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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF LOUISVILLE  
1860--1865

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty  
Of the Graduate School of the University of Louisville  
In Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts.

Department of History

By

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Year

1938

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Title A Social and Economic History of Louisville,  
1860-1865

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\_\_\_\_\_) Representative

of the English  
Department

Date May 24, 1938.

## PREFACE

The period of the Civil War has always stood out with particular interest to both the historian and the layman, but from the point of the part played by an individual city in its economic, social and cultural development during the period, little has been done to satisfy the curiosity of either. It has been the purpose of this study to discover the minutiae pertaining to the City of Louisville during the period of the "Strife," and, if possible, evaluate and determine thereby what sweeping effects those "Tragic Years" had upon the life of the city. No effort, however, has been made to interpret the minutiae in relation to political events, as I believe that the political causations and military strategy has been adequately treated in numerous volumes and treatises. Then too, their inclusion in this panorama type of study would probably only serve to clutter up the main thread of the narrative. If, in certain instances, the purely historical approach has been abandoned for a more sweeping characterization, it has

been done to retain the drama, feeling, and atmosphere of the period. Let it be understood, however, that the study is thoroughly documented, that only basic facts have been used in the presentation, and location of important places and events have been placed as accurately as existing data allowed. Secondary sources have been used only when it was found impossible to obtain documentary material, and choice has been made as carefully as possible in selecting these materials embodied in the work.

I have cause to thank Dr. W.C. Mallallieu, Professor of History at the University of Louisville, who served to develop my interest in the subject, and under whose direction this thesis was written. For numerous courtesies during the research I wish to thank the library staffs of the University of Louisville, the Cincinnati Public Library, the Louisville Public Library, and the Filson Club.

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## INTRODUCTION



THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF  
LOUISVILLE 1860-1865

INTRODUCTION

When the fateful question of slavery came irrevocably into the national lime-light, Louisville, "sprawling on the south bank of the Ohio," was a frontier town gone cosmopolitan. The decade from 1850 to 1860 had witnessed many changes in the economic and social life of the city. The provisions of the original charter had been outgrown and replaced by a more comprehensive one in 1851,<sup>1</sup> and the population of the city had increased from 43,194 in 1850 to 68,033 in 1860,<sup>2</sup> or more than forty per cent.<sup>3</sup>

As a city, Louisville had deserted the ranks of "mud flats, false-fronted buildings, and wallowing hogs" to become the commercial center of the state, "a land of comfort and plenty...a flourishing city,"<sup>4</sup>

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1. Johnston, J. Stoddard, Memorial History of Louisville, 2 Vol. New York: American Biographical Publishing Co., 1896. 1, 91.
  2. United States Census, 1850. Population, p. 76.
  3. *Ibid.*, 1860. Population, Intro. xviii.
  4. Mackay, Chas., Life and Liberty in America, cited in The History of the Ohio Falls Cities and Their Counties; with Biographical Sketches, 2 Vol. Cleveland: L.A. Williams, 1881. 1, 319.

with sixty miles of paved streets,<sup>5</sup> lit by more than  
 nine-hundred street lamps,<sup>6</sup> and with horse cars run-  
 ning the full length of her Main street.<sup>7</sup> She had be-  
 come, "next to Cincinnati, which it aspires to be a  
 rival, the greatest emporium of the pork trade on the  
 North American Continent..."<sup>8</sup> Four railroads and two<sup>9</sup>  
 wharfs<sup>10</sup> served her enterprising merchants, and her  
 harbor was described as "one of the finest in the  
 whole course of the Rhine of America."

Her Main street, which no visitor to the city  
 failed to describe, was "more than four miles long,  
 perfectly straight," and was "built up on both sides  
 with good substantial brick buildings for more than  
 half its length." The stores, taken on the whole,  
 "were the largest and finest warehouses anywhere to  
 be seen, having fronts from twenty to thirty feet  
 wide and three to five stories in height. On the  
 north side of Main street, through-out the whole ex-  
 tent, there were but two retail stores of any kind,  
 and even these only sell goods because they are en-  
 abled to do so without interference with their whole-

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5. Deering, Richard, Louisville, Her Commercial, Manufacturing, and Social Advantages, Louisville: Hanna & Co., 1858. p. 37.  
 6. Ibid., p. 37.  
 7. Ibid., pp. 37-8.  
 8. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 319.  
 9. Deering, op. cit., p. 37.  
 10. Ibid., p. 38.

sale trade." On the south side of the street were "about twenty of the fashionable shops, side by side with many of the largest wholesale houses." The retail stores of the city were mainly confined to Market and Fourth streets.

The city was well planned. The principal streets, from a commercial point of view, ran east and west, "were from sixty to one-hundred and twenty feet wide, and ran the whole length of the city proper, about four miles without a curve." These were crossed by thirty-five others, equally straight, and "were from one and a half to two miles in length. The sidewalks were from twelve to twenty-five feet wide, and were set with shade trees, except in the business portion of the city. The average lot was one-hundred and five feet front and two-hundred and ten feet deep and afforded room for gardens, fruit, and ornamental trees."

The public buildings were very creditable. The City Hall, 210 feet long by 122 feet wide, was an "imposing edifice in the Grecian-Doric style of architecture." The United States Custom House, Masonic

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11. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

12. Johnston, I, 97.

13. Deering, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

14. *Ibid*: Edward's Louisville Directory, 1864-5. p. 71.

15. *Ibid*; Campbell's Louisville Business Directory, 1860. p. 212.

Temple, Hospitals, Blind Asylum, Medical Schools, and "the City School Buildings were the largest and most important of the public buildings. The many churches were also great additions to the beauty of the city. Those most worthy of note were the "Walnut Street Baptist, First Presbyterian, Catholic Cathedral, St. Paul's (Episcopal), and the Synagogue; the last mentioned of which is the most elegant building in the city, although it is probably less expensive than either of the others." There were also six large white-washed market houses on Market street, "built with iron columns on stone pedestals," where one might buy "fruits and vegetables in season."

But there was one institution of which the city was chiefly proud--the Galt House. Of the scores of hotels and boarding houses that welcomed the casual visitor, this hotel alone commanded the attention of the whole world. A feminine visitor in 1858 described it as "over-flowing with hospitality. A real luxury to travelers; good rooms, clean beds, soft coal fires, and an excellent table. It is one of the few cosmopolitan establishments in the Union." Although a

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16. Johnston, 1, 97.

17. Council Records, No. 8, p. 371.

18. Deering, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Edward's, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

19. Belle Brittan, *On a Tour of Newport, New York*: Derby and Jackson, 1858. pp. 62-73.

later guest lamented that "the servants of the House were bondsmen," he too, praised the beds and table.<sup>20</sup>

Certainly the table was something at which to marvel. For the small sum of 50¢ the Galt House offered a Christmas dinner that would bewilder a gourmet. The selection of game included such delicacies as "Sodale of venison with currant jelly; rib of bear with Poivard's sauce; wild turkey with cranberry jelly; red-headed duck stuffed plain; wood duck with hunters sauce; wild goose with pot wine sauce; bridge of buffalo tongue, a la Gador; arcade of pheasants with green peas, and boar's head. Also a choice of four soups, two fish, nine hot meats, ten cold ornamented meats, thirty-six entrees; seven relishes, thirteen vegetables, thirty kinds of confections," and any number of puddings, fruits, and punches.<sup>21</sup>

In most Western cities in the sixties the preferred residential district nestled close to the commercial center. Louisville was no exception to the rule. The homes of the wealthy business men extended from Jefferson to Broadway, north and south,

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20. Louisville Library Collection, Collected Writings Relating to the History of Louisville, 2 Vol. Louisville, 1935. 1, 215.

21. Massie, J.W., America, London: John Snow, 1864. pp. 63-4.

and from First to Twelfth, east and west. The streets were "lined on either side with large and elegant shade trees, and the houses are all provided with little green yards in front," surrounded by exquisite wrought iron fences.<sup>22</sup> Here the hoarse whistles of steamboats and factories, and the clatter of the trains, were audible at all hours of the day and night.

But if the commercial classes were content to live close to the "money market," the less well-to-do had the advantage of space, quiet, and fresh air of the suburbs. A contemporary writes: "There were no apartment houses or tenements, and slums were unknown; it was the ambition of every citizen, no matter what his financial status, to own a house to live in."<sup>23</sup>

The life of Louisville's streets was a never ending drama replete with color and human interest. Before day-light many of the citizens were astir and the sixty miles of macadam and cobble-stone streets, "that jolted your teeth loose," echoed with the rumble of six mule team "conestoga" wagons loaded with the farm products of the hinterland.<sup>24</sup> No sooner had the junior clerks appeared to remove the heavy shutters

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22. Webster, A.J., Louisville in the 1850's" Filson Club History Quarterly, Vol. IV. July, 1930. pp. 132.

23. Ibid., p. 135.

24. Ibid., p. 136.

that closed the store fronts to prowlers when the good housewives appeared at "the various excellent markets" to do their daily shopping for food and household necessities. These selfsame clerks, who often worked as long as sixteen hours a day for three dollars a week, soon sped away to make deliveries to the swank houses south of Jefferson street, virtually taking their lives in their hands as they dodged the young bloods who were taking their morning exercise on spirited horses, hoping to attract attention by their display of horsemanship.<sup>25</sup>

Later in the day draymen, merchants, and auctioneers vied with the pedestrians for the use of the sidewalks as they unloaded their goods to the warehouses, or, in the latter case, to a suffering public. Loafing on the street corners, and in the coffee houses, was confined to the very old and the young, with a scattered representation of the solid business men who found it conveniently necessary to have business on the street at "grog hours." Nor with the coming of darkness did the bustle abate. The mechanics and laborers, followed by their families, paraded the streets for their "after supper exercise," or hurriedly picked their way to their favorite theatre to--as one

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25. Reminiscences of S.A. Rodman (MS. Filson Club Archives) 1921. p. 19.

writer expressed it--"get seats within cat-calling distance of the stage." The unattached males, followed by the heads of many families found the saloons and gambling houses a welcoming attraction after a day of hard labor.

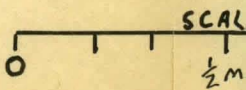
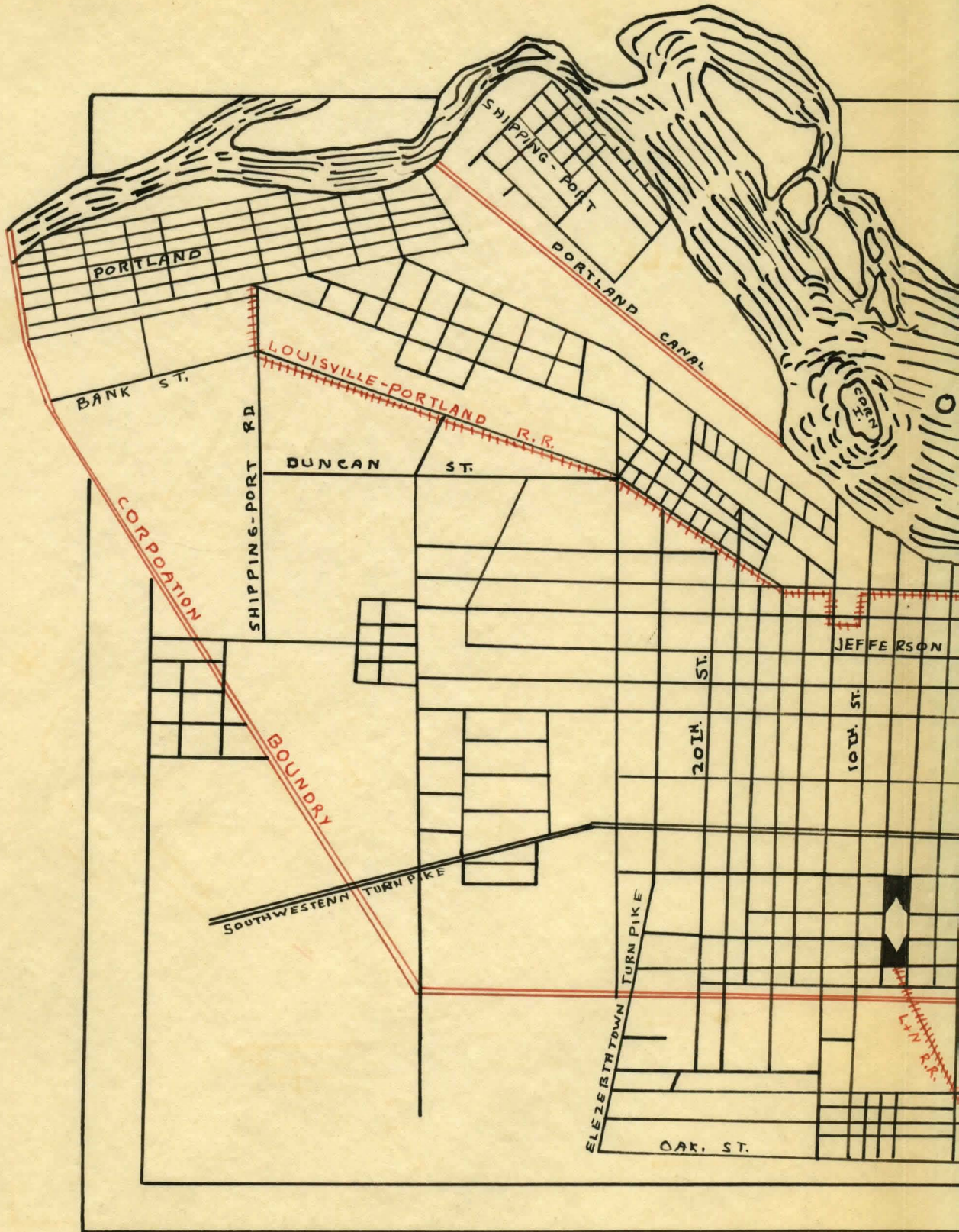
Louisville was more than a land of plenty, it was the open door of opportunity. Money was plentiful, and the rapidly growing West, as well as the cotton raising South, was a famished market for produce and manufactured goods. With a small amount of capital and average business acumen it was possible to build up a small fortune in a short length of time. Indeed, most of Louisville's great fortunes were built up between 1850 and 1870.

But "war speaks disorganization and destruction economically and socially; it also speaks artificial prosperity and new relationships." <sup>26</sup> The City of Louisville was no exception to this rule. The war period was a time of frenzied money making and unselfish devotion; of high prices and high rents; of unemployment and near starvation; of mass meetings in the City Hall being addressed by "fat stay-at-homes and passing grandiloquent resolutions rejoicing in victory or piously dejected in defeat; of repeated calls for thirty-, sixty-, ninety-,

26. Coulter, E. Merton, The Civil War and Readjust in Kentucky. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926. p. 239.

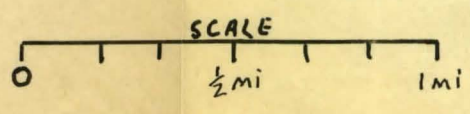
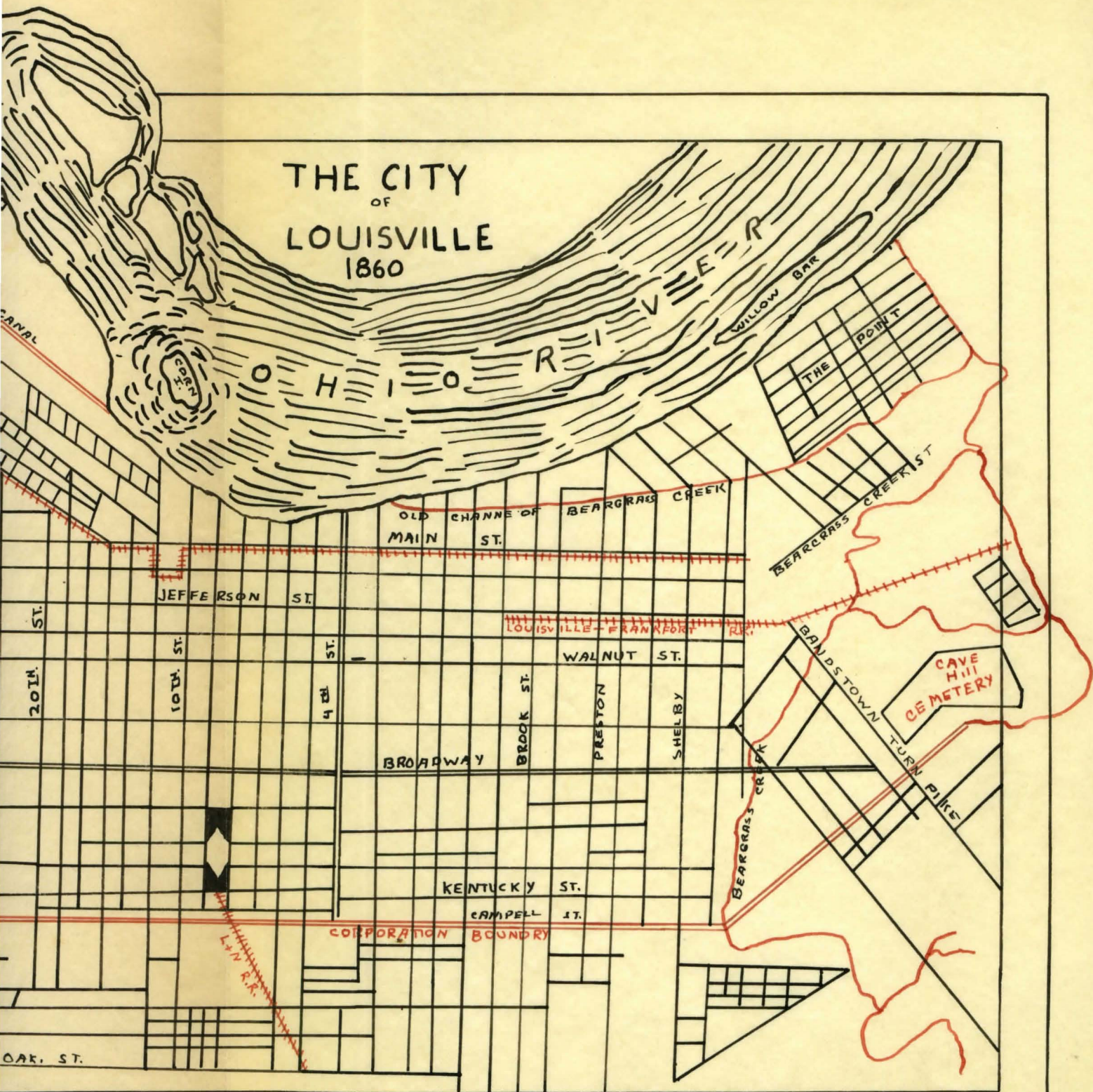


and hundred day volunteers." It was a time when anything could happen--and did. The four long years of the Civil War probably witnessed more changes in the economic and social life of the city than did the twenty years prior to 1860. It has been the purpose in the following pages to trace historically this development.





# THE CITY OF LOUISVILLE 1860



THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF  
LOUISVILLE 1860-1865

I

CIVIC LOUISVILLE

At the beginning of the Civil War Louisville was a bona-fide city. Under the provisions of the charter of March 24, 1851, the municipal government was divided into three distinct branches--legislative, which was vested in a board of common councilmen and a board of aldermen, which together was styled "The General Council of the City of Louisville;" the executive, vested in the mayor; and the judicial, in the city courts. The councilmen were elected for one year and the aldermen for two. There were eight wards --the charter limited the number of wards to twelve-- and from each ward two councilmen and one alderman were elected, bringing the total to eight aldermen and sixteen councilmen. The mayor, who also headed the police department, was elected for a term of two years. There was also a city attorney, a treasurer,

and an auditor, with a tax inspector and collector for the Eastern and Western districts. Third street being established the dividing line between the two for tax collection, sewerage, and other purposes.<sup>1</sup>

The judicial department consisted of a city judge, attorney, clerk, and marshal, elected by the qualified voters of the city. The judge had jurisdiction in all criminal actions less than felony, with all the powers of a justice of the peace in criminal and civil actions, and with the power of two sitting as a court of examination and commitment in felony cases. This was a great advance upon the old charter with a single legislative body, and without the confusion caused by the combination of executive and judicial power in the same body.<sup>2</sup>

There were no fundamental changes in either the charter or the municipal government during the period of the war, although the number of wards did increase to twelve by 1865, bringing the total number of aldermen up to twelve and the councilmen to twenty-four. In 1862 the Department of Engineering was created,<sup>3</sup> and in 1863 provision was made for the expansion of the police department.

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1. O.H. Stratton and John M. Vaughn, A Collection of State and Municipal Laws, Louisville: C Settle, 1857. pp. 71-125.

2. Johnston, 1, 94.

3. Council Records, No. 8. p. 47.

## II

Population, the life blood of any city, increased steadily throughout the period of the war. In 1860 the city had a permanent population of 61,233 whites and 6,800 negroes, totaling 68,033 inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> A year later the city directories listed 2,500 more names than the previous year,<sup>5</sup> and in 1862--due to the influx of transients--the population had so increased that numerous advertisements for houses to rent were appearing in the columns of the local newspapers.<sup>6</sup> In the following year (1863) the Louisville Journal reported that, "there is a great demand for dwelling houses but a very inadequate supply."<sup>7</sup> In a later issue the same newspaper reported that the rents were rising higher and higher as the months went by--due to the lack of skilled workmen there was very little new construction.<sup>8</sup>

By the end of the war (1865) it was estimated that the population of the city had increased to 100,000, or more than 33,000 in five years.<sup>9</sup> The story of this increase in population can be told more

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4. United States Census, Population. Intro. xviii.
  5. See Tanner's Louisville Directory for 1861.
  6. For instance, Louisville Journal, Ap. 7, 16, 1862.
  7. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1863.
  8. Ibid., March 9, 1862.
  9. Edward's City Directory, 1865. p. 77.

eloquently by the assessed value of property during the war. The assessed value of real estate increased from \$27,223,128 in 1860 to \$36,012,434 in 1865, and the total assessed value of real estate, personal property, and residuary from \$37,330,921 to \$62,933,654, an increase of more than twenty-five million during the same period.

### III

The police protection of the City of Louisville seems to have been adequate during the period of the war, and there was plenty for the department to do. There were the usual crimes incident to a city; burglary, prostitution, drunkenness, and murder; and counterfeiters and gamblers were occasionally arrested. Drunkenness and burglary seemed to predominate, although the newspapers often enough reported the finding of a dead man in an alley or on the street.

Under the terms of the charter of 1851 the police force of the city was limited to one day watchmen and two night watchmen for each ward--all to be elected by the city council, so that it will be seen that the

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9. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 322-30.

10. Johnston, 1, 104.

11. For Instance, Louisville Journal, June 17, 1863.



maximum police force thus provided for the protection  
of the city was forty-eight.<sup>12</sup>

At the beginning of 1860 the police department  
consisted of a chief, a clerk, eight day policemen  
and sixteen night watchmen--there being eight wards--<sup>13</sup>  
who made an average of about six arrests per day.<sup>14</sup>  
Later in the year, however, it became apparent that  
the city needed a larger police force, and an ordinance  
was passed by the General Council authorizing the  
mayor and the chief of police to employ "Deputy Marsh-  
als" of the city to do police duty as supernumery day  
and night watchmen.<sup>15</sup> During 1862 and 1863 many addit-  
-ional special police were elected until, in 1864,<sup>16</sup>  
there were fifteen day police and forty-five night  
watchmen, costing the taxpayers approximately \$40,000  
per year.<sup>17</sup> A year later (1865) the number had grown  
to nineteen day police and fifty-nine night watch-  
men,<sup>18</sup> but curiously enough, despite the greater pro-  
tection of numbers, the aggregate total of arrests  
did not materially increase.<sup>19</sup>

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12. Stratton and Vaughn, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

13. Tanner's Louisville Directory, 1860, p. 324.

14. Louisville Journal, March, 1860. *passim*.

15. Council Records, No. 8, p. 258.

16. Ibid., pp. 95, 132, 258.

17. Ibid., p. 258, 281. Louisville Journal, July 10, 1863.

18. Edwards Louisville Directory, 1865-66. pp. 154-5.

19. Louisville Journal, January, 1865. *passim*.



## IV

Until 1858, Louisville's fire protection had been on a volunteer basis, but in June of that year the score or more of volunteer fire departments, that had been a "problem to the city authorities, but a joy<sup>20</sup> to the rising generation," went out of existence to be replaced by a "paid" department--the second of its kind in the United States--consisting of five steam engines and one hook and ladder, drawn by twenty-<sup>21</sup> three horses and manned by sixty-five men, whose<sup>22</sup> average yearly salary was \$448.

With the exception of the commercial district the greater part of the city was built of inflammable materials, and the annual loss by fire to property owners--prior to 1858--had been almost beyond belief. There had been instances where whole city blocks had<sup>23</sup> been burned to the ground. After the re-organization of the fire department, however, it was estimated that "the number of fires has decreased more than three-fourths...and the loss of property is less than

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20. Webster, *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

21. Loomis, George, Notes and Reminiscences of the Volunteer Fire Department of Louisville, (MS. in Filson Club Archives) 1919. Historical Sketch and Souvenir of the Louisville Fire Department, (Publisher-?) p. 78. Deering, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

22. Council Records, No. 7, p. 259.

23. Louisville Courier, August 16, 24, 1853.

one-eighth."<sup>24</sup> The cost of maintaining the department for that year --\$21,702,86-- was certainly a small sum to pay for such a remarkable decrease in loss of property.

After 1860 the yearly cost of maintenance of the department was approximately \$30,000,<sup>25</sup> and it seems safe to assume that the loss of property by fire fell in direct proportion to the amount of money spent for machinery and man power; certainly the local newspapers made no mention of an unusual number of fires. In March, 1862, the chief of the fire department reported but one fire with an estimated loss of \$75,00, and during the month of June but three fires were reported with an estimated loss of \$500,00.<sup>26</sup> With the exception of the "Galt House fire" in January, 1865,<sup>27</sup> with an estimated loss of \$800,000, there were no large fires of any consequence during the period of the war.

The year 1865 witnessed the beginning of a system of fire alarm telegraphy, which was destined to assist in the subjugation of the fire element, more than any other agency yet produced. The system, known as the "Gamewell System," was installed by a

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24. Deering, op. cit., p. 42.

25. Louisville Journal, July 10, 1863.

26. Council Records, No. 8, pp. 139, 268.

27. Louisville Journal, January 11, 1865.

Mr. Kennard. There were fifty-one boxes, with one hundred and twenty-five miles of wire strung. The first alarm was rung on May 21, 1865.<sup>28</sup>

## V

By 1860 Louisville had lifted herself out of the mud. The greater number of her streets were paved, it being estimated that there were sixty miles of paved streets and forty miles of paved alleys within the corporate boundaries of the city.<sup>29</sup> Many of these streets, however, were only covered with a thin coating of crushed limestone, were full of bog holes,<sup>30</sup> and were almost impassible in bad weather. During the period of the war the hauling of supplies by conestoga wagons played havoc with the principal thoroughfares until, in 1862 and 1863, the city fathers caused "stepping stones to be laid across many of the streets."<sup>31</sup> In 1863 the newly created "Department of Engineering"<sup>32</sup> sought to remedy the situation by using paving blocks and "boulders" on those streets which carried the heavy commercial

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28. Historical Sketch of Louisville Fire Department,  
op. cit., p. 75.

29. Deering, op. cit., p. 35.

30. Louisville Journal, October 3, 1862.

31. Council Records, No. 8, pp. 103, 116, 231.

32. Ibid., p. 47.

33  
 traffic. The used of crushed limestone, however,  
 was not entirely abandoned. In 1861 and 1862, many  
 of the lesser thoroughfares were resurfaced by the  
 relief labor furnished by the city to relieve the  
 unemployed mechanics and laborers.<sup>34</sup> So intense was  
 this relief labor that the streets were in much better  
 condition at the end of the war than they had been at  
 the beginning.<sup>35</sup>

But if the city had a right to be proud of the  
 physical condition of her streets, she also had rea-  
 son to be ashamed of the sanitary condition in which  
 they were kept. Many streets in the outskirts of  
 the city served as dumping grounds for domestic gar-  
 bage, and one newspaper editor reported that, "the  
 carcasses of a brace of dogs slaughtered by the  
 police on Green street between Third and Fourth have  
 become exceedingly offensive and should be removed  
 at once."<sup>36</sup> Others served as "hog wallows" of polluted  
 mud until, in the summers of 1862 and 1863, the chief  
 of police was forced to announce that, "persons hav-  
 ing hogs are hereby notified that the ordinance pro-  
 hibiting the same from running at large will here-

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33. Council Records, No. 9, p. 30.

34. Ibid., No. 8, pp. 73, 82, 89. Louisville Journal,  
 April 30, 1861; May 9, 1862.

35. Louisville Journal, August 2, 1864.

36. Ibid., July 5, 1862.

by/<sup>be</sup> notified that the ordinance prohibiting the same  
 from running at large will hereafter be enforced."<sup>37</sup>

## VI

Public health seems to have been generally good despite the unsanitary conditions of the streets and the ravages of war. Sewers were almost non-existent, open ditches taking their place, but still the local newspapers make no mention of an epidemic of any kind. Malaria was becoming a thing of the past with the draining of the ponds and marshes within the  
<sup>38</sup>city, and the gradual disappearance of the city pumps foresaw the end of the cholera scares. The Louisville Board of Health, consisting of one physician from each ward, saw to the health of the citizenry until the city could proudly boast that she was no  
<sup>39</sup>longer "the grave yard of the West." The only disease the population had to fear was old age, or a  
<sup>40</sup>knife or pistol in the hands of a drunkard.

There was, of course, a large number of wounded and ill soldiers within the limits of the city at all

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37. Louisville Journal, July 7, 1862; July 16, 1863.

38. Council Records, No. 8, p. 52.

39. Edward's Louisville Directory, 1864, p. 71.

40. Louisville Journal, January 8, 1863.

times during the period of the war. The City Hospital, St. Joseph's Hospital, and other local institutions were unable to supply the demand for beds. In the Fall of 1862 eight of the ward school buildings were converted into hospitals by the military, as were many<sup>41</sup> of the factories and warehouses. The Louisville Journal estimated that there were between 1,500 and 2,500 ill and wounded soldiers in the various hospitals<sup>42</sup> at all times. Due to the influence of the medical schools and the Louisville City Hospital medical attention was exceptionally good considering the period. The Louisville Journal, in 1862, was able to report that, "the best medical and surgical talent of the state has been devoted to our hospitals."<sup>43</sup>

## VIII

The "Mighty Ohio" had a pernicious habit of flooding in wrath every few years and disrupting the "orderly confusion" of Louisville's social and economic

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41. Council Records, No. 8, p. 382.

42. Louisville Journal, Jan. 12, 1863; Jan. 3, 1864.

43. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1862. When Louisville became headquarters for the Union army a large number of doctors in the state were brought into the city to care for the ill and wounded.

life. The flood of January, 1861,<sup>44</sup> which reached a height of 33 feet above the canal at the low water mark, and a height of 50 feet below the canal, left destruction and loss of life in its wake. The western part of the city was entirely submerged, and as Anthony Trollope reported at the time: "At Shippingport...I saw the men and women and children clustered in the upstairs rooms while the men were going about in punts and wherries, collecting driftwood from the river for their winter firing...the village amid the waters was a sad sight to see, but I heard no complaints."<sup>45</sup> But as the water continued to rise the anxious house-holders were forced to move to higher ground until the Journal reported that, "the western section of our city is a desolate place."<sup>46</sup>

In 1862 the city experienced another flood, and although the water did not reach the height of the flood of the previous year, the Journal again reported that the water had covered Water street, and that the people were seeking refuge in other parts of the city. "All business is suspended," it was reported,<sup>47</sup> "and houses are being abandoned at the "Point." The

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44. Louisville Journal, January, 1861. passim.

45. Trollope, A., A History of North America, cited in History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 323.

46. Louisville Journal, Jan. 12, 1861. passim.

47. Ibid., January 17, 21, 24, 1862.

better residential districts in the central and eastern parts of the city were not immune from the waters. On more than one occasion stately brick houses and "iron inclosed lawns" were surrounded by the swirling waters. But floods were a matter of course to a city whose life and trade was traditionally bound up in the river; the waters had no sooner subsided than the homes and warehouses were again occupied and life went on anew.

## VIII

Louisville was one of the few cities in the West having a horse drawn railroad. The cars were small and were "drawn by a single horse or mule--very small and of the bob-tail variety." The tracks extended from Twelfth street to the wharf and ferry landing at Portland; and at Twelfth street a line of omnibusses connected with the cars "and ran to the upper end of the city on Main street." The cars and omnibusses belonged to the same company, and they "carry pass-

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48. There were floods in 1863 and 1865 but they did not reach the height of those of 1861 and 1862.

49. Johnston, 1, 327.

50. Deering, op. cit., p. 37.



engers the whole distance, from Wenzel street to Portland--five and a half miles--for ten cents. A person can ride from one end of the omnibusse route to the other--two miles--for five cents, and also in the cars from Twelfth street to Portland--three and one-half miles--for five cents." <sup>51</sup> The cars ran every half hour. The greater part of their hauling--passenger traffic being limited--was river freight from the wharf at <sup>52</sup> Portland to the city wharf on Water street. By 1864 this hauling had become so profitable that the "Louisville City Railroad Company" was organized, and in 1865 the "Central Passenger Railway Company" was char- <sup>53</sup> tered to carry passengers and freight within the city. Thus at the end of the war Louisville had three distinct railway companies either hauling, or preparing to haul, freight and passengers within the limits of the city.

## IX

Prior to 1860 the water problem had become acute

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51. Deering, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

52. The city wharf was in the district which is now bound by Second and Seventh streets.

53. Johnston, 1, 327.

in Louisville. The good house-wives were forced to trudge to "the strategically located city pumps at the corners of the principal streets which were the only public dispensers of drinking water." Although these wells were from forty to fifty feet deep, and the pumps were made from pine logs twelve to fifteen inches thick that were easy to operate,<sup>54</sup> many householders, rather than carry water a distance, resorted to wells and cisterns built in their own back yards.

In 1856 the Louisville Water Company was organized "to furnish pure water to the citizens of Louisville." But it was not until 1861 that water first passed through the mains.<sup>55</sup> In that year, Chas. Hermony, the superintendent and chief engineer, was able to write that, "the principle of order and beauty, ever inseparable from utility, pervades the work from end to end..."<sup>56</sup> The pumping station was of the "Corinthian order of architecture," and "possessed an individual beauty that is rarely met with, being delicately harmonious in proportions, and at the same time, grand and imposing in effect."<sup>57</sup> This "great

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54. Summers, W.T., Reminiscences of 1858 to 1878 in Louisville, (MS. in Filson Club Archives) 1919.  
 55. Construction was actually completed in Aug. 1860.  
 56. Annual Report of the Louisville Water Company.  
 57. Ibid., 1862-63.

water-works" was as "susceptible of being beautified and embellished as a park to an extent that will rival, if not pass, anything in the American landscape gardening..."<sup>58</sup> The reservoir held enough water for 26 miles of pipe in the city and for some 100 fire cisterns maintained by the fire department.<sup>59</sup> But in spite of the principle of order and beauty, "ever inseparable from utility," the undertaking proved not so successful as the promoters had hoped. "The past year (1861) has been one of unprecedented gloom and apprehension," wrote President Harris in the annual report, "simultaneously with the turning of water into the city commenced that frightful political panic which, over-spreading the whole country, culminated in a dread Civil War, which has disturbed and deranged every branch of business, and created such a general distrust of the future that few have felt safe in making any further outlays; all have retrenched their expenses, dispensing with everything that could be done without...and owing to the state of the public mind the patronage of the waterworks has not been so great as it otherwise would have been."<sup>60</sup> But the war

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58. Annual Report of the Louisville Water Company, 1861.

59. Ibid., 1860, 1862.

60. Ibid., 1862.

was not the only catastrophe that faced the little company in its first days--the system leaked from end to end.<sup>61</sup>

Although the company made substantial gains in new customers from 1862 to 1865,<sup>62</sup> the majority of citizens continued to get their drinking water from the city pumps, "which afforded cheap, pure, and abundant supplies of water fit for a prince."<sup>63</sup>

## X

During the decade prior to the Civil War Louisville's public schools had made great strides forward. The educational leaders of the city had succeeded in arousing the public to a sense of educational need until, in 1860, public funds were supporting ten primary and grammar schools, one "Female High School," and the "Male High School."<sup>64</sup> Out of a total population of 68,033 there were approximately 12,000 students attending the grammar and high schools.<sup>65</sup> Classes were held in brick and wood buildings, 80 by 100 feet square, each being

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61. Courier Journal, Mag. Section, Nov. 28, 1937.

62. See Annual Reports, 1862-65.

63. Deering, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

64. Ibid., p. 42.

65. Ibid.

occupied by 700 to 800 children. The teachers were paid an aggregate salary of approximately \$4,700 each<sup>66</sup> month.

In the field of private and denominational<sup>67</sup> education there were six Catholic parochial schools, two commercial schools, the Cedar Grove (Catholic) and Presbyterian Female Academies, Mr. Butler's private school for girls, and Misses McBurnie and Womack's for boys, and several others, besides Bishop Smith's and the Rev. Mr. Beckwittes girl's schools<sup>68</sup> in the vicinity. The city was indeed able to supply both elementary and secondary education. In the field of higher education, the University of Louisville and the Kentucky Medical College supplied<sup>69</sup> training in the professions of law and medicine.

After the beginning of the war the educational advancement of the city was seriously hampered. As early as December, 1861, the Board of Education was forced to deny rumors that the schools would close because of monetary difficulties. The

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66. Louisville Journal, Jan. 7, 1861. Deering, *op. cit.*, p. 42. The city spent approximately \$70,000 yearly.

67. Johnston, 2, 115-32.

68. Deering, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

69. "Origins of the University of Louisville," W.C. Mallallieu, Filson Club History Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 1, Jan. 1937. pp. 25-41.

Louisville Journal reported that, "according to the report of the Finance Committee, the schools have never in any former period of their history experienced greater prosperity than they enjoy at the present time."<sup>70</sup> But if the schools were not suffering from monetary difficulties they certainly were suffering from lack of attendance. In April (1862) the principal of the Female High School reported that the average daily attendance was but sixty-five, and in the same month the rule apportioning forty-five pupils to a teacher was suspended.<sup>71</sup>

Shortly after the schools were opened in September, 1862, Louisville was placed under martial law and the schools were forced to suspend, as the ward school buildings were "seized and converted into hospitals for the invalid soldiers by the Federal authorities."<sup>72</sup> An effort was made by both the School Board and the municipal government to get the order revoked, but General Boyle refused to recant the order.<sup>73</sup> He did, however, permit the School Board to use the two high school buildings.<sup>74</sup> Twelve of the

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70. Louisville Journal, Jan. 7, 1862.

71. Ibid., April 8, 1862.

72. Ibid., September 23, 1862. The schools were officially closed on September 22, 1862.

73. Summers, Loc. cit., p. 11. See also report of G.W. Morris, 1862-3.

74. Council Records, No. 8, p. 52.

larger churches in the city came to the rescue of the school system by offering their "Sunday School rooms" as temporary class-rooms;<sup>75</sup> but as many of these rooms were in damp basements the "School Board found it impossible to make use of them," and was forced to rent empty buildings and store-houses in order to have a satisfactory number of school rooms.<sup>76</sup> Because of this added expenditure the salaries of the teachers were reduced and it was again found necessary to suspend the rule requiring of each teacher an average of forty-five pupils. It was estimated that the daily attendance for the year 1862 was cut almost in half.<sup>77</sup>

The public schools never fully recovered from this setback during the period of the war. Although classes were not suspended after 1862, the ward school buildings were not recovered until after the end of the war, and attendance never reached normal during the period. In 1865, however, an attempt was made to improve the condition of the schools by submitting to popular vote a proposition to increase the school tax from five to twenty cents on the \$100. The proposition was carried by a majority of

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75. Louisville Journal, Sept. 27, 1862; Oct. 22, 1862.

76. Report of G.W. Morris, 1862-63.

77. Louisville Journal, December 23, 1864.

more than 25,000 votes and Louisville picked up where  
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she had left off in 1861.

## XI

The five years of the Civil War saw the transition of Louisville from a frontier town to a cosmopolitan city. During the normal course of events the population increase of the city had been approximately 2,200 per year; but during the period of the war the increase was more than 4,500 per year, while after 1865 the increase returned to normal, or approximately 2,000 per year.

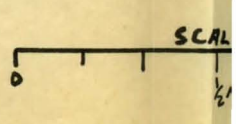
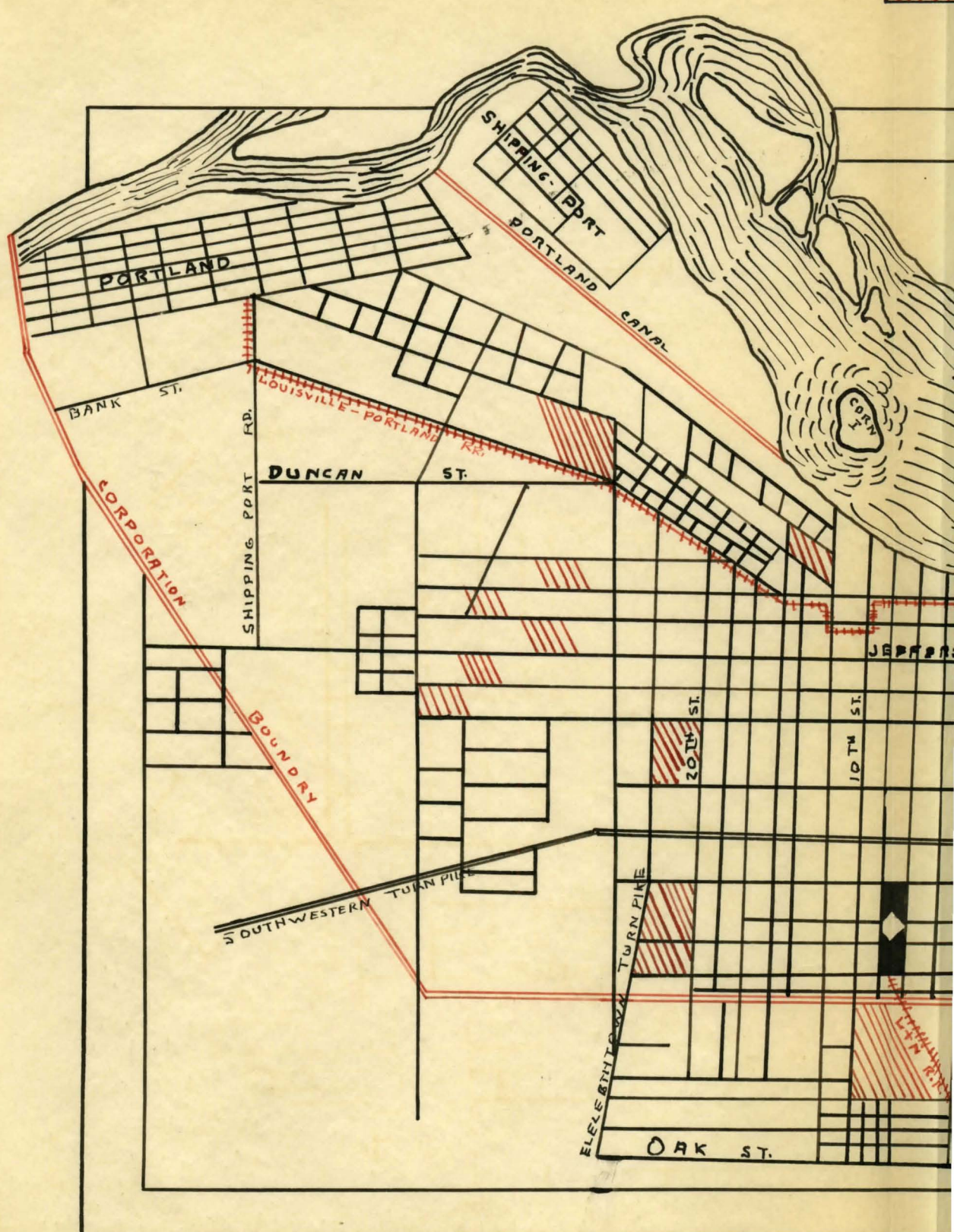
The physical growth of the city was in direct proportion to the increase in population. Where in the ten years prior to the war the number of city wards had only increased from six to eight, the five years of the war saw an increase of from eight to twelve, or a gain of more than two-hundred per cent. There was a like increase in property valuation from \$36,012,324 in 1860 to \$62,933,654 in 1865.

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78. Johnston, 1, 233.



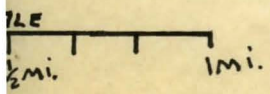
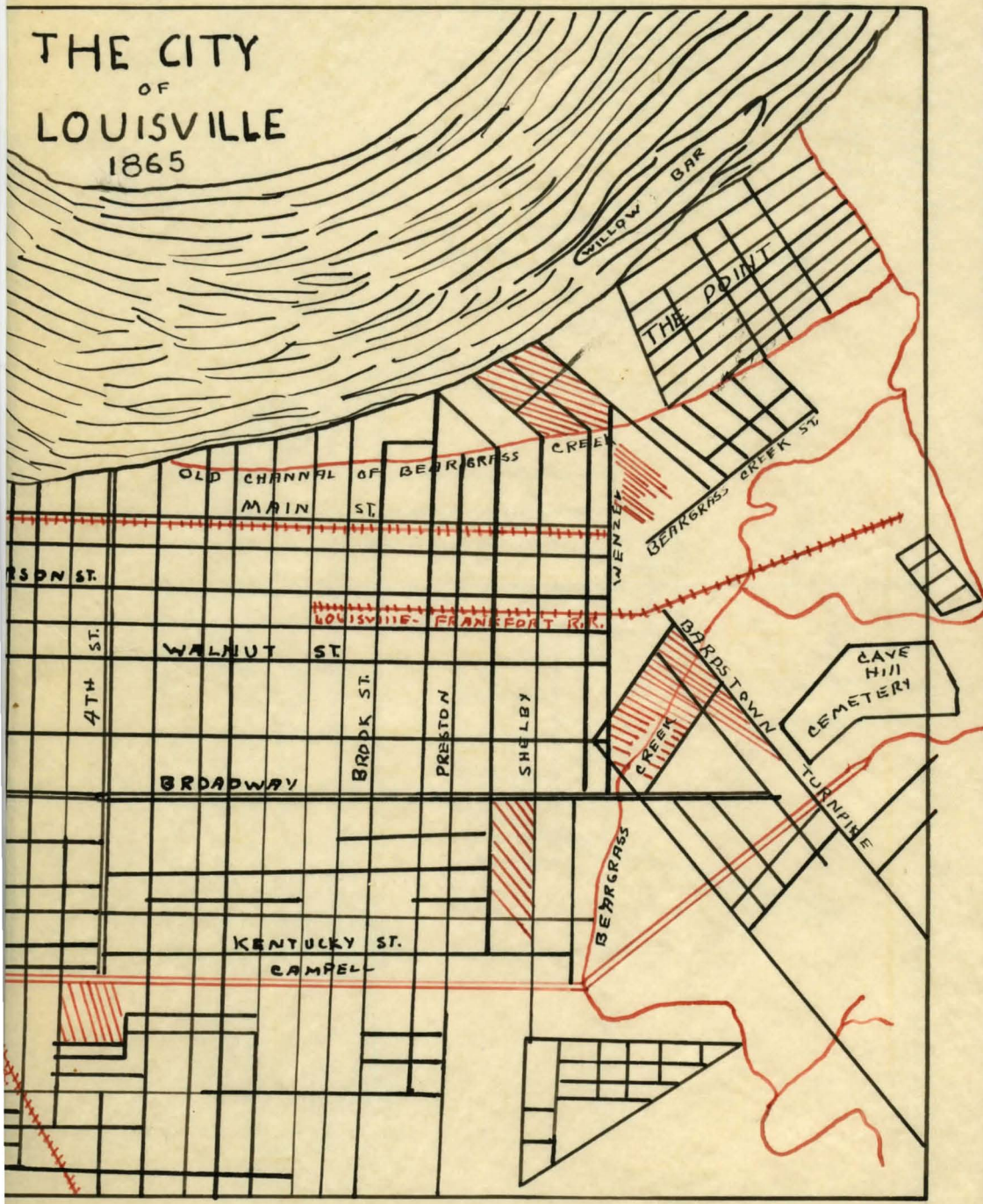
What was true of the physical growth of the city was also true of the various departments of the municipal government. The personnel of the police department increased by more than seventy-five per cent, and the fire department by more than fifty per cent. The engineering department was established and saw to the resurfacing of practically all the streets, as well as to the construction of many new thoroughfares, while sidewalks were constructed, sewers dug, and the ponds and marshes within the city drained. It is probable that the city witnessed more changes for the better within the five years of the Civil War than would have normally taken place during a quarter of a century.





THE GROWTH OF LOUISVILLE, 1860-1865

THE CITY  
OF  
LOUISVILLE  
1865



## II

### TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the latter part of 1860 and the early months of 1861 Louisville's trade with the South was booming.<sup>1</sup> Due to a poor crop season in many of the Southern States, as well as a frenzied effort on the part of the Confederacy to stock up for the coming conflict, commercial activity had never been more brisk. Her (Kentucky) flour and machinery, bagging and rope, jeans and lindseys, segars and manufactured tobacco, candles and soap, agricultural implements--manufactured within her limits--brought into her lap the vast sum of twelve millions of Southern gold annually.<sup>2</sup> And Louisville, by virtue of making herself a "great collecting center for commerce" for both Kentucky and the North, became the mistress of this trade to the South. The Louisville Journal reported that there was not an empty warehouse to be found in the city,<sup>3</sup> and that so much freight came in by wagon, steamboat, and railroad, that the streets in the

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1. Louisville Journal, October, 1860. passim.
  2. Louisville Courier, May 1, 1861.
  3. Louisville Journal, May 14, 1861.

city (wholesale district) were soon jammed and much material had to be left in temporary depots on the outskirts of the city.<sup>4</sup> The Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which bore the brunt of transportation,<sup>5</sup> carried it southward in an never-ending stream. There were more goods than the road had capacity to transport,<sup>6</sup> and the company was forced to lay an embargo on through freight, as well as advertise in the local newspapers at what hours each day the road would accept out-going freight at the depot.<sup>7</sup> The envious Cincinnati Gazette felt called upon to comment that, " day and night for weeks past, every avenue of approach to the depot has been blockaded with vehicles waiting to discharge their loads, while almost fabulous prices have been paid for hauling, and the road has taxed itself to the utmost capacities to carry through the enormous quantities of freight delivered to it."<sup>8</sup>

James Guthrie, President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, reported at a public

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4. Coulter, op. cit., p. 60. Journal, May 17, 1861.

5. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

6. Louisville Journal, April 30, 1861.

7. Ibid., May 16, June 3, 1861.

8. Cincinnati Gazette, June 1, 1861. It was estimated that the Louisville and Nashville Carried more than four-hundred cars of foodstuffs southward each day.

meeting in April, 1861, that, "during the latter part of July last (1860), and extending through the months of August and September, more provisions came to the L & N depot than the road had capacity to transport..<sup>9</sup> .and the river had a full share of the Southern trade." From October to December (1860) there was a decline in freight receipts from \$54,000 to \$22,000; but beginning with February, 1861, there began an increase which leaped from \$23,000 to \$68,000 in June--this<sup>10</sup> freight increase was not composed of foodstuffs as the road averaged but eight carloads per day-- and vir-<sup>11</sup> tually all of this trade was going southward; as the company stated, "of the through business proper, between Louisville and Nashville, 93 per cent. of the revenue was from freights received at Nashville, and only 5 per cent. from that forwarded or originating at Nashville. Hence, of every one-hundred cars loaded at Louisville for Nashville, ninety-five were returned empty; that is, the Company performed 95 per cent, of the train service northward for through business or  $47\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole without com-<sup>12</sup> pensation.

There is no way of knowing what percentage of

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9. Louisville Journal, April 30, 1861.  
 10. Annual report of the Directors of the L & N Railroad Company, 1861. p. 21.  
 11. Louisville Journal, April 30, 1861.  
 12. Annual Report, loc. cit., p. 19.

this freight was munitions of war, but from news items and accounts the amount must have been tremendous. In January, 1861, the Louisville Journal reported that in one day "there was loaded on trains going to the South, 382 balls, eight inches in diameter, 60 pounds each; 232 balls, eight inches in diameter, 60 pounds each; 800 balls, 42 pounds each; 348 shells, eight inches in diameter, 60 pounds each; and 1000 kegs of powder, 25 pounds per keg." <sup>13</sup> On the same day the Louisville Democrat published an editorial which lambasted those "blood suckers" who persisted in furnishing munitions of war to the <sup>14</sup> States in rebellion.

It is evident that contraband trade was moving southward in an ever increasing stream. Huge profits were to be made by those who felt no "fear of the God or government," and it seems that the greater part of the Louisville merchants felt neither. Easy money fore-shadowed all thoughts of the future. Every gun shipped southward meant a hundred per cent profit, and as one Louisville merchant expressed it; "A hundred dollars is worth more to me than a hundred years in hell." So many of the merchants felt the same way that Prentice felt forced to ask what was to "become of the guns that are being consigned to

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13. Louisville Journal, Jan. 31, 1861.

Muddraugh's Hill."<sup>14</sup>

As long as there were no actual hostilities this trade in munitions seems to have been tolerated, if frowned upon, "by the patriotic in the North as well as by the Federal Government;" but with the firing upon of Fort Sumter, the Union States of Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana, took matters into their own hands and made strong efforts to halt the traffic. In May, 1861, Governor Dennison of Ohio "ordered railroads and express companies to search all commerce going in the direction of a seceded state and to seize all contraband articles."<sup>15</sup> This order, directly aimed at Louisville, caused great indignation in the city. The Louisville Courier went so far as to head an article, "TO ARMS! TO ARMS! CINCINNATI SEIZES SOUTHERN PROPERTY! Kentucky will you stand back? Kentuckians are you ready to submit to chains and slavery, or will you assert your rights with arms in hand?"<sup>16</sup> And some person or group in the city caused a condensed version of the article to be printed in German and circulated among the large German population."<sup>17</sup>

The State of Indiana made virtually the same restrictions, and the Surveyor of Customs at Jefferson-

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14. Louisville Journal, June 27, 1861.

15. Coulter, op. cit., pp. 61-3.

16. Louisville Courier, April 18, 1861.

17. Louisville Journal, April 22, 1861.



ville refused to allow provisions to cross the Ohio  
 River to Louisville.<sup>18</sup> Governor Yates of Illinois,  
 following the example of Indiana and Ohio, caused a  
 tight blockade to be placed around the junction of the  
 Ohio and Mississippi rivers at Cairo.<sup>19</sup>

This policy of trade restriction on the part of  
 the three above mentioned states had a two-fold effect  
 upon the City of Louisville and its inhabitants; it  
 served to limit considerably Louisville's trade with  
 the South, as it cut off the supply of raw materials  
 which the South was demanding, but at the same time it  
 increased tremendously the smuggling of contraband goods.  
 The blockading of the river at Cairo virtually halted  
 all river traffic,<sup>20</sup> as captains on south-bound vessels  
 were required to secure special licenses for their  
 steamers, and goods could not even be shipped to Columbus  
 (Kentucky) unless it could be proven that the consignee  
 was loyal.<sup>21</sup> These embargoes did not effect the rail-  
 roads, however, as the Federal Government deemed it un-  
 wise to antagonize Kentucky in that respect and shipment  
 by rail went on apace.

But on May 2, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the

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18. Louisville Journal, May 2, 1861.

19. Ibid., May 4, 1861.

20. Ibid.

21. Colonel Prentice to Simon Buckner, Rebellion Records,  
 Document, 1, 194.

Treasury, seeing that all goods leaving Louisville would eventually reach the Confederacy, declared an embargo on all goods going southward.<sup>22</sup> Very little effort was made, however, on the part of the custom officers, to enforce the rules; and then too, the Louisville merchants, as well as those people in sympathy with the Confederacy, soon found ways to evade the blockade. As the Journal reported, "munitions are constantly consigned to Kentucky towns bordering on Tennessee,"<sup>23</sup> and "it is not uncommon for women to convey revolvers under their hoops to the South."<sup>24</sup>

When on June 21 (1861) the Surveyor of Customs at Louisville announced that after the 24th. no shipments would be allowed over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad without a permit from his office,<sup>25</sup> huge amounts of contraband were hauled by wagon to points south of Louisville where there was no customs agent. The goods were then loaded on trains and consigned to towns on the Tennessee line--notably Franklin and Haden<sup>26</sup>ville.<sup>27</sup> As time went on, the more bold, not caring to go to the trouble of transporting goods out of the city before loading, merely concealed contraband in legitimate consignments, or, in some cases,

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22. Louisville Journal, May 4, 1861.

23. Ibid., April 27, 1861.

24. Ibid., May 20, 1861.

25. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 92. Journal, July 29, 1861.

26. Louisville Democrat, July 7, 1861.

27. Louisville Journal, July 24, 1861.

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forged government permits. Thus trade in munitions and contraband went on apace, and many a prominent Louisville merchant made a fortune during the period.

But by the first of October, 1861, due to heavy fighting in both the southeastern and western parts of the State, it became almost impossible to safely deliver large amounts of goods to the Confederacy and the trade began to decline. The Journal, although not in sympathy with smuggling, deplored the fact that Louisville was experiencing a depression. A greater part of the manufacturing industries were forced to close down, and most of the business houses were forced to "retrench their business." The entire winter was a period of "business depression and despondency." A characteristic news item said, "our wharf in a business point of view, presents a very disconsolate appearance."

In March (1862), however, the Journal was able to report that, "with the returning of spring, and the fading away to the far South of the Rebellion, leads to the belief that there will be an almost immediate resumption of business..." And in a later report, "livestock is selling better than it has in years...all

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28. Louisville Journal, January 12, 1863.

29. Ibid., October 19, 1861.

30. Ibid., November 6, 1861.

31. Cincinnati Commercial, October 31, 1861.

32. Louisville Journal, March 12, 1862.

the people too, seem to be fond of the Lincoln currency."<sup>34</sup>  
 These reports of the Journal were not over-optimistic,  
 for when Nashville and Chattanooga and points in Georgia  
 became the scene of active operations, then "Louisville  
 became the great source of supply for the armies, and  
 the Louisville and Nashville Railroad the chief reliance  
 for communication with the front." The city became a  
 vast depot for army supplies of all kinds, and the base  
 of supplies for both men and stores until, in January,  
 1862, the city assigned two special policemen to protect  
 the merchandise lying at the wharf.<sup>35</sup>

The Journal rejoiced in the fact that "the opening  
 of the tobacco trade between Louisville and northern  
 Tennessee is one of the first fruits of the success of  
 the Federal armies...no less than 44 hogsheds were  
 received yesterday."<sup>36</sup> Trade with many areas in the  
 South was unrestricted, and by the latter months of 1862  
 Louisville had assumed her "ante-bellum commercial  
 appearance. Cotton which was selling for eight cents  
 per pound was arriving daily. The tobacco market, which  
 had no outlet in New Orleans, was steadily advancing  
 until, in September, 1862, the grades sold at 10@32,  
 and as much as 35@36 was paid at times. The pork market  
 was also expanding until 500 hogs were slaughtered each

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34. Louisville Journal, March 17, 1862.

35. City Journal, No. 8, p. 229.

36. Louisville Journal, March 15, 1862.

day during the killing season.

But the greatest factor in the revival of trade and commerce was the huge letting of government contracts for foodstuffs and army supplies to Louisville merchants.<sup>37</sup> The Journal reported that all livestock "has been sold as fast as they arrive...and ...the purchase of cattle for government use has been good."<sup>38</sup> It was not uncommon for a Louisville merchant to get a forage contract "embracing 10,000 tons of hay; 200,000 bushels of oats; 200,000 bushels of corn."<sup>39</sup> Or a contract for "6,000 head of beef cattle, to be delivered each week."<sup>40</sup> One Louisville contractor furnished Grant with 200 cattle daily.<sup>41</sup> "The immense distribution of army stores," it was reported, "gives employment to a very large number of men, and contributes much toward the relief of the poorer classes of people. Many of our business men are also coining money by supplying the many necessities of the large army now within the state."<sup>42</sup> And the Journal was able to report at the beginning of the new year (1863) that, "the business of the year (1862) has closed very satisfactorily. It is true that operations in an ordinary

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37. Louisville Journal, March, 1862. passim.

38. Ibid., March 19, 1862.

39. Ibid., March 11, 1862.

40. Ibid., July 2, 1862.

41. Cincinnati Commercial, Nov. 5, 1862.

42. Ibid., December 23, 1862.

way have been for the most part limited, but the government has been a large purchaser in this market, and prices of the leading articles of produce have been high, and transactions have been upon a cash basis."<sup>43</sup>

From 1863 until the end of the war Louisville's trade continued to prosper. The merchants continued to receive government contracts, and trade with the South was steadily expanded until it was reported that "the blockading of the streets south of York is so great by teamsters that coal wagons cannot get through."<sup>44</sup> And, "there are at present awaiting shipment 60 carloads of private freight that will be sent forward as rapidly as the road will permit."<sup>45</sup> The Louisville and Frankfort Railroad, which was occupied mainly with hauling freight into Louisville, reported that there was an increase in freight receipts over those of 1862 due to transportation of government stores.<sup>46</sup> In March (1863) a new reservoir of produce was tapped when the Louisville Journal reported that "many of the restrictions upon trade between Louisville, New Albany, and Jeffersonville have been removed. A few articles palpably contraband are excluded from commerce between the three cities."<sup>47</sup>

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43. Louisville Journal, January 5, 1863.

44. Ibid., February 11, 1863.

45. Ibid., January 5, 1863.

46. Annual Report of the Louisville and Frankfort Railroad Company, 1863. pp. 3-4.

47. Louisville Journal, March 14, 1863.

Not all of Louisville's trade, however, was going southward. Because of the embargo laid upon the Southern states much tobacco and cotton was shipped to Louisville where it was sold upon the open market to Northern buyers.<sup>48</sup> The tobacco market had its biggest season in history, selling a total of 63,326 hogsheads of leaf ranging in price from 23¢ for average grades to the extreme price of 56¢ for premium wrapper.<sup>49</sup> The market speculators reaped a harvest, and large fortunes were rapidly made all through this exciting period. There were also great losses to venturesome traders. One hogshead of Clarksville wrapper was bought for \$152.50 per hundred, but when resold in New York in 1866 only \$15.50 was paid, a net loss of \$7,000 on the one package.<sup>50</sup>

Tabulated list of tobacco sales

Hhds.		Hhds.	
1850 . . .	7,500	1864 . . .	63,326
1855 . . .	11,594	1865 . . .	44,210
1860 . . .	17,505	1866 . . .	35,927
1861 . . .	20,823	1867 . . .	34,218
1862 . . .	28,908	1868 . . .	29,508
1863 . . .	36,717	1870 . . .	22,201.

What was true of the tobacco market was also true true to a lesser extent of the cotton, hog, and cattle

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48. Louisville Journal, Feb. 16, 1864.

49. Johnston, 1, 255.

50. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 337 ff.

markets. Cotton was bringing 30<sup>51</sup> with a heavy demand, and one local meat packer had no trouble filling a government contract for 10,000 hogs. The Cincinnati Commercial estimated that more than 1000 hogs were slaughtered each day during the killing<sup>52</sup> season. On the whole it was estimated that "there were \$2,500,000 transactions in tobacco; provisions \$10,000,000; drygoods \$12,000,000; flour and grain<sup>53</sup> \$4,000,000; and \$10,000,000 worth of hogs."

There was a general falling off of commerce to the South in 1865 due to the collapse of the bankrupt Confederacy, but the Louisville merchants had so corraled the market that they dominated the Southern trade for more than a generation and subsequently reaped a harvest during the "Reconstruction" period.

## II

The decade from 1850 to 1860, and until the Civil War began, was the period of the greatest development in river trade and travel. The enterprising capital-

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51. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 145.

52. Cincinnati Commercial, Dec. 5, 8, 24, 1861.

53. Edward's Louisville Directory, 1864. pp. 73-4.



ists of Louisville had steamboats of "unrivalled excellence, for passengers and freight, running upon the Ohio and the Mississippi, while suitable packets plied on the Cumberland, Tennessee, Arkansas, Yazoo, and Red rivers, carrying her (Louisville) manufactures and merchandise to all points, and gathering in their products, either for home consumption or for shipment eastward." This traffic, which had early felt the squeezing effects of the war with the seizing of the river vessels for army service, and by the blockading of the rivers by both the Confederate and Union armies, was the last to feel the welcoming effects of the revival of trade.

Where it had been common for the "river news" of 1860 to list twenty or more boats "lying at the wharf," it was exceedingly uncommon in 1861 for a river bulletin to list more than five departures or arrivals in a single day. But during the latter part of 1861 and the early months of 1862 the river began to feel "a few flickering signs of her former commerce, as she (Louisville) was able to secure boats now and then." When the Confederates were driven from the state river trade immediately began to improve. "With peans of self-praise, she (Louisville) sought

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54. Coulter, op. cit., p. 244.

to wean the western Kentuckians from their Confed-  
<sup>55</sup>  
 erate flesh pots." She wanted their tobacco and  
 other produce and they were invited to "come to the  
 safer and more congenial market offered by our city,  
 the reputation of whose merchants is without a blem-  
 ish, and whose capacities for supply are without a  
<sup>56</sup>  
 successful rivalry in the great basin of the West."

Although western Kentucky never deserted the  
 Confederacy, it sent Louisville enough trade to give  
 her cause to say three months later that her wharf  
 was "completely blockaded with the tobacco, cotton,  
 and corn brought up from below by the Henderson and  
<sup>57</sup>  
 Cumberland river boats." On January 8, 1862, the  
 "W.W. Crawford" arrived from Henderson with 1,500  
 bushels of wheat; 150 barrels of apples; 45 barrels  
 of beans; and 11,000 hoop poles, all for reshipment  
<sup>58</sup>  
 to Cincinnati. Trade gradually increased until,  
 in July, 1862, the Louisville Journal, was able to  
 report the arrival of nine vessels in a single day--  
 the Nashville bringing 120 bales of cotton, and the  
<sup>59</sup>  
 other boats with lesser cargoes.

But the river seemed doomed to suffer all sorts

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55. Coulter, op. cit., pp. 243-5.

56. Louisville Journal, Feb. 17, 1862. Editorial.

57. Louisville Democrat, May 3, 1863.

58. Louisville Journal, Jan. 8, 1862.

59. Ibid., July 19, 1862.

of obstructions. No sooner had traffic been opened as far south as Knoxville than the river was closed between Cincinnati and Louisville by orders of General Burnside. The river was an important highway for the army traffic and it quickly became the target of the Confederate armies and raiding parties. Even after the Confederates were driven from the state, the guerillas became a menace to river traffic as they sought their individual plunder. "John Morgan as well as Forrest took especial delight in hitting the state like a thunderbolt and leaving consternation and destruction in his trail." The former, in the summer of 1863, so completely disorganized the traffic on the Ohio, that Burnside forbade steamers to ply between "Cincinnati and Louisville without permission and ample protection."<sup>60</sup>

But with the Fall of Port Hudson the Mississippi River became open to navigation, and there was "great rejoicing in Louisville. The Louisville Journal envisioned "heavy laden river boats once more at New Orleans."<sup>61</sup> On July 22, 1863, the Louisville Democrat announced: "With a glow of satisfaction we inform the public that a boat is loading for New Orleans." By

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60. Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Official Records, ser. 1, Vol. 31, Part 1, p. 798.

61. Louisville Journal, July 11, 1863.

the latter part of December (1863) the trade with the river towns was fairly well established, and many families were returning to Louisville...

running the blockade from Holly Springs to Memphis." <sup>62</sup>  
 And on December 24 (1863) the first cargo of molasses and sugar, since the beginning of the war, arrived in Louisville from New Orleans. <sup>63</sup>

The river trade was never completely freed from restrictions until the war ended, and by that time a "new era had begun which shifted commerce to the railroads and made the glory of the river a tale that was told." On July 2, 1864, Congress imposed a few minor embargoes on Southern trade. Yet the river news of 1864 and 1865, showed that trade was active. A boat from the Kentucky River carried to Cincinnati --with reshipment at Louisville-- 2,866 sacks of wheat, 272 bags of barley, 100 sacks of hemp seed, 138 barrels <sup>64</sup> of flour, and 60 packages of merchandise. Later bulletins showed steady arrivals with heavy cargoes.

### III

In 1860 Louisville was well on her way to becoming

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62. William Short to John Clive Short, Dec. 10, 1863.  
 (Letter in Filson Club Archives)

63. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 139.

64. Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 10, 1865.

one of the leading manufacturing centers of the West. Her 436 factories, employing 7,396 hands, with \$5,023,491 capital employed, paying out \$2,120,000 annually in wages, and turning out products worth \$14,135,000 each year, ranked her twelfth among the manufacturing cities of the nation. <sup>65</sup> Mass production and the assembly line were generally unknown, most of the industries being small home owned affairs employing from five to twenty hands. There were a few large industries, however,--notably tobacco and foundries--<sup>66</sup> employing as many as four-hundred hands.

The first six months of the conflict played havoc with Louisville industry. A great number of the manufactures were suspended and remained so for the duration of the war. <sup>67</sup> "Our factories," it was reported, "have been made into barracks by the army." <sup>68</sup> A few industries, however, such as clothing, foundries, steamboat transportation supplies, tobacco, and provision factories were given a great impetus by the demand for army supplies.

In 1860 there were 21 clothing establishments <sup>69</sup> employing 800 hands, and in 1864 the number had increased

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65. United States Census, 1860. Manufacturing. p. 180.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-1.

67. Louisville Journal, January 2, 1861.

68. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1863.

69. United States Census, 1860. Manufacturing, p. 180.

to 56 establishments employing 1,400 hands. In 1863<sup>70</sup> the Louisville Journal reported that many empty warehouses were being converted into clothing factories, and that skilled needle-workers were almost impossible to find.<sup>71</sup> The iron industry grew from 9 foundries in 1860<sup>72</sup> employing 511 hands to 20 industries in 1864 employing 1,200 hands.<sup>73</sup> The tobacco factories grew from 10 in 1860 employing 537 hands to almost 100 in 1864<sup>74</sup> employing 1,500 hands.<sup>75</sup> The provision factories<sup>76</sup> too, more than doubled.

With the above exceptions, however, the greater number of the industries virtually ceased to exist. The breweries were only able to operate part time as the army consumed most of the grain,<sup>77</sup> and there was little demand for agricultural implements. The soap, candle, furniture, cordage, glassware, and carriage factories found it impossible to dispose of their products and were forced to close their doors. By 1864 the proponents of "A Greater Louisville" had given up all hope of making the city the industrial center of the West and South, and were preforce content to advertise the city as a "commercial rather than a manufacturing town."<sup>78</sup>

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70. Campbell's Business Directory, 1864. p. 35.

71. Louisville Journal, January 30, 1863.

72. United States Census, 1860. Manufacturing. p, 181.

73. Campbell's Business Directory, 1864. p. 35.

74. Census, 1860. Manufacturing, p. 181.

75. Campbell's Business Directory, 1864. p. 35.

76. Ibid.

77. Louisville Journal, May 10, 1863.

78. Campbell's Business Directory, 1864. p. 35.

## IV

The Louisville banks showed great strength and stability through-out the period of the war. Although the daily money-market report usually read, "The banks were doing very little yesterday beyond renewals, and the street capitalists too, were doing nothing in a manner,"<sup>79</sup> the bankers saw fit to establish three large banks in the city between 1861 and 1864, raising the total number from 7 with an aggregate capital of \$5,310,000 to 10 with an aggregate capital of more than \$7,000,000.<sup>80</sup>

"The suspension of specie payments by the banks of the large commercial centers in the East" in no way effected the banks of Louisville,<sup>81</sup> as they continued specie payment even after the Federal Treasury Department had advised a suspension.<sup>82</sup> Even after Governor Magoffin had signed a bill in April, 1861, authorizing Kentucky banks to issue notes of denomination under five dollars and to suspend specie payments in certain contingencies, the Louisville Journal was able to announce more than a year later that, "The Louisville banks are redeeming their notes

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79. Louisville Journal, January 4, 1861; Ibid., November, 1862. passim.

80. Edward's City Directory, 1864. pp. 117-18.

81. Louisville Journal, January 6, 1862.

82. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 119.

in United States Treasury notes or in specie." These<sup>83</sup>  
 same notes were running at par a year after the war  
 had started; in 1863 they were bringing a 5 per cent.  
 premium over United States currency at Cincinnati and<sup>84</sup>  
 a greater or less advance in many other places.  
 Throughout the war they were bankable at par in the<sup>85</sup>  
 leading financial centers of the country.

The bank stock market was strong throughout the  
 period, the stocks of most banks standing at par or  
 better with a few minor exceptions.<sup>86</sup> In 1861 dividends<sup>87</sup>  
 stood at about 4 per cent; in 1862 there was a falling  
 off to about 3 per cent. due to the lack of confidence<sup>88</sup>  
 in business generally; but from 1863 through 1865<sup>89</sup>  
 dividends stood consistently around 4 per cent. These  
 comparatively good dividends were due, of course, to  
 the rapid turn-over of bank loans as a result of  
 army contracts.

## V

If fortunes were made by those comparatively few

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83. Louisville Journal, January 6, 1862.  
 84. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 327. Collins,  
 Kentucky, 1, 119.  
 85. Ibid.  
 86. Ibid., p. 328. In 1863 the stocks of the Bank of  
 Louisville and the Bank of Kentucky were bringing  
 \$96.00 per share.  
 87. Louisville Journal, January 6, 1862.  
 88. Ibid., January 4, 1863.  
 89. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 139.



90

lucky ones who dealt both in legitimate and contraband commerce during the war, the same cannot be said for the laborers and "mechanics" of the city. Theirs was a time of much suffering and fasting, relieved only occasionally by a small dole from the city fathers, or by packets of food and clothing supplied by their more fortunate neighbors.

In 1860 there were 7,396 men and women employed in the various manufacturing industries,<sup>91</sup> and a still greater number employed in the "stores, warehouses, transportation, hotels, and coffee houses; as domestics, and in other industries employing labor."<sup>92</sup> Due to the demand for manufactured goods in the South, as well as by the huge shipments of goods that were passing through Louisville, work was to be had by all those who wanted it. Wages were fairly high, ranging from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day for mechanics and laborers,<sup>93</sup> and \$5.00 per week or less for domestics, clerks, etc.<sup>94</sup> The Journal reported that the people of Louisville were "enjoying good times...money is plentiful,"<sup>95</sup> and the other local papers reflect nothing but prosperity.

But with the actual outbreak of war the picture

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90. In 1865 the aggregate total of \$7,296,390 in Federal income tax was paid by 2,336 Louisville Citizens. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 331.
91. United States Census, 1860. Manufacturing. p. 180.
92. Louisville Journal, May 8, 1860.
93. Ibid., September 8, 1860.
94. Ibid., July 14, 1861. Louisville Courier, Je. 8, 1860.
95. Ibid., February 3, 1860.

changed almost overnight. Most of the manufacturing industries closed down and remained so for the duration<sup>96</sup> of the war. Trade with the South was limited and the teamsters "felt the pinch." The Louisville Journal began to bemoan the "hard times," and by November, 1860, daily appeals for help for the poor began to appear in its columns.<sup>97</sup> The Louisville Courier lamented that although "Louisville has a name and a place among the influential cities of our country, and we have wealth, elegance and refinement, still, in the many small streets, in the outskirts of the city, and even in our midst, there is suffering and want."<sup>98</sup> In a later issue the same newspaper reported that, "we understand that the hotel keepers...owing to the pressure of the times have reduced the number of their employees...they have also cut the wages of those they retain like 20 per cent. heretofore."<sup>99</sup> A like problem was presented in the commercial establishments. "Since the new year commenced we learn that hundreds of young men employed in stores and offices have been wholly thrown out of employment. The work of retrenchment having extended<sup>100</sup> to all classes and every pursuit of life."

The problem of unemployment became so acute that

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96. Louisville Journal, January 9, 1861.  
 97. Ibid., November 9, December 14, 1860.  
 98. Louisville Courier, January 8, 1861.  
 99. Ibid., January 9, 1861.  
 100. Ibid., January 2, 1861.

on the first day of the new year (1861) a public meeting was held at the court house to consider the steps that might be taken to relieve the situation.<sup>101</sup> At this meeting an official committee was appointed to make a "survey of the suffering throughout the city."<sup>102</sup> As a result of the findings of the committee several collecting depots were established in each of the wards "where those who have anything to give can send articles of clothing, fuel and edibles."<sup>103</sup> By January 30 (1861), the Journal was able to report that the depots had collected "potatoes, 135 bbls; flour, 76 bbl; beef, 3,310 lbs; pork, 8,500 lbs; and 12,000 bushels of coal, as well as a quantity of other edibles."<sup>104</sup> These ward depots continued to operate through December, 1863, when the accounts of their monthly collections disappear from the columns of the Journal, but there is reason to believe that they continued to function until 1865 as occasional pleas are made for help for the poor.<sup>105</sup>

Beside the ward depots other means were taken to relieve the suffering of the poor. Concerts were given by the various literary and musical societies

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101. Louisville Courier, January 2, 1861.

102. Ibid., January 4, 1861.

103. Louisville Journal, January 3, 1861.

104. Ibid., January 30, 1861.

105. Ibid., October, 1864. *passim*.

106  
 in the city, and the stock companies at the theatres  
 gave occasional benefits for the poor. The Churches  
 107  
 too, did their part with Sunday collections, church  
 108  
 suppers, and religious plays. In one case an offering  
 of \$50.00 was sent to the Louisville poor "as a small  
 109  
 offering from a few New Yorkers."

There was one relief organization that functioned  
 throughout the period of the war--the Volunteer's  
 Relief Committee. This "group of good ladies" was  
 organized to care for the families of volunteer  
 soldiers who "were unable to take care of their loved  
 110  
 ones." At one time the group was taking care of more  
 111  
 than 400 families in the city.

There was very little relief of unemployment in  
 the winter and early spring of 1861; when J.M. Delph  
 qualified as mayor on April 29, 1861, he asked that  
 "the expenditures on quarry work in improving the  
 conditions of the streets, and in grading the wharf,  
 etc., should be upon a scale that will give employment  
 to as many of the laboring poor as our financial  
 112  
 condition will permit us to employ." On May 11, 1861,

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106. Louisville Journal, February, 1861. passim.

107. Ibid., April, 1861. passim.

108. Ibid., December 22, 1860.

109. Ibid., January 10, 1861.

110. Ibid., November 9, 1861.

111. Ibid., January 7, 1862.

112. Ibid., April 30, 1861.

the "General Council passed an ordinance providing for a loan of \$10,000. The object of the loan being to enable the city to employ a large force upon the streets as a measure of relief." By the middle of May (1861) a force of more than 400 men were spreading crushed rock upon the streets. But \$10,000 was not a very large sum of money, and it was estimated that if the fund were divided equally among the unemployed each laborer would receive but 65¢. On May 30 an ordinance was passed by the General Council directing the mayor to submit to a vote of the citizens the ordinance "levying a tax of .20 on the dollar for the benefit of the poor." During the month of June (1861) the "unemployed mechanics of the city" twice petitioned the Council for relief.

By the latter part of 1861 a certain degree of prosperity had returned to the city. Louisville became the base of supply for the Union armies in the South, and her merchants were being awarded large contracts; "the prosperity naturally passed on down to the teamsters and other laborers." The Cincinnati

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113. Council Records, No. 8. p. 89. Louisville Journal, April 30, 1861.

114. Louisville Journal, May 13, 1861.

115. Ibid., May 21, 1861.

116. Council Records, No. 8. p. 105. There is no evidence that the ordinance was ever submitted to a popular vote.

117. Ibid., pp. 122, 132.

118. Coulter, op. cit., p. 242.

Commercial reported that, "the immense distribution of army stores gives employment to a very large number of men, and contributes much toward the relief of the poorer classes of the people." <sup>119</sup> It certainly gave more than enough employment to the teamsters. In the early days of February, 1863, they demanded higher wages, and <sup>120</sup> got them. Stockyards employees were also given work, as were sempstresses and sewing machine operators. In November, 1861, the Louisville Journal reported that clothing contractors were employing a large number of <sup>121</sup> women, and in 1863 the same newspaper ran an advertisement for "thirty sempstresses and fifteen sewing machine <sup>122</sup> operators."

Because of the great influx of soldiers and army officers the hotels and boarding houses did a rushing business. Domestics were in great demand, and the store clerks and coffee house employees again found employment. But there was one group of laborers that found no relief until the end of the war--the mechanics. As has been previously noted, manufacturing practically ceased to exist during the war, and the greater number of mechanics were forced to rely upon relief labor for a livelihood.

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119. Louisville Journal, February 14, 1863.

120. Ibid., November 26, 1861.

121. Ibid., November 23, 1861.

122. Ibid., January 30, 1863.

## VI

The ultimate effects of the Civil War upon the economic life and development of the City of Louisville is almost beyond belief. Prior to the war, Louisville was but another town in the rapidly growing West, whose commercial classes had hoped, by a strange formula of 75 per cent. business acumen and 25 per cent luck, not only eventually to control the trade to the South, but also to become the manufacturing metropolis of the West. Certainly "luck" had played a large part in her early capture of the Southern trade. The two factors that gave her the commanding position in the decade 1850-1860 were; first, the natural position of the "Falls of the Ohio" which brought all river traffic to her door by forcing re-shipment of practically all goods bound for the South as well as those bound for the North; and, second, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad which was the only through railroad between the two sections. Thus by controlling the means of transportation between the North and the South the city reaped the benefits of Northern wealth and Southern trade.

At the beginning of 1860, however, Cincinnati and Pittsburg had not only out-stripped Louisville in

industrial development, but were well on the way to supplant her as the mistresses of Southern trade. The war came at a fortuitous moment. Because of her border position, coupled with the fact that the city became the base of supply for the Union armies, Louisville held the commanding trade position between the North and the South. The South needed Northern goods to carry on the war. Louisville merchants supplied them. The North demanded tobacco, cotton, and other Southern products. Louisville supplied them also. Thus it was that even though industrial activity was virtually halted during the period of the war, the gain in trade far exceeded the loss of her manufacturing industries.



Chart (A) shows the number of manufactures in Louisville in 1860 whose aggregate total of products was more than one hundred thousand dollars per year. Chart (B) shows those manufactures whose aggregate total was more than one million dollars in 1865. Chart (B), however, is only an approximate estimate.

CHART A

Manufactures	Number	Capital Invested	Hands Employed	Annual cost of products
Agric. Implem.	8	\$219,650	240	\$387,100
Boots & Shoes	14	49,950	152	186,082
Clothing	21	445,400	1276	683,960
Flour & Meal	15	174,800	50	955,355
Iron	11	728,500	455	828,600
Leather	10	121,000	75	280,900
Provisions	9	810,000	1042	3,460,575
Harness	14	52,600	110	222,365
Sash, Doors & Blinds	2	75,000	95	126,500
Soap and Candles	8	131,250	96	402,900
Tobacco- Manufactured	10	282,000	557	628,000
White Lead	1	52,000	30	100,000
Waggon and Carts	25	37,250	96	122,967
Woolen Goods	3	54,000	57	185,565
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>3,233,000</b>	<b>4,381</b>	<b>8,652,278</b>

CHART B

Clothing	56	700,000	2,000	1,100,000
Iron	20	1,200,000	1,200	1,500,000
Tobacco- Manufactured	100	500,000	1,500	1,000,000
Provisions	19	2,000,000	2,500	5,500,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>4,400,000</b>	<b>7,200</b>	<b>9,100,000</b>

## III

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Generally speaking, there were three fairly well defined social classes in the City of Louisville prior to the Civil War. There was, first, the "upper class," composed of the moneyed people, and, to a certain extent, those who could command entrance to "society" because of their "blood lines." Second, there was a middle class, composed of small manufacturers, small business men, and skilled mechanics; and lastly, there was the lower class, composed of unskilled mechanics and laborers. The lower class was by far the most numerous. Although there was a certain amount of intermingling between the upper and middle classes there was as wide a gulf between the upper and lower groups as there is at the present time--and that in spite of the "equality of democracy" of the age. The residential districts were widely separated ; the children of the wealthy were sent to schools in Boston and Philadelphia rather than to the public schools,<sup>1</sup> and there was little or no possibility of inter-marriage; and, to make the gulf

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1. Reminiscences of S.A. Rodman. loc. cit., p. 20.

more pronounced, society had its own saloons and gambling houses at which the mechanics and laborers were not welcomed.<sup>2</sup>

But the elements of war recognizes no social barriers or differences. On the battle field the banker fights at the side of the laborer, the Jew beside the Gentile, the strong beside the weak, and "they are all brothers fighting for a common cause." Much the same breakdown of the social distinctions occurs away from the battle field in time of war. The rich man drinks beside the poor man, the society belle nods daintily to the young teamster, and the soldier becomes an exalted being, one to admire, love, and, above all, to bid welcome to those social circles where heretofore he has not only been unwelcome, but forbidden. Louisville was like any other city in this respect. Soldiers were everywhere, crowding the theatres and hotels, some gallantly escorting demure, crinolined belles, others quarreling drunkenly in the saloons; but they were soldiers, and as such, rich or poor, blue-blood or illegitimate, they were welcomed in some of the best homes, on the streets, at the quadrilles, with "smiles and cheers."

Curiously enough, however, even patriotism begins

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2. Louisville Herald Post, Magazine Section, April 18, 1926.

to wane after a few years. Where once the populace "waved at the passing defenders of their homes" there comes a spirit of arrogance, intolerance, and selfishness. Men begin to wonder whether the breakdown of the social institutions is worth the "false loyalty of protection." By 1863 Louisville was thoroughly dis-<sup>3</sup>gusted with the army and the men within its ranks. The citizens no longer smiled with indulgence at drunkenness, or at the racing of horses through the main<sup>4</sup> streets. Rather the Journal, as spokesman for the community at large, hurled bombastic threats at those unciv-<sup>5</sup>ilized "men who call themselves soldiers." Prostitution<sup>6</sup> was setting a bad example for the "local men and women," and accusations were made that the moral and social institutions were being destroyed by the continued<sup>7</sup> occupation of the city by the army. More than one inhabitant expressed the wish that he might never again see<sup>8</sup> a soldier. Undoubtedly the military did play havoc with the social institutions, and the citizenry might have been justified in their attitude of intolerance which was to continue until the end of the war.

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3. Louisville Journal, March, 1863. passim.

4. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1863.

5. Ibid., Jan. 27, 1863.

6. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1863.

7. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1863.

8. Ibid., April 6, 1863.

## II

The churches were the first of Louisville's social and moral institutions to feel the effects of the conflict when dissension arose, both between the various denominations and within the churches themselves, as to the moral right and wrong of slavery.<sup>9</sup> Even before the actual outbreak of hostilities the various congregations split into bitter camps, and many a preacher gave up the Bible for the pamphlet of politics. The Sunday sermon in many churches did not deal so much with the Gospel as with the "right or wrong of slavery and union or secession." The Louisville Journal saw fit to print a current joke: 'a railroad conductor having been asked how politics were going on replied-- "I haven't been to church for four Sundays, and I don't know."<sup>10</sup> But in a more serious vein it lamented the fact that, "the unfortunate introduction of politics into the affairs and organizations of our religious societies has been the cause of much evil."<sup>11</sup> So heated became the controversy that scarcely a week went by that the local newspapers did not print a sermon either upholding or condemning the slave traffic.<sup>12</sup> It has been

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9. Biographical Encyclopaedia of Kentucky, p. 15.

10. Louisville Journal, January 8, 1861.

11. Ibid.

12. For instance, Louisville Journal, January 15, 18, 1861.

aptly stated that, "the effect of slavery and the Civil War on the church was stronger than the effect of the church on them."<sup>13</sup>

Interesting legal questions regarding church government and authority were developed, especially the relation of church and state in the separation<sup>14</sup> of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Probably the greatest dissension arose within the Presbyterian Church where "the political disturbances proved a baneful source of disturbance."<sup>15</sup> The sect had always recognized its duty to mold public sentiment on moral questions, but now certain groups within the Church went even further and brought up the question of the "allegiance of the Christian citizen to the Federal Government" when a moral duty was at stake. The resulting "Church War" was not only carried on from the pulpit and from within the "Governing Council of the Church," but reached its height in bitterness in the columns of the local newspapers of 1861. In that year the Rev. Thomas H. Hoyt published a strong sermon in the Daily Courier urging secession;<sup>16</sup> less than two weeks later, a fellow clergyman, the Rev.

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13. Wickenden, H.E., History of the Churches of Louisville With Special Reference to Slavery, (M.A. Thesis, University of Louisville) Intro. pp. 2-3.

14. Ibid., p. 3.

15. Johnston, 2, 169.

16. Louisville Daily Courier, January 5, 1861.

Charles Parsons published an address refuting Hoyt's arguments and urging that Kentucky remain within the Union. In the same year, after the Courier-- the only Louisville newspaper that held forth open columns to secessionists--had ceased publication, Dr. Stuart Robinson, the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, began the publication of the "True Presbyterian."<sup>17</sup><sup>18</sup>

This religious publication was twice suppressed by the military authorities because of its strong anti-union sentiments.<sup>19</sup> The ultimate effect of this internal dissension was the division of the Church into a "Northern and Southern branch."

Likewise, "splits and breaks" took place in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, and in practically every other denomination in the city.<sup>20</sup> Only the Catholic Church remained to show a united front to the Union. Although the Catholic Church deplored "human bondage" and would have been exceedingly happy to see it disappear from the face of the earth, the official "Church Government" took no part in the controversy and sought to stand upon neutral ground. Doubtless, however, many members of that

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17. Louisville Courier, January 18, 1861.

18. Biographical Encyclopaedia of Kentucky, p. 15.

19. In July 1862 and November, 1864.

20. Dr. Ford, a Baptist preacher, left Louisville in 1861 and went south to the Confederacy. He was a member from Kentucky at the first Confederate Congress. Wickenden, op. cit., p. 17.

faith were not wholly in agreement with the Church policy.

In spite of the dissension within the local churches the moral forces within the community managed to do a great deal of humanitarian work during the war. In 1861 Bishop John Spalding (Catholic) entered into an agreement with General Robert Anderson in which it was agreed that, "The Sisters of Charity will nurse the wounded under the direction of the army surgeons without any intermediate authority whatsoever...every thing necessary for the lodging and nursing of the wounded and sick will be supplied to them without putting them to any expense, they will give their services gratuitously...and...so far as circumstances will allow, they shall have every faculty for attending to their religious and devotional exercises." Under the terms of the agreement the Sisters of Charity established and maintained two military hospitals during the remainder of the war--one at "Mr. Munn's plow factory, at Ninth and Broadway," and the other at the "Avery plow factory."<sup>21</sup>

The individual congregations of the other denominations, assisted by the Young Mens Christian Association, likewise aided the ill and wounded.<sup>22</sup> In

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21. Johnston, 2, 121.

22. Ibid., 2, 278.



September, 1862, when the military authorities confiscated the public ward schools, a number of churches came to the rescue of the Board of Education by offering their Sunday-school rooms as temporary school<sup>23</sup> rooms.

Due to the gain in population, plus the split of many congregations into individual units, the number of churches in Louisville had increased tremendously by the end of the war. In 1860 there were 57 churches with an average number of 1193 people per church. In 1870 there were 83 churches with an average number of 1214 people per church. The Episcopal Church made the greatest gain in the number of congregations-- from 3 in 1860 to 13 in 1870. The number of Catholic churches increased from 10 to 15, and the Presbyterian churches from 6 to 13 during the same period. There<sup>24</sup> were like increases in the other denominations.

The following chart shows the number of churches in Louisville from 1850 to 1870, with the average number of people per church. The negro churches are also included, although not under separate listing.

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23. Louisville Journal, October 22, 1862.

24. Wickenden, op. cit., Chart contained in bibliography.

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## CHART SHOWING GROWTH OF CHURCHES

	1850	1860	1870
Presbyterian	5	8	14
Episcopal	3	5	12
Methodist (North)	1	3	4
Methodist (South)	12	12	18
Catholic	3	10	15
Evangelical	3	4	4
Reform	0	1	1
Baptist	6	8	9
Christian	1	2	4
Lutheran	1	0	1
New Jerusalem	1	1	1
Jewish	1	2	2
Universalist	1	1	0
Unitarian	1	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>83</b>
Population of city	43194	68033	100754
Average num- ber of people church.	1136	1193	1214

This chart (with a few minor changes) is taken from Wickenden, op. cit., Bibliography.

## III

The number and variety of amusements presented in Louisville during the period of the war was truly amazing. Among the most popular were the visiting museums, which at one time or another presented a diverting combination of the educational with the farcical and morbid. As the war dragged on the clairvoyants, astrologists, phrenologists, ventriloquists, mesmerists, and spiritualists held the public attention in turn.

During the summer months there were the inevitable circuses whose menageries, performing ponies, trained lions, and Siamese twins were highly attractive to the old as well as the young.<sup>25</sup> Picnics too, were ever popular. Publisher Prentice, who seems to have had an aversion to these social affairs, wrote: "These cheap, rational, but rather fatiguing entertainments are now in full blast at all the groves and gardens in the neighborhood of the city. The ultimate objects of the festive gatherings are various but mostly religious, charitable, or patriotic. There is a real moral

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25. For instance, Louisville Journal, July 3, 1863; ibid., Aug. 12, 1864.

heroism in the way that some people attend picnics. They rise early. They take their whole household flock with them. They carry enormous baskets. They wedge themselves into cars, or pack themselves into stages three deep, or stand in the burning sun on the decks of steamboats. They then arrive within a mile or so of the parking ground. The rest of the distance they walk. The day is one of heat, fatigue, and thirst. During the afternoon a shower sets in. After waiting three hours under dripping trees for the weather to clear up, it does not clear up. The crowd sets out for home. Arriving there wet and tired, but ready for another picnic the next day."<sup>26</sup>

## IV

Even though more than 5,000 Louisville men enlisted in the Union and Confederate armies during the period of the war,<sup>27</sup> the belles of Louisville did

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26. Louisville Journal, July 2, 1863.

27. There are no accurate figures on the actual enlistments from Louisville. On July 6, 1863, the Journal estimated that 5,000 men had left the city. But for the entire period of the war it seems safe to estimate the enlistments as not under 8,000.

not suffer from lack of partners at the dance. The influx of soldiers and partners more than made up the deficit. Indeed, so numerous became the "Grand Military and Civic Balls," as well as the private parties and dances, that the Journal felt called upon to report that, "balls are given for any benefit, at any time, for the orphans, for the relief of the poor, and for<sup>28</sup> pleasure." Scarcely a night went by but that a quadrille was given at one of the local halls. During the winter of 1863, "Haupt's Silver Cornet<sup>29</sup> Band," which had "the best prompter for balls in the city," was forced to announce, in the columns of the local newspapers, that due to the heavy demand upon their services they would be unable to accept engagements<sup>30</sup> for more than a month.

## V

But if the citizens of Louisville partook of many amusements that were innocent and popular, there

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28. Louisville Journal, July 2, 1863.

29. There were a dozen or more lesser dance bands in the city, but in contrast to the decade before the war, when there were numerous advertisements asking for engagements appearing the the newspapers, such advertisements after 1860 were so unusual as to attract attention.

30. Louisville Journal, Dec. 8, 1863.

were other forms of amusement just as popular but not so innocent. Gambling, always common in Louisville, "burned into a fever that seemed all consuming during the Civil War. There was just enough gambling houses, with enough patrons and free money to keep them open day and night." <sup>31</sup> The poor as well as the rich played at the green baize tables. More than one professional gambler reaped a fortune from the army officers and army contractors who over-ran the city. The Louisville Journal reported one incident of an army contractor losing more than a quarter of a million dollars <sup>32</sup> at one "session." These "gilded temples" made no effort at concealment and openly occupied whole blocks in the central part of the city. "All the north side of Jefferson street from Fourth to Fifth, all the east side of Fifth from Jefferson to Market, and practically all the south side of Market from <sup>33</sup> Fifth to Fourth " was devoted almost exclusively to keno, roulette, faro, and other games of chance.

Racing too, had its day. During 1860 and 1861 the Woodlawn Race Course--situated six miles east of

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31. Courier Journal, Sunday Magazine Section, Feb. 8, 1920.

32. Louisville Journal, Oct. 17, 1863.

33. Courier Journal, Sunday Magazine Section, Feb. 8, 1920.

the city--held both spring and fall meetings, offering purses from "200,00 to \$500.00. These purses<sup>34</sup> were uncommonly large for the period, and many horses from the surrounding states were brought to Louisville to compete for the prizes. The races were run according to the rules of the course, and all jockeys--colored boys--were required to wear the distinctive garb of their calling. At the "Spring Meeting" of 1861 the Louisville Journal reported that the crowd was large, "with both sexes present, and the betting<sup>35</sup> was heavy." After 1862, however, the meetings were suspended and no regulation meets were held until after the end of the war. But even though no formal meetings were held an occasional day of racing was offered to the gambling public during the summers of<sup>36</sup> 1863 and 1864.

## VI

The citizens of Louisville seem to have tried to drown their sorrow in hard liquor during the period of the Civil War. Rich and poor alike partook of the

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34. Louisville Journal, May, 1860. passim.

35. Ibid., May 20, 1861.

36. For instance, Louisville Journal, Oct. 22, 1862; Ibid., July 7, 1863.

heady beverage, and it was not uncommon for wines and brandy to be served in the homes of the best citizens. The pages of the local newspapers contained column after column of advertisements of liquor for sale--not by pints and quarts, but by gallons and barrels. For those who welcomed company while they drank there were approximately 400 licensed "Coffee Houses" within the limits of the city in 1860.<sup>37</sup> It has been stated that, "the growth of this industry exceeded in proportion the growth of any other activity, and it is possible that the thirst of the population was such as to demand a large supply."<sup>38</sup> Certainly the number of saloons had increased by more than one-third during the period of the war. In 1864 the city fathers issued more than 600 licenses for saloons and coffee houses.<sup>39</sup>

Differing radically from a later day, the proprietors of the saloons merited no stigma because of their calling. On the contrary, the Louisville Journal constantly extolled the virtues of these dispensers of hard liquor. "They (proprietors) have merited the esteem of the community, for their

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37. This number was arrived at by counting the number of licenses issued in the Journal of the Common Council, 1860. No. 7.

38. Louisville Herald Post, Mag. Section, Ap. 18, '26.

39. Journal of Common Council, 1864. No. 9.



great politeness and attention to visitors, and for the excellent quality of their liquors. We hesitate not to recommend our saloons to all amateurs." Per-<sup>40</sup>haps this praise was forth-coming as a result of the many gifts of wine and liquor that were given the editor by these selfsame proprietors. Certainly Prentice drank his liquor with the best of them. A contemporary wrote, "many times the narrator has seen Mr. Prentice walking, and gifted as he was, yet at times his steps were not steady and probably there was a reason, as it is said that Mr. Prentice indulged<sup>41</sup> a little too freely of ardent spirits."

From Prentice' editorial it would seem that drinking was a professional calling; from the small number of arrests, drunkenness was either exceptionally common, or the drinkers could carry their liquor; as police records prove that Louisville was an orderly city. It was uncommon for the police to make more than three arrests for drunkenness in any one day. The soldiers that over-ran the city seem to have caused the most trouble. The Louisville Journal reported that soldiers and officers crowded the

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40. Louisville Journal, Jan. 8, 1861.

41. Sumners, loc. cit., p. 8.

saloons night and day, and remained in a constant  
state of drunkenness.<sup>42</sup> "The nuisance is as offensive  
to civilians as it is disgraceful to the army...<sup>43</sup>  
and...they race horses up and down our main streets  
without regard to life or limb."<sup>44</sup> The military  
authorities sought to remedy the situation by for-  
bidding the saloons to sell liquor to the soldiers,  
and when the orders were disregarded the saloons were  
closed for a short period of time.<sup>45</sup> On the whole,  
however, liquor was sold to any and all who had the  
price of a drink.

## VII

The dress of any period serves as a point of  
interest to the contemporary historian, but the dress  
of the sixties is particularly interesting because  
of the grotesque effect produced on the outer aspects  
of social life by the hoop-skirt. In 1860, the  
"Fashion Set" of the East, following the example of  
the Empress Eugenie, set its seal of approval on this

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42. Louisville Journal, Dec. 2, 1862.

43. Ibid., Jan. 29, 1863.

44. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1863.

45. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1862; March 9, 1863.

"most obnoxious form of feminine costume." But it was not until the latter part of 1861 that the dress was worn by all classes of women in Louisville. A popular song ran thus:

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"Now crinoline is all the rage with  
ladies of whatever age,  
A petticoat made like a cage--Oh, what  
a ridiculous fashion!  
'Tis formed of hoops and bars of steel,  
or tubes of air which lighter feel,  
And worn by girls to be genteel, or if  
they've figures to conceal.  
It makes the dresses stretch far out a  
dozen yards or so about,  
And pleases both the thin and stout--Oh,  
what a ridiculous fashion."

So exaggerated became the fashion that it became both the bane and laughing-stock of humanity. Scarcely a week went by but that the daily newspapers gave an account of what was called a "crinoline accident," cases, that is to say, in which a woman suffered an accident as a result of her distended drapery. Accidents as the result of fire were the most common, the Louisville Journal reporting cases in which a woman was "severely burned" or burned to death because of some flame of fire or candle catching her dress at an unexpected moment. The noted historian,

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46. McClellan, Elizabeth, Historical Dress in America, Phila: G.W. Jacobs & Co., 1910. p. 263.

47. For instance, Louisville Journal, March 4, 13, 1862; Feb. 7, Aug. 9, 1863.

McCarthy, in his "Portraits of the Sixties," says:  
 "There were sacrifices made to the prevailing  
 fashion which would have done the sufferers immortal  
 honour if they had been made for the sake of bearing  
 some religious or political emblem condemned by rul-  
 ing and despotic authorities."<sup>48</sup>

The inconvenience of the hoop-skirt was felt by  
 the male population as well as by the "ladies who  
 sported the obnoxious construction." The Louisville  
 Journal, tiring of poking fun at the "steel cage  
 which protects the lower extremities of our ladies,"<sup>49</sup>  
 rose in wrath to bitterly assault those women who  
 wore the "contraption in public places."<sup>50</sup> The Louis-  
 ville Democrat added its bit to the general con-  
 flagration by declaring that the hoop-skirt should  
 be forbidden from the public omnibusses and trains.<sup>51</sup>  
 The theatre managers also had their troubles with the  
 cage. During the season of 1862-1863 practically  
 all of the theatrical advertisements contained a  
 line to the effect that regular prices would be  
 charged for extra seats used by the women.<sup>52</sup> But the

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48. Cited in McClellan, pp. 264-5.

49. Louisville Journal, February, 1862. passim.

50. Ibid., March 5, 1863.

51. Louisville Democrat, Aug. 7, 1863.

52. Louisville Journal, Feb. 6, 1863.

hoop-skirt served a good purpose to those women who sympathized with the Confederate cause--many a pistol, and bits of contraband, were carried through the Union lines beneath the "flowering skirts of adventurous women."<sup>53</sup>

By the end of the war the hoop-skirt was beginning to decline, and the change for the better was joyously recorded by "Punch."<sup>54</sup>

"With exceeding satisfaction  
A remarkable contraction  
Of thy petticoats have lately seen;  
The expanse of ladies' dress,  
Thank its yielding arbitress,  
Growing beautifully less,  
Crinoline."

With the inauguration of the hoop-skirt came the revival of the "becoming fashion of wearing black velvet around the throat." In the evening the more fashionable ladies wore a gold locket or a jewel pendant, while gold chains and rows of gold beads were also very popular.

The prevalent style of coiffure, popularly known as the "waterfall," was almost as uncomfortable and outrageous as the hoop-skirt. "A frame of horse hair was attached to the head by an elastic, and the

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53. Louisville Journal, May 20, 1861.

54. Cited in McClellan, p. 271.

back hair brushed smoothly over it, the ends caught up underneath. A net was usually worn over this 'chignon' to keep the hair in place. Often the whole structure was made of false hair and fastened on with hair pins.<sup>55</sup> To make the effect more ludicrous, this "artificial crown of glory" was topped by a rather small bonnet, often "made of emerald green velvet with a brim of white bengaline, a full trimming next the face of blond lace, green velvet and white roses, and two sets of strings, one of white ribbon and the other of green velvet," or, perhaps, a "large water lily with buds and leaves" might be substituted for the roses.<sup>56</sup>

The color and cut of men's wear was as sober and conservative as that of the women was gaudy and extreme. The small "Cartes de Visites" of the period show long black shiny broad-cloth frock coats, rather loose pantaloons and loose careless neckties. The hair was worn rather short than long and beards and whiskers and moustaches were all popular. Jewelry was much admired and worn, not so much for the quality as for the size of the stone.

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55. McClellan, op. cit., pp. 272 ff.

56. Ibid., pp. 273-4.

## VIII

Higher culture seems to have received comparatively little attention during the period of the war. There is no mention in the daily newspapers of exhibitions of painting or sculpturing, and library facilities were almost nil. The Kentucky Mechanics Institute, whose one thousand members were composed mainly of ladies and minors,<sup>57</sup> had a library of five thousand five hundred volumes, but with this exception the reading public was forced to depend upon<sup>58</sup> the bookstores and newspapers.

There were any number of debating, literary, and scientific societies in the city. In 1860 "The Society for the Advancement of the Natural Sciences of Louisville, Kentucky," was created a body politic and corporate by the General Assembly of Kentucky. Although the Society had the "power to acquire real and personal property by gift, purchase or devise, or bequest, not to exceed in value, exclusively of any library, scientific apparatus, or collections of any

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57. Tanner's Louisville Directory, 1861, p. 337. The Institute was organized in 1852.

58. Undoubtedly there were a number of private libraries in the city, and most of the general stores carried a limited number of books.

kind for scientific purposes the sum of "25,000,<sup>59</sup>  
 there is no evidence that the Society functioned  
 during the period of the war, or that it had any  
 immediate cultural effect upon the city.

The Franklin, Henry Clay, and Webster debating  
<sup>60</sup>  
 societies held almost weekly meetings at the Masonic  
 Theatre to which the public was invited, and the  
 various literary societies did their part toward  
 the uplift of the citizenry. In 1865 the "Louis-  
 ville Mutual Literary Benefit Society" was incor-  
<sup>61</sup>  
 porated, as was the "Harmony Society of Louis-  
 ville," the purpose of the latter being "to estab-  
 lish a library and reading room for its members, a  
 hall for literary discussion, and an enlightened  
<sup>62</sup>  
 social intercourse among its members.

## IX

The theatre, with its "genteel dramatic art,"  
 contrary to general expectations, seems to have

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59. Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth  
 of Kentucky, 1859-60, Vol. II, Chap. 481, p. 178.  
 Heitz, Flora, Comprehensive Survey of Cultural  
 Movements in Louisville, (M.A. Thesis, Univer-  
 sity of Louisville, 1937) pp. 45-6.  
 60. Tanner's Louisville Directory, 1861, p. 337.  
 61. Heitz, op. cit., pp. 48-9.  
 62. Ibid., pp. 49-50.



enjoyed, during the entire period of the war, an increase both in the number and kind of entertainment offered, as well as increased patronage by both the higher and lower orders.<sup>63</sup> The season was also lengthened until, in 1862, the Louisville theatre was offering entertainment throughout the summer months, while the lesser theatres and halls were open from the first of September to the latter part of June, or the first of July.<sup>64</sup> Besides the legitimate theatres there were numerous halls offering occasional Bell Ringers, Acrobats, and other lesser entertainments, but it remained to Mozart Hall, the Masonic Hall, and the Louisville Theatre to supply "continuous and active attractions to Louisville patrons..."<sup>65</sup>

Mozart Hall, catering to the "hoi polloi," had long been a place for amateur theatricals, for concerts, for opera, for minstrel troops, and for other exhibitions requiring the use of a fair sized auditorium.<sup>66</sup> In 1858 it had been fitted up as a regular theatre with an "enlarged stage and stationary chairs,"

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63. Dietz, Mary Martha, History of the Theatre in Louisville, (M.A. Thesis, University of Louisville, 1921) p. 78.

64. Louisville Journal, July, 1862. passim.

65. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1863.

66. Dietz, op. cit., p. 73.

but continued as a variety and intermediate legitimate theatre until 1863, when it was opened as "Woods Theatre," offering at its formal opening, "The  
<sup>67</sup>Seven Sisters--with orchestral renditions." During the same year the new theatre offered matinees for the first time in the history of the city, and the other major theatres were soon forced to follow  
<sup>68</sup>suit.

The Masonic Theatre could hardly have been called a theatre. It was simply a large hall where all sorts of engagements were played. It offered a place for performances of magicians, opera troops, Swiss bell ringers, dramatic readers, and an occasional curiosity exhibit. Tom Thumb and his company gave a series of performances there in 1862, and  
<sup>69</sup>returned in 1864, to the great delight of the children of the city; in 1862 Artemus Ward presented his  
<sup>70</sup>"Sixty Minutes in America."

But the real theatre and playhouse that engaged the attention of Louisville drama lovers was the  
<sup>71</sup>Louisville Theatre. On its stage appeared most of

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67. Dietz, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

68. *Louisville Journal*, Oct. 1863. *passim*.

69. *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1864.

70. *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1862.

71. The Theatre was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1866. Johnston, 2, 330.

the famous actors and actresses of the day. Frank Mayo, Edward Lawrence, Helene Madjeska, and Laura Keene, to mention but a few of the more important, bowed to the plaudits of the crowd.<sup>72</sup> In 1862, John Wilkes Booth, the "almost perfect ham,"<sup>73</sup> played to crowded houses, and two and a half years thereafter achieved a terrible celebrity by the murder of President Lincoln and his own tragic death.<sup>74</sup>

The play-going Louisville of the sixties gave appreciation to several varieties of appeal, including the very worse as well as the very best. It was during the dramatic season of 1860-1861 that the theatres presented, and the public accepted, that curious form of entertainment known as the "Spectacle."<sup>75</sup> The vogue for this type of stage production--it was but a vogue--was not to enjoy a very long life. The main theme of the production--it would be pure charity to call the "Spectacle" a play--was for the players, gorgeously costumed, to parade and pose before elaborately painted backdrops that represented some important event in history, or, perhaps, to pose

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72. Dietz, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

73. "John Wilkes Booth On Tour," Alva Johnson, Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 19, 1938. Vol. 210. No. 34.

74. History of the Ohio Falls Cities, 1, 327.

75. The "Spectacles" enjoyed a revival in the 1920's on the burlesque stages of the country.

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among the "papier-mache" icebergs of the Artic Circle. But after the season of 1862 the galleries resounded to such sentimental and "blood and thunder" plays as "Lovers Sacrifice," "The Female Gambler," "Still Waters Run Deep," "The Corsican Brothers," and that play of plays, "The Hidden Hand."

The price of admission was practically the same in all the theatres during the period. The "Dress Circle and Parquette" being 75¢, the second tier and family circle 35¢, and the boxes \$5.00. For the colored people and the mechanics there were gallery seats at 15¢, as well as a small section of boxes for 35¢. But with the return of a certain degree of prosperity in the summer of 1862 the Louisville Theatre and Masonic Theatre advanced their gallery prices to 25¢; with a few minor exceptions that price remained fixed through 1865.<sup>77</sup> It was not uncommon for a management to advertise that if a lady wished to occupy more than one seat then she would have to pay for the extra seats used. That was but one of the prices a belle had to pay for hoop-skirts and ruffles.<sup>78</sup>

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76. During the week of Feb. 7, 1861, the Louisville theatre was presenting, "A Beautiful panorama of the Artic Regions." Journal, Feb. 7, 1861.

77. Louisville Journal, July 1, 1862.

78. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1863. Dietz, op. cit., p. 75.

## X

It would be impossible here to enumerate and follow in detail the numerous harmonic and musical societies that existed in Louisville during the Civil War. Due to the large German population music had carved an important niche in the almost blank wall of Louisville culture. The Musical Fund Society, organized by Professor E.W. Gunter, seems to have been the most important of the orchestral organizations. It was composed of the finest talent of the city, and at a concert given in 1861 it was reported that "a large and fashionable crowd attended." Unfortunately, the organization was disbanded early in the war, and no concerts were given after 1862.

Professor Gunter also organized the Mozart Society, whose objective was to give sacred voice concerts. This organization functioned throughout the period, and at the end of the war the Society was called together for its last concert. This "Peace Festival" ended as it has begun, with the singing of the "Creation." There were many other singing societies, the Concordia Singing Society and the Lieder-Kranz being

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79. Johnston, 2, 88.

80. Ibid.

81. Edward's City Directory, 1865-66. p. 172.

82. Johnston, 2, 86-7.

the larger and more important. The latter, founded by the German male population, sponsored the first "National Saengerfest" held in the West. There were also numerous small private groups, such as the Beethoven Piano Club, who met at private homes to play for their own amusement. This club, composed of twelve young ladies--aided by one male member--achieved quite a reputation in local musical circles.

## XI

Louisville's literary world was no different from that of other cities during the period. Romanticism, didacticism, and sentimentality were conspicuous factors in the prose and poetry of the age. But with the exception of a few minor writers Louisville's contribution to literature both before and during the war was negligible. Thomas H. Shreve--one of Louisville's own sons--whose work was described by a fellow poet as being "as joyous in his verse as the lark soaring in the early morn," was

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83. Johnston, 2, 86-7. Journal, July 24, 1866.

84. Ibid., 2, 87.

85. Ibid., 2, 72.

one of the more important poets whose work appeared in many of the magazines and newspapers of the day.

William David Gallagher and W.S. Fosdick were both widely read and discussed, but it remained for Fortunatus Cosby to capture the imagination of the ladies with such bits of verse as:

"I will snatch from the sunset its roses,  
The bloom on your lips to display;  
From the woodbine the sweets it discloses,  
The sweets they conceal to display.  
I will rob the gazelle of its splendor  
That lives in her languishing glance,  
But to show that your own is more tender,  
And soft as the dream of romance."

Not all of the verse of the day, however, was as romantic and sentimental. Scarcely a day went by but that the columns of the local newspapers contained a dramatic or tragic poem dealing with the Civil War. The two writers who most frequently appeared in the Louisville Journal were Ella Caldwell Morse, whom Prentice labeled "an old favorite," and S.C. Mercer, whose dramatic poem, "With Thy Shield, Or Upon It," will serve to illustrate the type of verse that received the plaudits of the city:

"Sound the trumpet, Sound! The die is cast,  
The Rubicon of fate is passed,  
The loyal and the rebel hosts,

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86. Louisville Journal, Jan. 17, 1861.

87. Ibid., Jan. 22, 1862.

Kentucky, throng thy leagured coasts;  
 And on the issue of the strife,  
 Hang peace, and liberty and life;  
 All that the storied past endears,  
 And all the hopes of coming years;  
 The startled world looks on the field--  
 Thou canst not fly--thou dar'st not yield--  
 Then strike! And make thy foeman feel  
 Thy triply-consecrated steel,  
 And with or on thy shining shield,  
 Return Kentucky, from the field."

The numerous literary societies found it impossible to support any kind of a literary magazine and the intelligent reading public depended upon the columns of the many newspapers published in Louisville for an occasional short story or essay, or upon such national magazines as Putman's Monthly Magazine, Harper's Monthly, and Clark's Knickerbocker, from any of whose pages might be read such short stories as "Annie at the Corner," or, "The Boy at the Lighthouse." In the same issue the young ladies might blush on reading the "Scandals of Paris," while the young blades mulled over such gems of wisdom as, "If you want to wreck a thorough vengeance on a woman, you must first make her love you."

For the more serious minded of whom an English

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88. In 1861 there fifteen weekly and monthly newspapers published in Louisville.

89. Putman's Monthly Magazine, 1863. Vol. CIII, No. XLIII.

90. Ibid.

91. From "Tom Mallory's Revenge," Harper's Monthly, Aug. 1865, Vol. XXI. No. CLXXXIII.



visitor judged "are as familiar with English literature as our own respectable journalists," the bookstores furnished such "best sellers" as, "The Adventures of Travelers in Africa," "Faraday's Lectures on the Physical Forces," "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America," "Over the Cliffs," or, perhaps, "Abel Drake's Wife," a novel by John Sanders, of whom Prentice described as being "a fine judge of human character and nature, and his novels leave artesian wells in the heart, from which tears bubble to the eyes."<sup>92</sup>

It is exceedingly doubtful, however, whether the greater mass of people read many of the magazines or books mentioned above, but there was one publication that was devoured by the educated as well as by the "hoi polli"--the Louisville Journal. Edited by George D. Prentice, probably the most powerful of all the ante-bellum editors in the Southern States, and about whom Henry Watterson once wrote, "From 1830 to 1861 the influence of Prentice was perhaps greater than any political writer who ever lived," the Journal became well known on both sides of the Atlantic. It

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92. Massie, op. cit., p. 286.

93. Louisville Journal, July 3, 1862.

is probable that Prentice prevented the secession of Kentucky, and although he was no firm believer in Lincoln, the Journal, during the entire period of the war, "was a staunch supporter of the Union."

In addition to being the foremost Whig editor, Prentice was one of the first of the newspaper paragraphers, "his pungent paragraphs winning for him quite a reputation as a humorist, while he also achieved more than local fame as a poet."<sup>94</sup>

### XII

It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the social and cultural effects of the end of the period of the Civil War, or the colorful romance of that period while it lasted. Vivid pictures of the social life of the period form, as it is fitting they should, the background of some of the best American novels.

The early years saw the breakdown of many of the rigid social distinctions. All men, high and low, banded together against the unwieldy, although picturesque hoop-skirt. There were war marriages

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94. Dabney, Virginus, Liberalism in the Old South, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1932. p. 136.

between the upper and lower classes, and rich and poor met upon the same plane. But before the strife had been brought to a close these same social distinctions were drawn the tighter, and the gulf between the classes had grown the wider. Too, families were split, friends became enemies, and the ministers of God were divided. The war animosities created a breach that took generations in the healing, or, as in the case of the churches, had not been healed seventy years after.

Although the cultural phases of life remained comparatively static, the frivolous moments of the population seem to have increased in proportion to the tragedies of war. The people tried to lull themselves into forgetfulness by their very manner of living. The steady gait of parties and dances, the theatre and other entertainments, as well as the urge to drink and gamble, became faster as the war lengthened from months into years. All sense of perspective was lost. The tradition of placid living was lost in the strains of martial music. Strident laughter became the dominant note in all conversation. The "rapid pace" was carried over into the seventies, and except for a brief respite in the eighties, reached its crescendo in the nineties. Louisville seemed destined never to forget the "War between the States."

## THE AFTERMATH

Appomattox brought rejoicing to all Louisville even though "it was tinged in many a heart with a feeling of sadness for a cause that had been secretly or openly espoused but was now lost.<sup>1</sup>" The streets were the scene of much rejoicing and celebration parties were held in many homes. Children beat drums in childish parades, and toasts were drunk to the Union by their elders. But five days later the general rejoicing was turned into deep sorrow when the word came that Lincoln was dead. All business was suspended, stores and offices were closed, and "drape in mourning" was hung in all the public offices. The sympathy of the city was touched to the extent that a large public meeting was held to mourn for the President. Governor Bramlette presided, and with bared heads the greater part of Louisville listened as James Guthrie added his word of praise. As if the meeting were not enough, a procession three miles long silently threaded its way through the streets, mourning for the savior of the Union.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Coulter, op. cit., p. 257.

2. Collins, Kentucky, 1, 158.

But Appomattox did not at once bring peace and prosperity to the City of Louisville. Evil days were yet to come in still greater numbers. To the unemployment problem that had been vexing the city fathers for four long years was to be added the social and economic problem of the freed negro. When the state made no motion to do away with slavery many negroes fled from the rural districts and sought out Louisville as a haven of refuge. Louisville was military headquarters for the Union forces; the army had no patience with slavery; hence, Louisville meant freedom to the slave who went there. The Louisville Journal reported that the city was becoming blacker<sup>3</sup> and blacker as time went on; and although the army issued free passes to all comers so that they might flee the state, many slaves remained to make Louisville their home.<sup>4</sup><sup>5</sup>

During the war the greater number of Louisville's citizens had been united against the Confederacy. Domestic peace and relative prosperity was visible throughout the life of the city. But now the question of slavery--an old question in a new

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3. Coulter, op. cit., p. 257.

4. Louisville Journal, Dec. 17, 1864.

5. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1865.

disguise--divided the people of the city, estranged members of the same family, and created deadly hatred between life-long friends and neighbors.<sup>6</sup> The Lincoln Republicans (Radicals) supported the amendment that would free the slaves; the Conservatives would have none of it; freeing the slaves would mean negro suffrage, negro equality, and the "prying fingers of the Federal government thrust into state affairs forevermore."<sup>7</sup> The city became a hotbed of politics that even the Thirteenth Amendment could not, and did not, pacify for generations to come.

But the negro problem was not the only problem that faced the city at the end of the war. The era of railroad and turnpike building that had been halted by the war was continued with renewed emphasis and Louisville was faced with a number of new competitors for the trade with the South. Many of the larger towns of the state were jealous of Louisville's strangle-hold on Southern trade and a bitter hostility grew up throughout central Kentucky toward Louisville and her co-conspirator, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Cincinnati and central Kentucky joined

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6. Cincinnati Gazette, Feb. 15, 17, 1865.

7. Ibid. Cited in Coulter, p. 260.

their forces to drive a railroad directly southward, but due to a remarkable conspiracy of fate and circumstances the road was not completed until 1880,<sup>8</sup> by which time Louisville had reaped the greater share of the harvest of "Reconstruction."

But after the problem of the slave had been partially solved the transition from the excitement of the war to the pursuits of peace was rapid and marked with great business activity. River trade was resumed and Louisville took up her position as a distributive point for the South.<sup>9</sup> After 1866 there was a tremendous increase in the manufacturing industries. In 1870 the United States census showed, as compared with 1860, an increase of almost one hundred percent in the number of manufacturing establishments and in the number of operatives employed, and of more than one hundred per cent. in the capital invested, in the amount of the annual wages paid, as well as in the value of annual product.<sup>10</sup>

One unqualified assertion that can be made about life in Louisville during the period covered by this history is that no other epoch compares with

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8. For an excellent discussion of the rivalry between Louisville and Cincinnati following the war, see Coulter, Chap. XIII, pp. 257-86.

9. Johnston, 1, 104.

10. Ibid., 1, 277.

with it <sup>m</sup> as respects <sup>to</sup> the growth of material wealth of the city. Although there were many instances where the destructions of war left in their trail blighted hopes and ruined lives, the city on the whole profited by the war. The population of the city increased by more than thirty per cent. and the price of real estate doubled. Fortunes were made by the commercial classes, and wages for the laboring classes almost doubled.

But Louisville could never entirely get away from all the memories of the war; nor did she so desire. Even though she might sponsor a "Peace Reunion" in 1872, where "one hundred thousand patriots shake hands across the bloody chasm," <sup>11</sup> there was no real appeal for reconciliation. As the metropolis of Kentucky she was "more Southern in habits of thought and sympathies, than, perhaps, any former part of the Confederacy itself." <sup>12</sup> But time and the prospect of still greater wealth builds a bridge across any chasm, and for the thirty years following the war Louisville applied herself to the making of money.

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11. Georgetown Weekly Times, Sept. 18, 1872, cited in Coulter, p. 439. Courier Journal, Sept. 11, 1872. See also Collins, Kentucky, I, 211.

12. Coulter, op. cit., p. 439.



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