  pottery, 259, 262–264, 264, 266
  quilting, 260, 260–261, 261, 264–266
  Shaker, 257–259
folk music, 251, 252
foodways, 23
  prehistoric, 25, 26, 29–30, 32, 34
football, 75
Ford, H. Church, 131
Ford, Wendell H., 294, 349
Ford Motor Company, 182
Forest Runners, The (Altsheler), 230
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 147
Fort Ancient culture, 34, 35–36, 92
Fort Boonesborough, 12, 298
Fort Campbell, 9, 175, 184, 288
Fort Donelson, 146
Fort Harrod, 12, 106, 298
Fort Henry, 146
Fort Jefferson, 139, 140
Fort Knox, 9, 150, 153, 181, 288
Fort Meigs, 143
Fort Stephenson, 143
40 Acres and No Mule (Giles), 236
475th Mobile Army Surgical Hospital
  (Kentucky National Guard), 154
Fourteenth Amendment (U.S.), 120, 123,
  210–211
Fourth of July, 66
Fox, John, Jr., 229–230, 244–245
Fox Farm, 20
Frankfort, 12, 101, 336
  circuses, 68
  civil rights movement, 102, 130
  Civil War period, 147
  economy of, 175–176
  in frontier economy, 173
  Kentucky penitentiary, 159
  performing arts, 247, 249
  racial segregation, 127
  Underground Railroad, 99
  Vietnam War monument, 153
Franklin, 343
Franklin, Benjamin, 336
Franklin County, 176, 336
Freedmen’s Bureau, 123, 124
Free Kindergarten Association, 202
French, Heather Renee, 332
French, Robert, 253
Frenchburg, 341
Frenchtown, 142
Frontier Nursing Service, 204, 205
Frost, William Goodell, 259
Fruit of the Loom, 185
fugitive slaves, 111, 111, 112–113, 119
Fulton, Robert, 336
Fulton County, 2, 7, 336
Funkhouser, William D., 21–22
Furman, Lucy, 231, 245
furniture making, 258, 267
Gable, Robert E., 294
Gaines, John, 330
Gall, Irma, 205
Gallatin, Albert, 336
Gallatin County, 336
gambling, 222
Gander, 265
gander-pulls, 67
Garrard, James, 82, 93, 337, 345
Garrard County, 337
Garrison, William Lloyd, 115
Gatling Gun, 163
Gayle, Crystal, 252
General Assembly
  biennial sessions, 43, 44
  black women in, 205
  chartering of banks, 84
  Day Law, 127
  houses of, 44
  increasing independence of, 47–48
  Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, 81, 82
  legislative process, 44–46
  office of governor and, 48–49
  1960’s politics, 293
  1970’s politics, 294
  1980’s politics, 295, 296
  post-World War II politics, 290, 291, 297
  public education and, 290, 300, 301–302,
  304–306, 307, 309, 310, 312–313
  sales taxes, 288
  special sessions, 47
  standing committees, 46–47
  Unionist control of, 90
  women’s suffrage, 199–200
General Electric, 182
General Motors, 185
geography
Bluegrass region, 12–13
cities, 5–6
climates, 2–3
Jackson Purchase region, 7–9
Mountains region, 13–15
overview of, 1–2, 15–16
Pennyroyal region, 9–10
place names, 5
regions, 6–15
waterways, 4
Western Coal Field region, 10–11

Geography of Kentucky, A (Bladen), 1
Geography of the Heart (E. Johnson), 243
George III, 93
Georgetown, 124, 296, 321, 343
Georgetown College, 93, 202
Georgia, 122
German immigrants, 63, 98
Gershwin, George, 253
Gethsemani Abbey, 236
Getting Out (Norman), 243
Gift of Good Land, The (Berry), 241
Giles, Henry, 235
Giles, Janice Holt, 227, 235–236, 245
Gish, Tom, 330
glaciers, 25
Glasgow, 5, 250, 333
Glendale, 190
global economy, 325
Godfrey, James H., 253
Goebel, William, 100, 161, 162–163, 214, 215, 216, 216, 225, 314, 347
Goebel Election Law, 215–216, 217
Goetz, Stephan J., 320, 321
Go Forth, 5
Golden Pond, 10
“Golden Triangle,” 12
gold-standard, 211
Good Brother, The (Offutt), 242
“Good Morning to All” (Hill and Hill), 253
Gordon, Caroline, 232, 245
Gothic Revival houses, 280, 281
government. See also individual branches
citizen voting, 54–56
governor, 48–50
judicial branch, 50–51
legislature, 44–48
political parties and elections, 52–54
state constitution, 38–43, 213
tax reform, 212–213, 225
women in, 198, 205
governors
late 1800’s, 212–213, 214–216
1960’s, 292–293
1970’s, 294–295
1980’s, 295–296
antebellum era, 81–82, 83–84, 85, 86–87, 88–89, 90
campaign finance laws, 50
duties and responsibilities of, 48–50
General Assembly and, 47, 48–49
Great Depression era, 286, 287–288
gubernatorial succession amendment, 42–43, 50
lack of effective leadership from, 323
legislative process and, 46
pardoning of violent criminals, 158–159, 212
post-Civil War era, 207, 209, 211
post-World War II, 290, 291, 292
women elected to, 205
during World War II, 289
Graddy, Hank, 329
Graham Springs, 67–68
grand juries, 157
Grand Old Opry, 251
Grange movement, 211
Grant, Samuel, 337
Grant County, 164, 337
Graves, Benjamin, 337
Graves County, 241, 337
Grayson, 335
Grayson, William, 337
Grayson County, 337
Greasy Creek, 332
Great Awakening. See Great Revival
Great Britain
frontier military actions, 138, 139, 140
War of 1812, 141, 142, 143
Great Depression, 223–224, 265, 286–289
Great Meadow, The (Roberts), 232
Great Revival, 95, 96–98, 97
Great Society, 292
Greek Revival houses, 278
Green, Edna, 261
Green, Johnny, 136
Green, Joseph, 246
Greenbo Lake state park, 15
Green County, 337
Greene, Nathanael, 337
Green, Nathanael, 337
Green River, 4
Green River Lake, 185
Green River Valley, 20, 25, 29
Greensburg, 337
Greenup, 337
Greenup, Christopher, 82, 337, 345
Greenup County, 178, 337
Greenville, 341
    treaty of, 141
Grissom, David, 330
guerrilla raids, 147
*Guide to Kentucky Place Names, A (Field),* 5
Guignol Theater, 249
Gulf War, 153–154
“Guns of Fort Knox, The” (Merton), 237
Guthrie, 237

*Hacey Miller (Sherburne),* 243
Hager, Larry, 330
Hall, Eula, 205
Hall, Gary Lee, 153
Hall, Tom T., 252
Hall County, 205
hall/parlor houses, 271, 271, 275, 275
Haly, Percy, 218
Hamilton, Henry, 78, 139
Hampton, Lionel, 250
Hancock, John, 337
Hancock County, 337
Hanlin, John, 337

“Happy Birthday to You,” 253
Hardin, Parker Watkins, 214
Hardin County, 181, 337
Hart County, 337
Harlan, 337
Harlan, John Marshall, 211, 212
Harlan, Silas, 337
Harlan Boys Choir, 253–254
Harlan County, 13, 167, 169–170, 240, 337
Harmar, Josiah, 141
harness racing, 70–71
*Harper’s (magazine),* 229
Harrison, Benjamin, 337–338
Harrison, Lowell H., 112
Harrison, Valentine, 79
Harrison, William Henry, 141, 142, 336
Harrison County, 337
Harrod, 12
Harrod, James, 77
Harrodsburg, 77, 90, 250, 275, 341
Hart, Nathaniel G. T., 338
Hart County, 230, 338
Hartford, 341
Harvard University, 75
*Hatchet, The* (temperance newssheet), 202
Hattfield family, 166–167
Haw, James, 94
Hawes, Richard, 146, 147
Hawesville, 182, 337
Hayes, Rutherford B., 211–212
Hays, William Shakespeare, 250
Haywood, Charles F., 321
Hazard, 342
health care
    companies, 182
    Frontier Nursing Service, 204, 205
    women reformers, 204–205
health insurance, 328
Heinrich, Anthony Philip, 246–247, 254–255
Helm, John Larue, 88–89, 209, 346
hemp, 109–110
“hemp pneumonia,” 110
Henderson, 10, 127, 128, 173, 182, 243, 338
Henderson, H. A. M., 306
Henderson, Richard, 77, 90, 338
Henderson County, 107, 338
Henry, Josephine K., 197
Henry, Patrick, 338
Henry County, 240, 338
“Heritage” (Still), 235
Hickman, 336
Hickman, Paschal, 338
Hickman County, 338
higher education. See colleges and universities
Highland Festival, 5
highways. See interstate highways; roads
Hill, Mildred, 253
Hill, Patty S., 253
Hill family, 202–203
Hindman, 339
Hindman Settlement School, 203, 231, 259
Hispanics, 323–324
historic architecture
    antebellum period, 276–278
    impact of railroads and technology on, 279–280
    loss of, 283–284
    modern period, 283
    overview of, 284–285
    postbellum period, 279–282
    preserving, 284
    settlement period, 270–276
    turn-of-the-century, 282–283
Hodge, W. J., 102
Hodgenville, 339
Holley, Horace, 85
Home of Friendless Women, 202
*Home to Kentucky* (Crabb), 240
homicides. See also racial violence; violence
    assassinations, 161–163
    criminal justice system failures, 156–159
    drug-related, 170
    feuds, 165–167
rates of, 156, 167, 170
self-defense, 162
“Honest Election Democrats,” 215
honor. See codes of honor
Hoover, Herbert, 286
Hopewell culture, 32
Hopkins, Samuel, 338
Hopkins County, 338
Hopkinsville, 9, 128, 168, 184, 335
Horse Cave, 250
horse farming, 12, 175, 282
horse racing, 13
antigambling movement, 222
Churchill Downs, 71
history of, 70–71
racial segregation, 128
“hospitality” businesses, 326
hospitals, 100
black, 123
racial segregation, 126, 127
Hounds on the Mountain (Still), 235
House of Representatives, state
legislative process, 44–46
standing committees, 47
houses
balloon frame, 280
brick, 273
bungalows, 283, 284
in coal company towns, 282–283
Colonial Revival style, 282
with ells, 276–277, 277
Gothic Revival style, 280, 281
Greek Revival style, 278
hall/parlor plan, 271, 271, 275, 275
Italianate style, 280–281, 281
kitchens and work areas, 275–276
log, 60, 61, 270–273
outbuildings, 276, 277–278, 282
with passages, 275, 276–277, 277
pen, 271, 271–273, 272, 274
of settlers, 60–61
shot-gun, 279, 280
of slaves, 277–278
stone, 273
timber frame, 273, 275
T-plan, 280, 280
Victorian style, 281, 281–282
housing discrimination, 125–126, 130, 134
Hubbard, Harlan, 242
Huddleston, Walter “Dee,” 294
Hull House, 202
Humana, 182, 188, 330
Human Resources Cabinet, 204–205
Hume, Edgar Erskine, 151–152
Humes, Helen, 250
Humphrey, Hubert, 293
hunter/gatherers, 27–30, 32
Hunter’s Horn (Amow), 237
hunting. See also hunter/gatherers
community squirrel hunts, 64–65
prehistoric, 25, 26, 28, 34
Huntington-Ashland statistical area, 179
Hyden, 251, 339
Hypsithermal climatic interval, 28
Ice Age, 25
Illinois Regiment, 138, 139, 140
I’ll Sing One Song (Ethridge), 234
immigrants, 319. See also demographic trends;
migration
German, 63, 98
recent, social traditions and, 76
income inequality, 327
income levels, 172, 187, 290, 327–328.
See also wages
In Country (Mason), 241
Independece, 338
Indiana National Guard, 149–150
industrial fairs, 69
industry. See also economy; manufacturing
Ashland region, 180
assistance to education, 330
lack of entrepreneurial energy in, 322
Lexington region, 180
Louisville region, 181–182
Northern region, 180
overview of, 187–188
Owensboro-Henderson region, 182
Paducah-Purchase region, 183, 184
South Central region, 185
state incentive packages, 316, 321–322
transportation and, 173
during World War II, 288
Inez, 340
infant mortality, 66
information technology, 324, 325–326
“In Kentucky” (Mulligan), 228
insurance companies, 182
integration. See desegregation
Internet, 325–326
interacial marriages, 129
interstate highways, 173–174, 180, 183
Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes, An
(Tufts), 247–248
Iroquois Park, 71
Irvine, 336  
*Island Queen* (excursion boat), 251  
Italianate houses, 280–281, 281  
Iuka, 5  
Iwo Jima, 136, 150  
*Jack and the Wonder Beans* (Still), 235  
Jackson, 334  
Jackson, Andrew, 7, 338  
Jackson County, 338  
Jackson Purchase region, 2, 7–9. See also  
Paducah-Purchase economic region  
Jamestown, 185, 343  
jazz, 250, 250–251  
“Jazz Hounds,” 250  
Jefferson, Thomas, 81, 82, 338  
Jeffersonian Republicans, 81–82  
Jenkins, 251  
Jenny Wiley state park, 15  
Jessamine County, 338  
Jessamine Creek, 338  
Jewish Community Center Orchestra, 254  
Jewish Hospital (Louisville), 100  
Jews  
congregations, 98  
ecclesiastical movement and, 102  
hospitals, 100  
persecution of, 99  
Jockey Club, 70  
Johnson, Fenton, 243  
Johnson, George W., 146  
Johnson, Keen, 288, 348  
Johnson, Lyman T., 131, 131, 132–133  
Johnson, Lyndon B., 249  
Johnson, Thomas, Jr., 227  
Johnson, William S., 153  
Johnson County, 338  
Johnston, Albert Sidney, 146  
Johnston, Annie Fellows, 230, 245  
Jones, Breten, 349  
Jones, David, 330  
Jones, Gayle, 242  
Jones, Grandpa, 252  
Jones, Jonah, 250  
“Joy” loader, 15  
Judd family, 252  
judicial lynchings, 164–165  
judicial system  
Court of Appeals, 51, 85, 158, 163  
failures encouraging violence, 157–158  
governor and, 49  
organization of, 50–51  
overhaul of, 43, 50, 51  
Supreme Court, 51, 312  
Jump, 5  
Kaskaskia, 138, 139, 140  
Kay Jay, 5  
Keen, Sanford, 246  
Keeneland, 13, 175  
Kenner, Peggy, 205  
Kenlake, 4  
Kennedy, John F., 292  
Kenton, Simon, 227, 338  
Kenton County, 164, 338  
Kentuckians, The (Giles), 236  
Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, 329  
Kentucky  
meaning of name, 5  
sense of community in, 332  
spiritual attachment to, 317–318  
Kentucky Abolition Society, 115  
Kentucky Academy, 299–300  
Kentucky Active Militia, 150  
Kentucky Air National Guard, 154  
Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society, 116  
Kentucky Appalachian Commission, 329  
Kentucky Arts Council, 252  
Kentucky “Bend,” 2  
Kentucky Cardinal, A (Allen), 229  
Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, 102  
Kentucky Circuit, 249  
Kentucky Colonization Society, 115  
Kentucky Council of Churches, 102, 103  
Kentucky County, 79  
Kentucky Dam, 288  
Kentucky Dam Village, 4  
Kentucky Derby, 48, 70  
Kentucky Educational Television (KET), 48, 176, 293  
Kentucky Education Association, 203  
Kentucky Education Reform Act, 296, 313, 315, 322, 330  
Kentucky Equal Rights Association (KERA), 193, 194, 197, 198, 199, 200–201, 202, 223  
Kentucky Folklife Festival, 252, 262  
Kentucky Folklife Program, 252  
Kentucky Fried Chicken, 251, 295  
Kentucky Geological Survey, 176, 211  
Kentucky Historical Society, 252  
Kentucky history. See also Civil War;  
settlement period  
late 1800’s, 212–217  
antebellum era
Old Court-New Court struggle, 85
politics during, 81–90
relief laws controversy, 84–85
slavery, 88, 89, 90
statehood, 80–81
Great Depression, 223–224
modern era
1960's, 292–293
1970's, 294–295
1980's, 295–297
1990's, 314–324
challenges of the future, 324–330
Great Depression, 286–289
overview of, 286, 297
postwar, 289–292
World War II, 289
post-Civil War era, 207–212, 225
prehistoric era, 27–36
Progressive era, 217–222
Kentucky Horse Park, 13, 176, 330
Kentucky Insurance Company, 84
Kentucky is My Land (Jesse Stuart), 233
Kentucky Jellico Coal Company, 5
Kentucky Jockey Club, 222
“Kentucky” (Johnson), 227
Kentucky Lake, 4, 183
Kentucky Lecture Bureau, 193
Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 45
Kentucky Literacy Commission, 204
Kentucky militia. See also Kentucky National Guard; Kentucky State Guard
feuds and, 166
frontier period actions, 136–141
Goebel assassination and, 163
Mexican-American War, 144
War of 1812, 141–143
Kentucky Miscellany, The (Johnson), 227
Kentucky National Guard
Gulf War, 153, 154
Korean War, 152
Vietnam War, 153
violence in the 1960's and, 293
World War I, 149–150
World War II, 150, 152
Kentucky Opera, 253
Kentucky penitentiary, 159
Kentucky Place Names (Rennick), 5
Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, 81, 82
Kentucky River, 4, 77, 90, 183, 262
Kentucky State Capitol, 39
Kentucky State College for Negroes, 129, 130, 131
Kentucky State Fair, 69
Kentucky State Guard, 149
Kentucky State Penitentiary, 213
Kentucky State Police, 290
Kentucky State University, 176, 312
Kentucky Stories, The (Porter), 242
Kentucky Straight (Offutt), 242
Kentucky Trace, The (Arnow), 237
Kentucky Utilities, 188
Kentucky Wesleyan College, 102, 202, 253
Kentucky Woman Suffrage Association, 192
KERA. See Kentucky Equal Rights Association
KET. See Kentucky Educational Television
Kimmel, Husband, 151
King, A. D., 102
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 102
King, Robert, 253
Kingsolver, Barbara, 242
Kitty League, 74
Knifley, 235
Knobs region, 12, 95
Knott, J. Proctor, 212, 213, 339, 347
Knott County, 231, 234, 339
knowledge economy. See New Economy
Know-Nothing party, 89
Knox, Henry, 339
Knox County, 205, 339
Korda, Marion, 250
Korean War, 152–153
Kragon, 5
Ku Klux Klan, 164
LaFayette, Gilbert du Motier de, 336
Laffoon, Ruby, 287, 348
LaGrange, 342
Lake Barkley, 4, 8, 183
Lake Cumberland, 4, 186
Lancaster, 337
land
claims, 79
settlement of Kentucky and, 78–79, 90–91
surveys, 79
Land Between the Lakes, 10, 293
Land Beyond the Mountain, The (Giles), 236
Lanham, Michael, 332
Larue, John, 339
Larue County, 339
Late Prehistoric period, 34–36
Laurel County, 68, 339
Laurel River Lake, 186
law enforcement, failures encouraging violence, 157
lawn shrines, 268, 268–269
Lawrence, James, 339
Lawrenceburg, 199, 333
Lawrence County, 339
lawyers, 158
activists, 329
Lebanon, 192, 340
Ledia, Lily May, 252
Lee, Ann, 97–98
Lee, Robert E., 339
Lee County, 339
“The Legend of Daniel Boone, The” (play), 250
legislative process, 44–46
Legislative Research Committee, 290
legislature. See General Assembly
Leitchfield, 337
Lend-A-Hand Center, 205
Leslie, Preston H., 211, 339, 347
Leslie County, 339
Letcher, Robert P., 87, 339, 346
Letcher County, 5, 339
Lewis, Meriwether, 339
Lewis, Oliver, 70
Lewis County, 339
Lexington, 12, 336
black churches, 98
W. C. P. Breckinridge and, 210
called “Athens of the West,” 67
civic reforms, 203
Civil War period, 147
Cassius Clay and, 117
desegregation, 134
first schools in, 298
in frontier economy, 173
Anthony Heinrich, 246–247
horse races, 13, 70
house architecture, 275
housing for workers, 279
murder of R. C. O. Benjamin, 125
performing arts, 246–247, 247, 249–250, 251, 253, 254
racial segregation, 126
regional economy, 175–176
slave sales, 106
theological debates in, 99
women’s rights associations, 191, 192
Lexington Baller, 254
Lexington Children’s Theatre, 249–250
Lexington Herald (newspaper), 199
Lexington Musical Theatre, 250
Lexington Observer and Reporter (newspaper), 117
Lexington Opera House, 247
Lexington Philharmonic Orchestra, 253
Lexington Theological Seminary, 102
Lexington Urban League, 204
Lexmark, International, 175, 188
LGE Energy, 188
Liberia, 115
Liberty, 335
Liberty party, 116
libraries, racial segregation, 126–127
Licking River, 4
Limestone, 5, 12
Lincoln, Abraham, 1, 117, 119, 228
Lincoln, Benjamin, 339
Lincoln, Thomas, 93
Lincoln County, 5, 79, 339
literature
black writers, 228–229, 231
Civil War period, 228–229
ey early writers, 227–228
historical and cultural resources, 226–227
local color writing, 229–230
overview of, 244–245
recent writers, 239–244
Southern Renaissance, 231–237
turn-of-the-century writers, 230–231
Robert Penn Warren, 237–238, 238, 239, 245
Litsey, Edwin Carlile, 239, 240
Litsey, Sarah, 239
Little Colonel, The (Johnston), 230
Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come, The (Fox), 229
Little Theater, 249
Livingston, Robert, 339
Livingston County, 339
Lloyd, Alice, 203
Lloyd, John Uri, 230, 245
local color stories, 229–230
Locust Hill Estate, 109
Logan, Benjamin, 106, 137, 140, 339–340
Logan, Boone, 166
Logan, M. M., 288
Logan Aluminum, 185
Logan County, 185, 339
Great Revival, 95, 96
Shaker community, 98
white terrorism, 164
Logan’s Station, 339
“Log House, The” (Heinrich), 247
tag houses, 60, 61, 270–273
London, 5, 329, 339
Long-Legged House, The (Berry), 241
Long-term Policy Research Center, 325
Lonz Power (Weir), 65
Look at the Kentucky General Assembly, A, 45
lottery, 296
Louisa, 339
Louisiana Purchase, 82
Louisville, 5, 12, 338
  Bloody Monday riot, 89, 99
  churches, 98, 102
  civil rights movement, 130
  desegregation, 134
  fairs at, 69
  in frontier economy, 173
  horse races, 70
  hospitals, 100
  housing for workers, 279
  parks and playgrounds, 71, 73
  performing arts, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252
  253, 253, 254
  population trends, 59–60
  racial segregation, 126
  regional economy, 181–182, 188
  riots in the 1960’s, 293
  slavery, 99, 107, 109
  traveling shows, 68
  urban revival, 329
  violence against black schools, 124
  writers and, 228, 231, 234, 253, 254
Louisville Area Interchurch Organization for Service, 102
Louisville Bach Society, 254
Louisville Ballet, 254
Louisville Central Area, Inc., 251
Louisville Churchmen’s Federation, 222
Louisville Courier-Journal, 103, 191, 196, 250, 296
Louisville Gas and Electric Company, 188
Louisville Jazz Society, 251
Louisville Medical Depot, 151
Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 208, 208, 209–210, 214, 216
Louisville Orchestra, 252–253, 254
Louisville Residential Segregation Ordinance, 130
Louisville School of Pharmacy, 193
“Louisville Slugger” baseball bats, 74–75
Louisville Urban League, 204
Louisville Youth Orchestra, 253
Loveless, Patty, 252
Love Life (Mason), 241
Lovings, Nelson, 98
Lower Blue Licks, 78
Loyalty Charity Club, 202
Lutheran Church, 98
Luvisi, Lee, 254
lynchings
  anti-lynching laws, 130, 164
  judicial, 164–165
  prevalence of, 124–125, 164
Lynn, Loretta, 252
Lynn County, 340
Lyon, Matthew, 340
Lyon County, 168
Lyth, John, 93
Madison, George, 83, 345
Madison, James, 141, 340
Madison County, 71, 118, 340
Madison County Equal Rights Association, 191
Madisonville, 10, 242, 254, 338
Madrid, 5
Magoffin, Beriah, 90, 146, 340, 346
Magoffin County, 340
maize. See corn
Mammoth Cave, 9, 20, 21, 73–74, 185
Manchester, 335
manufacturing. See also industry
  Bluegrass region, 12
  Jackson Purchase region, 8
  Mountains region, 15
  Western Coal Field region, 11
Man with a Bull-Tongue Plow (Jesse Stuart), 233
“March on Frankfort,” 102
Marion, 335
Marion, Francis “Swamp Fox,” 340
Marion County, 95, 340
marriages
  desertions and, 66
  interracial, prohibitions against, 129
  wedding ceremonies, 65–66, 66
Marshall, Humphrey, 82
Marshall, John, 340
Marshall County, 164, 340
Martin, John P., 165–166, 340
Martin County, 340
Martin Marietta, 183
Martin’s station, 78, 139
Mary Todd Lincoln House, 246
Mason, Bobbie Ann, 241, 243, 244, 245
Mason, George, 340
Mason County, 20, 303, 340
massacres, War of 1812, 142, 143
Maumee River, 143
May, John, 298
Mayes, Harrison, 269
Mayfield, 241, 337
Maysville, 12, 173, 251, 340
McAfee’s station, 298
McChord, William, 147
McClanahan, Ed, 243
McCoy family, 166–167
McCracken, Virgil, 340
McCracken County, 340
McCreary, James Bennett, 212, 218–219, 340, 347
McCreary County, 340
MCD, Inc., 327
McGill, Josephine, 252
Mckee, 338
McKinney, John, 298–299
McLain Family Band, 251
McLean, Alney, 340
McLean County, 340
Meade, James, 341
Meade County, 263, 341
medicine. See also health care
rural reform, 204
MEMORY OF OLD JACK, THE (Berry), 240
Menefee, Richard H., 341
Menifee County, 341
Mennonites, 258
Mental institutions, racial segregation in, 126
Mercer, Hugh, 341
Mercer County, 67–68, 98, 243, 341
Merrill, Boynton, 243
Merton, Thomas, 102, 236–237, 245
Metcalf, Thomas, 86, 341, 345
Metcalf County, 341
Methodist Church
  current membership levels, 103
  frontier period, 94–95
  hospitals, 100
  slavery, 99
Mexican-American War, 143–145
Mexican War, 87–88
Middlesboro, 13
migration. See also demographic trends;
immigrants
  nineteenth and twentieth century trends,
  59–60, 317, 318, 319
  of settlers, 58–59, 78–79
militia day, 65
militias. See Kentucky militia; Kentucky
  National Guard; Kentucky State Guard
Miller, James Wayne, 243, 263–264
Miller, Tipton A., 128
Mill Springs, battle of, 146
Milton, 242
Minimum Foundation Act, 290
Miss America, 332
Mississippi, 122
Mississippian culture, 8, 34–35, 92
Mississippi (Burman), 240
Mississippi River, 2, 89
monetary policy, 211, 214
Monroe, Bill, 251
Monroe, Charles, 251
Monroe, James, 341
Monroe County, 341
Montgomery, Richard, 341
Montgomery County, 68, 341
Monticello, 344
Moody, Dwight, 101
Moonlight Schools, 203, 204
Morehead, 166, 342
Morehead, Charles Slaughter, 89, 346
Morehead, James Turner, 87, 346
Morehead State University, 293
Morgan, Daniel, 341
Morgan, John Hunt, 146
Morgan County, 341
Morganfield, 344
Morgantown, 250, 334
Mormon Church, 98, 99
Morrow, Edwin Porch, 164, 220–222, 223, 348
Morton, Thurstin B., 291–292
MOTHERING ON PERILOUS (Furman), 231
Mountain Maternal Health League, 204
Mountain Path (Arnow), 237
Mountains region. See also Eastern Kentucky
description of, 13–15
  regional economy of, 176, 178
Mount Oliver, 342
Mount Sterling, 341
Mount Vernon, 342
movies, 69–70
Mrs. WIGGS OF THE CABBAGE PATCH (Rice), 230
Mud Creek Clinic, 205
Muhlenberg, Peter, 341
Muhlenberg County, 183, 341
Mulligan, James H., 224, 228
Munfordville, 147, 338
Murden, Tori, 332
murder. See homicide; violence
Murphy, Louise, 241–242, 243
Murray, 238, 334
Murray, William, 82
Murray State University, 184, 293
museums, Shaker communities, 258
musical instruments, 246
dulcimers, 251, 259
music and musicians, 253–254
dulcimers, 251
country, 252
folk, 251, 252
Anthony Heinrich and, 246–247, 254–255
INDEX • 377

jazz, 250–251
orchestras, 252–253
settlement period, 246, 247–248
Shaker, 248
music education, settlement period, 246, 247–248
Music Hall Convention, 215
music publishing, 250

NAACP. See National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Nasland, Sena, 243
Nathan Coulter (Berry), 240
Nation, Carry, 201–202
National American Woman Suffrage Association, 199–200
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 102–103, 129–130, 131, 133
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 102
National parks, 73–74, 186
National Republican, 86
Native Americans
Archaic period, 27–30
culture history of, 23–36
effects of European settlement, 36
frontier period conflicts, 78, 136–141
Late Prehistoric period, 34–36
Paleoindians, 25–27
religion, 92
temple-mound builders, 8
Woodland period, 30–33
NATO. See North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Nat Turner revolt, 115
Natural Bridge state park, 15
“Negro,” 129
Negro Outlook Committee, 129
Neighborhood settlement house, 202
Nelson, Nels C., 21
Nelson, Thomas, 341
Nelson County, 95, 231, 341
Neville, Linda, 204
New Castle, 338
New Deal, 259. See also Works Progress Administration
“New Departure” Democrats, 210–211, 214
New Economy
challenges of, 316
education and, 314–315
information technology and, 324, 325–326
New Madrid, 2
New Orleans, 143
Newport, 180, 329, 334
New York Philharmonic Society, 247
New York Times, The, 102, 242
Nicholas, George, 82, 341
Nicholas County, 242, 341
Nicholasville, 338
Nichols Hospital, 151
Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Caudill), 292
night riders, 168, 169
Night Rider (Warren), 238
Niles, John Jacob, 240, 252
Nineteenth Amendment (U.S.), 200–201, 222, 223
Nixon, Richard, 291, 293
No Land Where I Have Traveled (English), 244
Nolin River Lake, 186
None Shall Look Back (Gordon), 232
Non-Importation Law of 1833, 107, 116
nonvoting
need to change, 57
reasons for, 54–56
normal schools, 217, 300
Norman, Gurney, 242
Norman, Marsha, 243, 245
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 154
Northern Kentucky economic region, 180–181
Northwest Army, 142–143
Northwest Indians
frontier period conflicts, 78, 136–141
War of 1812, 141, 142, 143
novels. See literature
Nugent Improvement Club, 202
nullification principle, 81, 115
Nunn, Louie B., 293, 295, 349
nurses, 204, 205
Obenchain, Lila Calvert, 194, 195
“Ode to the Confederate Dead” (Tate), 232
Olffutt, Chris, 242
Ogden, Benjamin, 94
O’Hara, Theodore, 228
Ohio County, 308, 341
“Ohio Navy,” 10
Ohio River, 2, 4, 90
excursion boats, 251
flood of 1937, 288
in frontier economy, 173
during the Ice Age, 25
Louisville’s economy and, 181
pottery clay, 263
Oh! Kentucky (Receveur), 227
oil embargo of 1973, 294
Okinawa, 151
Old Court-New Court controversy, 85
Oldham, William, 342
Oldham County, 86, 107, 172, 230, 342
Olympian Springs, 68
149th Infantry (Kentucky National Guard), 149
138th Field Artillery (Kentucky National Guard), 149, 153
123rd Airlift Wing (Kentucky National Guard), 154–155
"On the Hill" (Roberts), 232
opera, 247, 253, 254
Opera of Central Kentucky, 254
orchestras, 247, 252–253, 254
orphan homes
black, 123
racial segregation, 127
Osborne Brothers, 251
outbuildings, 276, 277–278, 282
out-migration, 317, 318
Owen, Abraham, 342
Owen County, 342
Owensboro, 10, 173, 182, 330, 335
performing arts, 251, 253, 254
Owensboro-Henderson economic region, 182–183
Owensboro Symphony Orchestra, 253
Owensboro Youth Orchestra, 253
Owenton, 342
Owingsville, 333
Owsley, William, 87, 342, 346
Owsley County, 342
Paducah, 5, 8, 173, 183, 199, 253, 340
Paducah-Purchase economic region, 183–184
Paducah Symphony Orchestra, 253
Paducah (Indian chief), 5
Paint Lick, 266
Paintsville, 338
Paleoindian period, 25–27
Panco, 5
Panics
1819, 84–85
1837, 87
1873, 211
panoramas, 68
Paradise, 183
pardons, 158–159, 212
pari-mutuel gambling, 222
Paris, 333
Park City, 262
parks, 71, 73–74, 128. See also state resort parks
Passeman’s Hollow (Jane Stuart), 234
Payne Hollow (Hubbard), 242
Peace at Bowling Green (Crabb), 240
Pearl Harbor, 151, 152
Pence, Howard, 253
Pendleton, Edmund, 342
Pendleton County, 342
Penhally (Gordon), 232
pen houses, 271, 271–273, 272, 274
penitentiaries, 159, 159, 213
Pennyroyal region, 9–10
performing arts
bluegrass music, 251
country music, 252
famous musicians, 253–254
folk music, 252
Anthony Heinrich, 246–247
jazz, 250–251
music education, 246, 247–248
music publishing, 250
orchestras, 252–253, 254
overview of, 254–255
performing arts groups and centers, 254
Shaker music and dance, 248
theater and theater groups, 249–250, 254
Perkins, Carl D., 292–293
Perry, Oliver Hazard, 342
Perry County, 5, 203, 267, 342
Perryville, battle of, 147, 148
Persian Gulf War, 153–154
petit juries, 157
Petroleum, 5
Pettit, Katherine, 203
Pewee Valley, 230
Philippines, 152
pianos, 246
picnics, 66
pie socials, 66
Pike, Zebulon Montgomery, 342
Pike County, 342
Pikeville, 342
Pine Mountain Settlement School, 203, 259
Pine Mountain state park, 15
Pineville, 251, 333
Pippa Passes, 203
Piqua, 139
Pisgah, 300
place names, 5
Place on Earth, A (Berry), 240
playgrounds, 71, 73
Pleasant Hill Shaker community, 98, 257, 258
Pleasant Valley, 267
Pleistocene epoch, 25
Plymouth Settlement House, 202
poet laureate, 238, 245
poets, 227-228, 232, 235. See also literature
Wendell Berry, 240–241
from Central Kentucky, 242, 243
from Eastern Kentucky, 242
Robert Penn Warren, 237–238, 238, 239, 245
from Western Kentucky, 243–244
police, 157
political bosses, 218
political leadership
ineffectiveness in, 322–323
modern examples of, 329–330
political parties. See also Democratic party;
Republican party
American party, 89
Conservative party, 209
defined, 52
Federalist party, 82, 86
governor and, 49
Know-Nothings, 89
Liberty party, 116
number of registered voters, 53
organization within, 52–53
Populist party, 214
Whig party, 86–89
politics. See also government; Kentucky history
citizen voting, 54–56
defined, 38
political parties and elections, 52–54
Pollard, Madeline, 194
pollution, 9
Ponder, Edith, 261
population. See demographic trends
Populist party, 214
Porgy and Bess (Gershwin), 253
Porter, Joe Ashby, 242, 243
Port Royal, 241
pottery
as craft and folk art, 259, 262–264, 264
prehistory, 30, 31, 32, 34–35, 36
poverty
current state of, 327–328
undereducation and, 320
women reformers, 205
Powell, Lazarus W., 89, 342, 346
Powell County, 342
Powers, Georgia M., 205
precipitation, average, 3
prehistoric era
archaeological study of, 17–18, 20–23
Archaic period, 27–30
common artifacts from, 20
“culture areas” concept, 20–21
culture history of, 23–36
early perceptions about, 19–20
extent of, 17
Late Prehistoric period, 34–36
Paleoindian period, 25–27
Woodland period, 30–33
Presbyterian Church
antislavery movement, 99, 114
frontier period, 93
Great Revival, 97
reunification of, 102
Presbyterian Seminary, 102
presidential elections
of 1856, 90
of 1876, 211–212
Prestonsburg, 250, 336
Price, Kenny, 252
Price, Michael, 319
Prichard, Edward F., Jr., 296
Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence, 329
Princeton, 334
prisoners of war, 152
Proffitt, Pauline, 264, 266
Progressive era, 217–222, 225
Prohibition (national), 101, 202, 221
prohibition (state), 201, 218
projectile points
Archaic period, 28
Paleoindian, 26
property, women’s right to ownership and, 190, 196, 197
property taxes, 212–213
public education and, 305–308
prosecutors, 158
Protestant churches. See also individual churches
frontier period, 93–95
“Social Gospel” movement, 100–101
Providian, 182
public recreation. See also state resort parks
Bluegrass region, 13
Paducah-Purchase region, 183
parks and playgrounds, 71, 73–74
racial segregation, 127–128
South Central region, 185–186
public schools. See education; schools
Public Theatre of Kentucky, 250
Puckett, Edwin L., 152
Pulaski, Joseph, 342
Pulaski County, 342
Purchase Parkway, 183

Quantrill, William Clark, 147
Quare Women, The (Furman), 231
Queener, Charlie, 250–251
quilting, 260, 260–261, 261, 264–266

race relations
civil rights movement and, 130–131, 133–134
current status of, 134, 135
in the Deep South, 122
following the Civil War, 121, 122–125
segregation of society, 125–130
use of the word "Negro," 129
violence against blacks, 124–125

racial segregation. See also school segregation
black challenges to, 126, 129–134
history of, 125–130, 312

racial violence
anti-lynching laws, 130, 164
against churches and schools, 124
lynchings, 124–125, 164–165
tobacco wars, 169

Racing Commission, 176
radiocarbon dating, 22
rag rug weaving, 264, 266
Railroad Commission, 214

railroads
Cincinnati Southern Railroad, 208, 209–210
eyearly development, 89
impact on communities and architecture, 279
Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 208, 208, 209–210, 214, 216
post-Civil War rivalries, 208, 209–210
racial segregation, 128
in state economy, 173

Raney, Jimmy, 250
Reagan, Ronald, 295
Receveur, Betty Layman, 227
recreation. See public recreation
recycling, in folk art, 264–266
Red Mile track, 13, 70
Red River Valley, 294
Reese, Harold “Pee Wee,” 75
regions, economic
Ashland, 178, 180
Lexington, 175–176
Louisville, 181–182
Mountains, 176, 178
Northern, 180–181
Owensboro-Henderson, 182–183
Paducah-Purchase, 183–184
South Central, 184–186

regions, geographic, 6–7
Bluegrass, 12–13
Jackson Purchase, 7–9
Mountains, 13–15
Pennyroyal, 9–10
Western Coal Field, 10–11

relief laws, 84–85

religion. See also churches
baptism, 98
camp meetings, 97
civil rights movement, 102–103
Civil War era, 98–99
current trends, 103–104
ecumenical movement, 101–103
frontier period, 92, 93–96
Great Revival, 95, 96–98
persecution, 99
prehistoric period, 26–27, 30, 31–32, 33, 35, 92
“Social Gospel” movement, 100–101
women in, 100

religious celebrations, 67
religious folk art, 268, 268–269
religious freedom, 41–42
Rennick, Robert M., 5

Republican party. See also Jeffersonian Republicans
Goebel assassination, 163
Great Depression politics, 286, 289
number of registered voters, 53
organization of, 52–53
1960’s politics, 293
1990’s politics, 314
late 1800’s politics, 214, 215, 216
post-Civil War politics, 208, 211–212
post-World War II politics, 290, 291–292, 297
1856 presidential election, 90
Progressive era politics, 225
state chairman position, 53
successes in national elections, 53–54

ResCare, 182
Revolutionary War, 78, 136–140
Rhea, Thomas S., 287
Rice, Alice Hegan, 230
Rice, David, 93, 114
Rice, Nathan, 99
Richie, Aunt Cord, 260
Richmond, 147, 191, 250, 262, 340
Richmond, James H., 310
ripper bills, 223
Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government (Davis), 228
Ritchie, Jean, 252
ritual/religion, prehistoric, 26–27, 30, 31–32, 33, 35
River of Earth (Still), 234–235
River Raisin, 142
rivers, 4
    in frontier economy, 173
    transportation on, 60
Riverside Downs, 13
roads. See also interstate highways
    development in the 1920’s, 224
    highway legislation, 309
    Mountains region, 15
    toll-road system, 290
Roberts, Elizabeth Madox, 227, 231–232, 232, 245
Robertson, George, 342
Robeson County, 173, 342
Robinson, James E., 146, 346
Robinson, Stuart, 99
Robson, John, Jr., 292
Robson, John M., 224
Rockcastle County, 342
Rockcastle River, 342
rock fences, 268
Rogers, Will, 240
Rome, 152
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 287
Rosine, 251
Rowan, John, 342–343
Rowan County, 165–166, 203, 242, 342
Ruddle’s station, 78, 139
Rules Committee, 45
runaway slaves, 111, 111, 112–113, 119
“Run for the Elbertas” (Still), 235
rural reform, 203–204
Russell, William, 343
Russell County, 4, 343
Russellville, 185, 339
saddlebag houses, 274, 277
Sadieville, 152
St. Clair, Arthur, 141
St. Joseph’s Cathedral, 93
“Saintly Hypocrites and Honest Sinners,” 68
sales tax, 287, 288, 292–293, 296, 328
Salyersville, 340
Same River Twice, The (Offutt), 242
Sampson, Flem D., 222, 223, 224, 286, 348
Sand Cave, 238
Sanders, Harland, 251, 295
Sandy Hooke, 336
Sarah Gertrude Knott Award, 262
Saturday Evening Post (magazine), 231
Save Our Kentucky, 205
school buses, 310
school desegregation
    colleges, 130–131
    public schools, 133, 291, 312
schoolhouses, 299, 304, 306, 308
schools. See also black schools; education
    basketball and, 75
    compulsory attendance, 308
    desegregation of, 130–131, 133, 291, 312
    physical conditions, 299, 304, 306, 308
    public school system development, 87, 301–308
    rural reform, 203–204
school segregation
    Day Law, 127, 225, 312
    history of, 128–129
Scott, Charles, 82, 141, 345
Scott, George, 343
Scott, Robert Wilmot, 109
Scott County, 12, 343
Scottsville, 333
Sea Within, The (Murphy), 241–242
Sebastian, Benjamin, 82
secession crisis, 105
Seco, 5
Second Vatican Council, 101
Seedtime on the Cumberland (Arnow), 237
segregation. See racial segregation; school segregation
Semones, Charles, 243
Senate, state
    black women in, 205
    legislative process, 44–46
    standing committees, 46–47
Seneca Falls Convention, 190
Separate Coach Law, 128
service industries, 182, 326–327
settlement houses, 202
settlement patterns
    defined, 23
    of early pioneers, 77
    prehistoric, 28–29, 31, 34
settlement period
    architecture in, 270–276
    desire for land, 78–79, 90–91
early settlements, 77, 78, 90
economic life, 173
education in, 298–299
family life, 61
homes, 60–61
Indian conflicts, 78, 136–141
Indian populations and, 36
land claims, 79
military actions, 136–141
military problems, 138
population growth, 58–59
religion and churches in, 92, 93–96
slavery in, 106–107
social life, 64–65
under Virginia, 79–80
Seven-Storey Mountain, The (Merton), 237
Severns Valley settlement, 93
sewing, 61
Sexton, Robert, 329
shaft mining, 11
Shakers, 97–98
crafts of, 258–259
history of, 257
music and dance of, 248
philosophy of, 257–258
Shantyboat (Hubbard), 242
Sharp, Cecil, 252
Shawnee Indians, 139
Shawnee Park, 71
Shelby, Isaac, 81, 91, 143, 155, 343, 345
Shelby County, 343
Shelbyville, 343
Shepherd, Phil, 329
Shepherdsville, 334
Sher, Rubin, 253
Sherburne, James, 243
sheriffs, 157
Shiloh, battle of, 136, 146
Shiloh and Other Stories (Mason), 241
shivaree, 65–66
shot-gun houses, 279, 280
show-boats, 68
Sign of Jonas, The (Merton), 236, 237
silk production and crafts, 258
Simpson, John, 343
Simpson County, 65, 343
singing schools, 247–248
single pen houses, 271, 271
sinkholes, 9
“sin taxes,” 288
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, 100
Sisters of Loretto, 100
623rd Field Artillery (Kentucky National Guard), 152, 154
Skaggs, Ricky, 251
Slaughter, Gabriel, 83–84, 345
slavery
character of, 110–112
Civil War and, 119–120
Compromise of 1850, 88, 89
dilemma in Kentucky over, 105, 121
emancipation, 119, 120–121
farm economies, 108, 109–110
introduction to Kentucky, 59, 106
Non-Importation Law of 1833, 107, 116
slave exporting, 88, 108
slave sales, 106
state constitution on, 39–40, 118
Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy (antislavery tract), 114
slaves
diet, 111
exporting of, 88, 108
hiring out of, 108–109
houses of, 277–278
population figures, 59, 106–107
revolts, 115
runaway, 111, 111, 112–113
sales of, 106
significance of family and community to, 111–112
Sloan, Harvey, 295
Sloane, William, 253
smallpox, 66
Smasher’s Mail, The (temperance newsheet), 202
Smith, Benjamin Bosworth, 99
Smith, Edmund Kirby, 147
Smith, Z. E, 305, 306
Smithland, 339
soccer, 76
“Social Gospel” movement, 100–101
social organization, prehistoric, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30
social service organizations, 202
social traditions
combining work and play, 64–65
family life, 60–64
horse races, 13, 70–71
organized sports, 74–76
parks and playgrounds, 71, 73–74
recent immigrants and, 76
special events, 65–68
traveling shows and fairs, 68–70
twentieth century trends, 76
soda fountains, 63, 63
Somerset, 318, 342
Song Stories for the Kindergarten (Hill and Hill), 253
Sousley, Franklin R., 136, 150
South Carolina, 87, 115, 122
South Central economic region, 184–186
Southeast Coal Company, 5
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 102
Southern Exposition, 69
Southern Harmony and Musical Companion, The
(Walker), 248
Southern National School and Business College, 202
Southern Renaissance, 231–237
South Union Shaker community, 98, 257, 258
Spalding, Catherine, 100
Spalding, Martin John, 99
Spalding University, 102
Spanish-American War, 149
Spanish Controversy, 89
spas, 67–68
Spears, Eve, 242
spear-throwers, 28
Speed, John, 247
Spence & Lila (Mason), 241
Spencer, Spear, 343
Spencer County, 343
sports, organized, 74–76
Spradlin family, 72–73
Springfield, 231, 239, 344
square dances, 64
squirrel hunts, 64–65
Stage One: The Children’s Theatre, 249
Stamper family, 165
Stanford, 339
Stanley, Augustus Owsley, 220–221, 221, 224, 348
Stanton, 342
state resort parks. See also parks; public
recreation
lakes, 4, 8
Mountains region, 15
Pennyroyal region, 10
state’s rights, 81
State Street Baptist Church (Bowling Green), 98
Stay, 5
“Stay Laws,” 84–85
Steamboat Round the Bend (Burman), 240
“Stephen Foster Story, The” (play), 250
Stevenson, John W., 209, 347
Stewart, Albert, 242
Stewart, Cora Wilson, 203–204
Stites, Martha Bennet, 242
Still, James, 234–235, 245
Stinking Creek, 205
Stomping Ground, 194
Stone, 5
Stone, Barton Warren, 95, 96, 97
Stone, Lucy, 190, 193
stone masonry, 268, 273
Stones for Bread (E. Litsey), 239
stone tools
Archaic period, 28
Paleoindian, 26
stone walls, 268
Storm’s Eye, The (J. Boone), 243–244
Stovall, Thelma, 295
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 228
stratigraphy, 20, 21
Stringtown on the Pike (Lloyd), 230
strip mining, 11, 15, 326
Stuart, Jane, 233–234
Stuart, Jesse, 232–233, 234, 245
Stumbo, Grady, 295
Sturgeon, 5
suburbs, 279, 283
Sue Bennett Folk Festival, 261
suffrage. See women’s suffrage
Sullivan Law, 307–308
Summers, Hollis, 240
Sunfish, 5
Supreme Court, state, 51, 312
Susan B. Anthony Amendment, 200. See also
Nineteenth Amendment (US)
“Swamp Fox.” See Marion, Francis
Swope, King, 288
Syncopators, 251
Taps for Private Tussie (Jesse Stuart), 233
Tarrant, Carter, 114–115
Task Force Smith, 152
Tate, Allen, 232
Tate, James W. “Honest Dick,” 40
Tater Day Fair, 69
taxes
coil severance tax, 294
industrial incentive packages, 321
property taxes, 212–213, 305–308
public education and, 305–308
reform of, 212–213, 225, 328
sales tax, 287, 288, 292–293, 296, 328
“sin taxes,” 288
Taylor, John D., 303
Taylor, William S., 163, 215, 216, 347
Taylor, Zachary, 343
Taylor County, 343
Taylorsville, 343
teachers
public attitudes toward, 304
salaries, 300, 304
settlement period, 298–299

teacher education, 217, 300
violence and, 299

Tecumseh, 143

Tell City (IN), 182

temperance movement, 193, 201–202
temple-mound builders, 8
Templin, Terah, 93

Tennessee River, 4, 146

Tennessee Valley Authority, 10, 259

“Ten Nights in a Bar Room,” 68

Tevis, Walter, 240

Thames, battle of, 142–143

theater and theater groups, 249–250, 254

There Was a Lady (S. Litsey), 239

Thirteenth Amendment (U.S.), 120, 123

38th Division (U.S. Army), 149–150

Thomas More College, 102

Thompson, William, 246

Thread That Runs So True, The (Jesse Stuart), 233, 234

Three Springs, 230

Tiger Death March, 152

Tilden, Samuel, 212

timber frame houses, 273, 275

Time of Man, The (Roberts), 231–232

Tippecanoe, battle of, 141

Titanic, 101

tobacco farming, 11, 326

barns, 282

Lexington area, 175

Pennyroyal region, 9

tobacco wars, 168–169, 217

“tobacco trust,” 168

Todd, John, 343

Todd, Lee, 325

Todd County, 107, 185, 232, 237, 343

Tokyo, bombing of, 151

Tolliver, Craig, 166

Tolliver, Floyd, 165
toll-road system, 290

Tompkinsville, 341
tourism, 326

folk art industry and, 262

Pennyroyal region, 10

South Central region, 185–186

Toyota, 12, 175, 180, 296, 316, 321

T-plan houses, 280, 280

t Rachoma, 204

traditional art. See folk art

Trail of the Lonesome Pine, The (Fox), 229–230

transfer payments, 186–187

transportation. See also interstate highways; railroads; roads

highway legislation, 309

impact on communities and architecture, 279, 281, 283

Louisville region, 181

Mountains region, 15

nineteenth century society, 60

Northern Kentucky region, 180

Paducah-Purchase region, 183

rivers and waterways, 4, 60, 173

settlers and, 61

state economy and, 173–174

Transylvania College, 202

Transylvania Company, 77, 90

Transylvania Seminary, 93, 249, 299

Transylvania University, 85

Trappists, 236–237

Travel Development Cabinet, 326

“Traveling Church,” 93

traveling shows, 68

Travis, Merle, 252

Treasury of Greenville, 141

Tricon, 182, 188

Trigg, Stephen, 343

Trigg County, 107, 168, 343

Trimble, Robert, 343–344

Trimble County, 242, 343

True American (newspaper), 116, 117

Truman, Harry S., 290

tuberculosis, 66

Tucker, C. Eubank, 102

Tufts, John, 247–248

Turfway, 13

Turner, Nat, 115

Twenty-Sixth Amendment, (U.S.), 54

2123rd Transportation Company (Kentucky National Guard), 154
typhoid fever, 66, 71

Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Stowe), 228

underground economy, 178

Underground Railroad, 99

Underwood, Elizabeth Cox, 62–63

Underwood, Joseph Rogers, 62

Underwood family, 165

Union Army

black troops, 119

military actions, 146, 147

military rule of Kentucky, 147–148

runaway slaves and, 119

troop recruiting in Kentucky, 145
Weir, James, 65
Welby, Amelia B., 228
Western Coal Field region, 10–11
Western Kentucky University, 9, 293
West Liberty, 341
West Virginia, Kentucky economy and, 176, 178, 180
West Virginia National Guard, 149–150
Wetherby, Lawrence W., 290, 291, 348
Whig party, 86–89
Whitley, William, 70
Whitesburg, 339
Whitesburg Mountain Eagle (newspaper), 330
Whitney, Jackson, 112–113
Whitney, Robert, 252
Whyte, Zach, 250
Wickliffe, 8, 306, 333
Wickliffe, Charles Anderson, 87, 161, 346
Wilderness Road, 140
“Wilderness” (S. Litsey), 239
Wilkins, Roy, 133
Wilkinson, James, 89, 141
Wilkinson, Wallace, 296, 349
Williams, Merit, 109
Williamsburg, 344
Williamstown, 337
Willis, Simeon, 288, 348
Willson, Augustus E., 218, 347
Wilson, Woodrow, 219, 220
Winchester, 335
Winchester, James, 142
Wolf, 5
Wolfe, Nathaniel, 344
Wolfe County, 344
Wolffen Poems, The (Still), 235
women
  antebellum correspondence, 62–63
  Breckinridge affair, 194, 196
  childbirth, 66
  community organizations, 71
  cycling, 74
  fairs, 69
  frontier life, 61
  in modern Kentucky, 331
  nineteenth century life, 66, 88
  in public office, 198, 205
  recent reforms and, 204–205
  in religion and religious institutions, 100
  rural reforms, 203–204
  urban reforms, 201–203
Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 193, 201, 202
women’s rights
  the Clay women and, 190–194
  early struggles for, 189–190
  higher education, 193, 202
  legal rights legislation, 196–197
  property ownership, 190, 196, 197
  suffrage, 189–190, 191–194, 195, 197, 198–201
women’s suffrage, 189–190, 191–194, 195, 197, 198–201, 222, 223
Woodford, William, 344
Woodford County, 114, 300, 344
Woodland period, 30–33
Works Progress Administration, 22, 259, 288
World Council of Churches, 101
World Enough and Time (Warren), 238
World War I, 149–150, 308–309
World War II, 136, 150–152, 288, 311
  bombing of Tokyo, 151
writers. See literature
Wyatt, Wilson W., Sr., 292, 292
Year of My Rebirth (Jesse Stuart), 233
Yellowhawk (Jane Stuart), 234
Yellow Raft in Blue Water, A (Dorris), 243
Yoakam, Dwight, 252
Yorktown, 140
Young, Bill, 332
Young, W. T., 330
Young Men’s Hebrew Association, 252
Young Trailers, The (Altsheler), 230
Young Women’s Christian Association, 202
youth orchestras, 253