



University of Kentucky
UKnowledge

Theses and Dissertations--History

History

2013

LOCAL WOMEN: THE PUBLIC LIVES OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN IN KENTUCKY BEFORE THE "MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"

Karen Cotton McDaniel
University of Kentucky, krmcdnl@msn.com

[Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.](#)

Recommended Citation

McDaniel, Karen Cotton, "LOCAL WOMEN: THE PUBLIC LIVES OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN IN KENTUCKY BEFORE THE "MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"" (2013). *Theses and Dissertations--History*. 22.

https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/22

This Doctoral Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the History at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--History by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained and attached hereto needed written permission statements(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine).

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless a preapproved embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's dissertation including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Karen Cotton McDaniel, Student

Dr. Joanne P. Melish, Major Professor

Dr. David Hamilton, Director of Graduate Studies

LOCAL WOMEN: THE PUBLIC LIVES OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN IN
KENTUCKY BEFORE THE "MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Karen Cotton McDaniel

Frankfort, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Joanne P. Melish, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

2013

Copyright © Karen Cotton McDaniel 2013

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

LOCAL WOMEN: THE PUBLIC LIVES OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN IN KENTUCKY BEFORE THE “MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT”

This dissertation looks at the responses of African American club women to the challenging racial environment of Kentucky from the late 1800s through the early decades of the 20th century. It explores their efforts to negotiate the dialectical relationship between local circumstances and national movements. While most discussions of club women argue that their work merely enabled respectability, this dissertation argues that its real significance lies in the way black club women established support systems and communication systems for other forms of activism. The black women's club movement is the communication arena which establishes networks for advancing the direct action protests of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Keywords: Kentucky African American women, African American women's organizations, Social activism, Early Civil Rights Movements, Race relations

Karen Cotton McDaniel
Student's Signature

December 5, 2013
Date

LOCAL WOMEN: THE PUBLIC LIVES OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN IN
KENTUCKY BEFORE THE "MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"

By

Karen Cotton McDaniel

Dr. Joanne P. Melish
Director of Dissertation

Dr. David Hamilton
Director of Graduate Studies

November 18, 2013

In loving memory of my mother,
Maude Smoot Cotton Bledsoe,
as I promised

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Kentucky Legislation: Building the Foundation for Injustice.....	27
Chapter Three: On this Rock I will Build my Nation: Community Work among Black Church Women	72
Chapter Four: The Black Women’s Club Movement in Kentucky: Shaping National Issues.....	114
Chapter Five: Knowledge’s Uplifting Power: Educating the Masses through KACW.....	170
Chapter Six: We too are Kentucky: Club Women Transforming Public Policy.....	204
Chapter Seven: Conclusion.....	263
Appendices	
Appendix A: KACW Charter Clubs and Presidents.....	273
Appendix B: KACW Club List by City.....	275
Bibliography	286
Vita.....	315

Chapter One: Introduction

“[T]he colored race possesses many women of brain, nerve, and energy who, when left to wage hand-to-hand combat with adversity, fight along bravely and well; and in the end come off victorious.”¹

Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, and Fannie Lou Hamer are some of the well-known female activists of the modern Civil Rights Movement and their stories have been told many times. However, these women did not achieve their success alone. Women like Ida B. Wells Barnett and countless nameless African American women before them created a stalwart foundation of activist engagement which stabilized the black community and supported the community’s common goals and strategies of resistance. By studying the public activism of the African American middle class women prior to the 1950s, we can develop a broader picture of the long civil rights struggle as this study bridges the gap between the Civil War and the modern Civil Rights Movement. Black women’s activism includes a broad spectrum of public and private venues. They sought opportunities to change and remove all vestiges of slavery in their lives, not only the private family roles, but also more specifically the public policies that placed limitations on every aspect of their worlds. Women challenged patriarchal and hierarchical policies and practices by both whites and blacks that limited their new freedom and equality while they forged a new black community.

This dissertation deals with black women in Kentucky who became activists and spokeswomen in a variety of important local, social, cultural, and political arenas that mirrored and sometimes intersected with national organizations and movements, but whose efforts reflected the particular racial landscape of Kentucky and the obstacles it

¹ I. Garland Penn, *Afro-American Press, and its Editors*. (Springfield, MA: Willery & Co. Publishers, 1891), 419.

presented to African Americans. These Kentucky African American women joined forces to enact their various agendas of uplift and empowerment in a host of local women's clubs that united as the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs (KACW) in 1903, which in turn affiliated with the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1906. The activities of these women, working through their more than 200 local clubs, the KACW, and the NACW, had an enormous impact on the lives of African Americans in Kentucky.

Women of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs are among those early civil rights pioneers. Following the Civil War, Kentucky's black women recognized the changing needs for specific services in their communities and sought ways to provide those services. As in slavery days, black women of all classes established their own networks which came together to address race, class, gender, self-definition, economic, political and sexuality issues. Interdependence among black women strengthened the black community by providing a shared consciousness through a common effort. Fulfilling their traditional roles as nurturers, black women assumed the responsibility for meeting the needs of their people and sought ways of helping those less fortunate than themselves by developing charitable and self-help programs through church and benevolent clubs and societies.

Darlene Clark Hine maintains that black women played a significant role in establishing the black communal infrastructures, "religious, educational, health-care, philanthropic, political, familial institutions and professional organizations that enabled our people to survive." African American women reinvented themselves through self-determination and the aid of extended families of kinships and friendships whose mutual

goals promoted the upward evolvement of the black community. They acquired self-defining agency as they transformed their lives and communities by taking control of their working conditions, social structures, church activities and personal spheres while attempting to uplift their entire race through benevolent programs. Hine sums up black female agency in this way, “It was through ‘making community’ that Black women were able to redefine themselves, project sexual respectability, reshape morality, and define a new aesthetic.”²

Kentucky Association of Colored Women Clubs members such as Mary E. Britton, Elizabeth Cook Fouse, Lucy Harth Smith, Emma Williams Clement, Mary Cook Parrish, and Nannie Helen Burroughs were among these courageous, God-fearing, self-sacrificing women who, like the women described in Stephanie Shaw’s *What a Woman Ought To Be and To Do*, were driven by a sense of mission to elevate the black community through the theoretical frameworks of socially responsible individualism and Christian ethics. Their strong personal understanding of self-worth motivated the public activism of these women on behalf of the black community.

The prevailing image of women of color was not one of the community builder, but rather an immoral, promiscuous, irresponsible, sexual predator. Other voices document the historically perceived immorality of black women. One study suggests “that black women’s bodies epitomized centuries-long European perceptions of Africans as primitive, animal-like, and savage.” Attitudes of blacks as other than human and their sexuality as other than normal not only served to support slavery and sanction the sexual exploitation of black women, but also created a definition of black women as carnal,

²Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-construction of American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) xxii.

savage, deviant, and promiscuous. Stereotypical advertising and cultural icons like *Birth of a Nation* and Jim and Jane Crow policies also attempted to define blacks in generally negative, sexually deviant, non-productive, stereotypical terms. Further, whites held black women responsible for the perceived pathological state of the black family and black culture.³

However, motivated by a sense of racial self-definition and identification, black women rejected the white interpretation of black women's place and took the leadership role in nurturing and maintaining black communities. Through their philanthropic works, black women promoted the philosophy of racial uplift, a self-help concept which seeks to improve/refurbish the black image through moral and material improvements that mirror the larger society's definition of respectability and refinement. Racial uplift also incorporates aspirations for educational attainment, the adoption of Victorian ethical and moral practices, the maintenance of stable homes and families, and fostering the majority population's cultural ways and contributing to charitable causes.

In Kentucky, there was always an informal system of social welfare and self-help programs among blacks. At the turn of the century, Kentucky blacks had already developed community and church programs to assist those in need. For instance, in Louisville, the Fifth Street Baptist Church began in the early 1870s to set out boxes of

³Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 11. Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here?: The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 47. Elsa Barkley Brown reminds us that black women were most often described as sexual predators. Brown states, "Throughout U.S. history Black women have been sexually stereotyped as immoral, insatiable, perverse; the initiators in all sexual contacts -- abusive or otherwise." In 1904, a columnist for *The Independent*, a periodical, wrote, "I sometimes hear of a virtuous Negro woman but the idea is absolutely inconceivable to me . . . I cannot imagine a creature as a virtuous Negro woman." ["Experiences of the Race problem: By a Southern White Woman," *Independent*, vol. 56, March 17, 1904, as quoted in Anne Firor Scott's "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990):10].

clothing for the underprivileged, to pay for funerals for indigent members and, in 1873, the church began giving financial assistance of \$1 per week to aid its destitute members. In 1876, this support increased to \$3 for some of the impoverished and represented a comparable weekly salary for that period. In 1877, several black Louisville churches worked cooperatively to raise money for the Colored Orphans Home, which received a wide range of support from women's clubs of various churches. These women's organizations made clothing for the children, held fundraisers, donated baked goods for the orphans, donated furniture, sheets, and blankets and contributed to the building fund. For the women of the Ladies Sewing Circle, the orphanage was its special project.⁴

Elizabeth Lindsay Davis's seminal work on the early histories of both the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs from the initial Congress of Colored Women in 1895 through the 1930s provides the foundation for investigation of statewide organizing through individual state histories and accomplishments including the state's projects and biographical information on its significant members. A brief history of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women is among those state histories included in the national organization's story. Charles Wesley work continues the national story through the early 1980s.⁵

Cynthia Neverdon-Morton's scholarship on black women's reform activities highlights the myriad achievements of Southern black middle class women who are part of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Her book *Afro-American*

⁴ Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: Volume 1 From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891* (Kentucky Historical Society), 315.; George C. Wright. *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 125.

⁵ Elizabeth Lindsay Davis. *Lifting as They Climb*. (1933, rpr. New York: Macmillan, 1996).; E.L. Davis. *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs*. (1922, rpr. New York: Macmillan, 1996).; Charles Harris Wesley. *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service*. (Washington, DC: NACWC, 1984).

Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925 looks at club activism in five Southern cities where higher educational opportunities were available for blacks. Neverdon-Morton acknowledges the numerous social reform projects created and sustained by the clubwomen as they worked among the uneducated poor black women to provide community services. She recognizes that black clubwomen's activism often focused on national racial issues more than gendered concerns which were expressed through such organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the National American Woman Suffrage Association. As Neverdon-Morton reveals, black women's work within other national black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League was substantial, although they were generally excluded from key leadership roles. Neverdon-Morton's research further provides an early study of black clubwomen's collective and individual efforts towards racial advancement during the reform era.⁶

An important work that looks at black women's family and community relations during this time period is Stephanie Shaw's *What a Woman Ought To Be and To Do*, which examines the world of African American women whose lives were shaped by a personal philosophy that prepared them for a life of service and leadership in their community through their professional training. Through the pervasiveness of family relations, community and church involvement, and higher education institutions, black women in Shaw's study were trained in the art of "socially responsible individualism"

⁶ Cynthia Neverdon-Morton. *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

which guaranteed that they returned to their communities and make a positive contribution to uplifting the race following Victorian ideas of morality and decorum.⁷

In *Too Heavy A Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994*

Deborah Gray White looks at the history of five black women's organizations and how they spoke out on their own behalf about negative stereotypes of black women, women's rights, suffrage issues, civil rights, race leadership, and civil liberties. White also shows how these groups attempted to balance race and gender issues while attempting to bridge class divisions.⁸

Glenda Gilmore's *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* acknowledges black women's pro-active response to social and economic problems in their community and praises their accomplishments under insurmountable odds of providing social services for the black community without the support, protection from harm, economic resources or publicity that white women's clubs were afforded. Gilmore documents that although whites plotted to eliminate blacks from progressivism reform, black women adapted southern white progressivism to meet their specific progressive ideas that included grass roots activism and black power brokers.⁹

Several works, illustrate that these activities were not an anomaly, document the activities of black clubwomen across the country. Among these works Anne Meis Knupfer's *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American*

⁷ Stephanie J. Shaw. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁸ Deborah Gray White. *Too Heavy A Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

⁹ Glenda Gilmore. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago explores the benevolent activities of middle-class black women's groups in Chicago over a thirty-year period beginning right after emancipation. Her study documents the activities of both social and self-help societies and shows that they faced the same political and economic challenges as did the black women in Gilmore's research. Wanda A. Hendricks investigates not only the volunteerism and community building actions of Chicago's black club women but also documents their political activism in *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. NACW clubs around the country are explored in Floris Barnett Cash's *African American Women and Social Action: The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal, 1896-1936*. Judith Weisenfeld reveals the black women's Christian organizing efforts in New York City's black YWCA over a forty-year period in *African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945*. Despite hardships, women's groups continued much of the work they had begun in their church organizations, promoting high moral standards, emphasizing charity, stressing educational achievement, building nursery schools and homes for the aged, providing health care facilities and other acts for the common good.¹⁰

Labor relationships between black domestic laborers and white employers in the Jim Crow south are revealed in Elizabeth Clark-Lewis's *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestic Workers and the Great Migration* and Tera Hunter's *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. These works were

¹⁰ Anne Meis Knupfer. *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. (New York: New York University Press, 1996).; Wanda A. Hendricks. *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998). ; Floris Barnett Cash. *African American Women and Social Action: The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal 1896-1936*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001). ; Judith Weisenfeld. *African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

among the first to investigate working class black women's lives. Clark-Lewis asserts that black women were determined to control the conditions of their employment and sought to distance themselves from anything that resembled slavery revealing their agency. Tera Hunter reveals how many black women were in direct contestation with the white employer and the unfair laws and practices imposed to suppress and control blacks in general, and black women in particular. Hunter's work also addresses the class conflict between the black middle class's ideas of purity and the black working-class. Similarly, intra-racial conflicts are explored in Victoria Wolcott's research on Detroit's black community in her manuscript *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit*.¹¹

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham's *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* asserts that the "feminist theology" espoused by black Baptist women contested the patriarchal hegemonic structures of both the black and white Baptist Church and gained inclusion in the overarching activities of the church. Because the black church was the most powerful and visible institution of racial self-help in the black communities this research provides greater understanding for the structure of black community religious and secular activities and reveals how black women navigated the oppressive infrastructures.¹²

Professor Bettye Collier-Thomas too recognizes the importance of the church in black women's lives and in *Jesus, Jobs and Justice: African American Women and*

¹¹ Tera W. Hunter. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).; Elizabeth Clark-Lewis. *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestic and the Great Migration*. (New York: Kodansha International, 1994).; Victoria W. Wolcott. *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹² Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Religion, she suggests that the church was essential to black women's existence and them becoming community leaders. Her thesis explores the multiple levels of the black patriarchal community organizations as well as those white-lead organizations and their impact on black women who struggled to survive and have a voice despite them. Collier-Thomas's work reminds us that the faith of these women in their God sustained them.¹³

Kevin K. Gaines's scholarship assists in the examination of national black leadership and racial uplift ideology through his scholarship in *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. The racial uplift self-help concept sought to advance the black image through moral and material improvements, thereby making the race respectable and accepted in the eyes of the white majority. Through the cooperation of white political and business leaders, black elites hoped to become a part of mainstream America by adopting certain standards. The racial uplift framework included obtaining higher education, adopting Victorian ethical and moral practices, maintaining a stable home and family, fostering the majority population's cultural ways, and becoming more charitable. Their ideas and images of respectability and refinement, although based solely on the larger society's tastes, undergirded the racial ideology of the era.¹⁴

Individual biographies of black female leadership during the Progressive Era reveal the multifaceted lives of prominent women. Among them are monographs on Ida B. Wells (Paula Giddings, *Ida, A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching*), (Linda McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled*); Lugenia Burns

¹³ Bettye Collier-Thomas. *Jesus, Jobs, And Justice: African American Women And Religion*. (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010).

¹⁴ Kevin K. Gaines. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Hope (Jacqueline Anne Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer*); Nannie Helen Burroughs (Opal V. Easter, *Nannie Helen Burroughs*); Mary Church Terrell (Beverly Washington Jones, *Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954*); and Jane Edna Hunter (Adrienne Lash Jones, *Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950*). These studies provide a detailed glimpse into the process of building black community infrastructures, club work, political agency and the challenges of race and gender issues. They counter ideas of emasculation of males by revealing the womanist, all-encompassing goals of black community building efforts. They further reveal the moral ideas of womanhood espoused by black women and disprove hegemonic views of black lasciviousness and depravity. Other historians have documented the lives of individual clubwomen and their roles in organizing and sustaining this movement among black women. Among these national figures, Nannie Burroughs and Ida Wells Barnett had direct connections with the establishment of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women and both women were instrumental in founding other local Kentucky clubs that affiliated with the KACW and the NACW.¹⁵

Although much scholarship has focused on black leadership and black women of various social and economic classes during the Progressive Era in various American regions and states, little attention has spotlighted the black struggle in Border States like Kentucky. Kevin Boyle's *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the*

¹⁵ Paula J. Giddings. *Ida, A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching*. (New York: Harper Collins, 2008).; Linda O. McMurry. *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).; Jacqueline Anne Rouse. *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer*. (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1989).; Opal V. Easter. *Nannie Helen Burroughs*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995).; Beverly Washington Jones. *Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954. Black Women in United States History 13*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Co., 1990). ;Adrienne Lash Jones. *Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950. Black Women in United States History 12*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Co., 1990).

Jazz Age (2004) reminds us how racism permeated every aspect of black life tormenting blacks emotionally, psychologically, and physically as well as economically. Boyle also reveals how racial hatred was so embedded in white minds that even in the liberal North, blacks were subjected to blatant racism and violence regardless of their economic, educational, and social status. Likewise, violent racist behavior also was explored to some extent in the Border States, particularly in Kentucky through George C. Wright's work *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings"* (1990) which documented unprecedented violence for a neutral Border state.¹⁶

Race relations in Kentucky, the only Border state that initially failed to ratify Thirteenth and the Fourteenth amendments, as well as the condition of the black race in Kentucky, shaped by years of legislation that was designed to control every aspect of black lives. The courts of Kentucky had placed their brand on this control of the African American life through cases that came before them. City and county governments followed suit with their own laws directed specifically at black people. This legal treatment of African Americans had profound influence on them economically, socially, educationally as well as on their abilities to develop and preserve family units and sustain progressive neighborhoods.

Black life in Kentucky was further complicated by the fact that the state experienced divided loyalties during the Civil War with many having family members serving on both sides of the conflict. Although Kentucky attempted to remain neutral

¹⁶ Kevin Boyle. *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age*. (New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 2004).; George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings."* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1990).

during the war, both Union and Confederate armies occupied the state with the Confederates establishing a Confederate state government in Bowling Green. Following the war, many Kentuckians remained southern sympathizers while others resented the federal occupation in the state, and still others were highly offended by blacks serving as soldiers. Some whites believed that the Emancipation Proclamation did not relate to Kentucky, as the state had remained neutral. These sentiments gave way to nostalgia and regret resulting in sympathy for the “Lost Cause” which was manifested through widespread racial violence against blacks during and following that war.

Racial violence coupled with the harsh reality of Kentucky’s legislative history regarding black people’s rights in the Commonwealth made life for the freed blacks challenging as they began to rebuild their lives, seek employment opportunities, start families or reconnect with lost family members, establish churches, build educational facilities, and develop their own communities following the end of the Civil War. Because segregation and discrimination were neither completely codified nor entirely rejected and remained arbitrary, blacks were often unsure as to what rights were indeed in force in specific communities. Overall race relations remained somewhat fluid but began hardening toward the turn of the century as blacks expected more liberties. Kentucky’s local conditions were difficult to navigate as the laws and segregated practices were enforced inconsistently from one town to another. Local customs often served as the accepted law and racist actions resembled the blatant racism in the Deep South instead of the covert racism experienced by Northern blacks.¹⁷

¹⁷ Harold D. Tallant. *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003).

Kentucky's black women were heavily impacted by the racial violence in the state during and following the Civil War. Some watched helplessly as members of their family were whipped, attacked, raped, shot, arrested or lynched. Many of the women, themselves were beaten and raped because their husbands or sons had joined the Union Army. Others lost their husbands or other family males, who were lynched for being soldiers and wearing their uniforms. Still others were robbed, attacked, or had their homes burned down for similar retaliatory reasons or just because they were black. As women they were powerless to fight back and unlike white women were not among the protected women as all black women were assumed to be impure, wanton, lewd and lascivious making the charge against their attackers for rape improbable. Black women operated out of the "culture of dissemblance" which allowed them to hide their true feelings to the majority population, maintain their own attitudes of self-worth, and within themselves gain the covert power to control or manipulate their oppressors.¹⁸

Racial uplift and self-help evolved as blacks gained freedom and their focus moved from family to the larger community, and eventually national concerns. African Americans nationally expressed their concerns for additional rights as guaranteed by not only the recent constitutional amendments, but by the full constitution. They wanted "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and demanded this level of equality as citizens of the country while seeking solutions to dismantle the forces that blocked full equality. Through the establishment of national organizations, blacks voiced their concerns and

¹⁸ Darlene Clark Hine. *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994). In the chapter "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women", Hine discusses how the rape of black women was never as powerful a symbol of oppression as was the lynching of black men had been and how the rape of black women was institutionalized in this country during slavery. Dissemblance was the ability of black women to remain silent and seek inward ways of coping with the pain and humiliation of rape while appearing to be open and disclosing. The white response to the institutionalized rape of black women was that of victim blaming and thus black women were labeled as immoral, not victims but rather sexual predators.

their expectations for education, political voice, equal employment opportunities, and thus, economic empowerment.

The first major national organization established which addressed some of these concerns was the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) founded in 1896. Indeed, the black women's club movement grew out of the black community's long history of racial consciousness, community commitment, and voluntary associations. It should be noted that the activities of black clubwomen did not change after the formation of the NACW as it was just another step in the organizing tradition of black women. The first priority of the national body was to challenge the negative image placed on them through the institutionalized sexual exploitation of their bodies by white men. The NACW advocated the Victorian ideas of the white majority and developed programs to encourage and include these morals in the daily lives of the greater black community across the nation through local clubs of likeminded women dedicated to building communities of responsible, educated, hardworking, God-fearing black people. The NACW goals were indeed progressive as they advocated educational opportunities for women and children; improved standards in the home to sustain family living; promoted moral, economic, social, and religious welfare of women and children; encouraged protecting the rights of women and children, securing, and enforcing the civil and political rights for the race; and promoted interracial understanding. The NACW simply provided a new voice through which black women could continue the organized struggle to improve their personal lives and the general standard of living in the black communities of which they were a part.¹⁹

¹⁹Lillian Serece Williams and Randolph Boehm. *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992*. (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

From the beginnings of the national black clubwomen movement, Kentucky women were present and vocal. Their involvement placed them in the midst of some of the country's more ardent civil rights activists and its most renowned black female leaders. Shortly after Emancipation, Kentucky black women's informal system of social welfare became engaged in their communities. By 1864 black women had developed programs to aid the black soldiers through soldiers' aid societies. They began establishing nursing homes, erecting orphanages, and in the 1880s, supporting colleges and day nurseries. They also waged war against the injustices that were dictated first by state laws and later by local customs. These women verbalized their displeasure with second-class citizenship and demanded voting rights as early as 1886. Also, they were actively engaged in other civil rights activities and protest movements by this time. For instance, in 1892, black women spoke before the Kentucky General Assembly on the issue of discrimination on Kentucky's railroads.²⁰ Many other black women bravely sat in the "white only" sections of railroad cars in protest and had to be forcibly removed by authorities. Before establishing the Kentucky Association of Colored Women (KACW) in 1903, some Kentucky black women successfully challenged the sexist politics in the church and succeeded in establishing the Baptist Women's Missionary Convention. The organized activism among these women included such issues as temperance reform, suffrage rights, educational needs, health care facilities, and child welfare. The KACW allowed them to become more structured and visible spokespersons for black community reform.

²⁰ S.E. Smith, *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky y containing half-tone cuts and biographical sketches.* (Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory, 1895).

Through the racial uplift and respectability ideologies black women forged opportunities to control the economic growth of their community, the health of the race, the moral training of their youth, and the education of their people. These ideologies permeated the benevolent clubs, secret societies, and church organizations. Educational, political, religious and professional institutions established by black women during slavery remained after the Civil War and provided support foundations. Their race work validated women's role in the black community and created positive, respectable images of black women, thus erasing the negative sexual stereotypes of them as perpetuated by the dominate culture.

The role of these early black female activists of the KACW was to identify and modify the systems that oppressed the black community, and their activism reminds us that black change agents are not necessarily militant males. This study looks at local black women in this challenging environment. A number of black women throughout the Commonwealth played important roles in shaping their individual communities. I explore the actions of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women (KACW) members in their struggle to negotiate the dialectical relationship between local circumstances and national movements. I examine the networks they created in their respective communities, religious denominations, and club affiliations and explore the relationships they developed individually and collectively with national black leadership both in and outside the black women's club movement. While highlighting the various community projects each of these women helped organize, this study reveals the diversity of their thought and the strategies they encouraged for implementing change in a state where whites outnumbered African Americans disproportionately with each passing decade.

The lives of these women offer insights into Kentucky's social and political history never before explored. By uncovering and understanding their views and concerns on issues such as education, housing, health care, and racial violence, new voices are included in the conversation and expectations that influenced and shaped Kentucky's past. KACW women fought for civil rights for women and the race throughout their lives at some time working with the state's only black representative to pursue the passage of legislation in support of widows and children and more often working within their individual communities. From its beginnings in 1903, KACW clubs members' activism significantly impacted the progress of Kentucky's black community. Their record of achievement documents the continuous efforts of black women to establish, support, advance, and preserve their communities. In many instances, their pro-active stance jeopardized their family's standing in the eyes of the larger community, their family's employment and their lives as well. This dissertation reveals the continuing legacy of Kentucky African American women's organizations and their impact on the race's development.

KACW members whose sense of Christian obligation motivated social action were not a monolithic body, and each expressed their passion through different arenas and levels of commitment. Some made their contributions entirely in Kentucky focusing on specific problems in their hometown. Others sought a broader audience and became state or regional movement leaders. Many of Kentucky's early state presidents also served as national officers and successfully applied these lessons locally. One Kentucky daughter eventually became national president. At least one of Kentucky's early

clubwomen used her Kentucky experiences as a kind of experimental test site for a project that became a national program, which she directed for several decades.

Although historians have written many articles and monographs examining the work of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and specific state club movements, their scholarship has focused on club activities in large northern cities like Detroit, New York, and Chicago. Other scholars have documented women's activism in similarly heavily populated southern cities like Washington D.C. and Atlanta. However, no scholarly publications fully expose black women's activism in the Border States of Delaware, Missouri, West Virginia, or Kentucky. The multifaceted lives of Kentucky clubwomen and the unique challenges of community building are not specifically addressed anywhere. Black life and culture in the Progressive Era in Border States is an understudied phenomenon.

The story of the early civil rights struggle is incomplete without this research. The black women's club movement laid the groundwork for the modern Civil Rights Movement through the organized systems of communication, which these women established, in their religious and secular clubs that affiliated through the NACW. It was through these clubs that women learned to organize their work, define priorities, raise funds, manage their resources, and persuade others to support their causes. It was also through their clubs that they established personal relationships and networks that would prove invaluable as the push for civil rights reached its greatest momentum in the 1950s and 1960s.

This dissertation is something of a collective biography, which examines the lives, highlights the actions, and impact of specific women as community exemplars of

black womanhood who shared their aspirations and participated in the movements and actions they led as members of the KACW. The women who were committed to grassroots uplift and racial solidarity, through individual acts of defiance against a society that defined their race as second class and them as sexual deviants, fought for human rights and improved social services for black Kentuckians. An analysis of KACW club records and community programs illuminate state organizational goals and emphasis. This dissertation investigates the activist lives of KACW club members and interprets the impact of their community activism on Kentucky's black population. These women's activism validates the prominent roles of the black women in building the black community.

The document that led me to this dissertation and the discovery of key women was the *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*, which listed goals and key projects of featured clubs and it served as a guide to the efforts of their organization on various levels of networking. This document is one of the few pieces of the state's history that verifies that black women lived in Kentucky and that they made substantial efforts to improve the communities where they resided through a multitude of programs serving a diverse afrocentric population from children to the elderly; from secular bodies to sacred groups; from the un-educated to the under educated; from those in public service to those in military service; and always to those in need. Other research resources for this dissertation include microfilm records of the National Association of Colored Women including the *National Notes*; the annual published reports of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women; individual club records; club scrapbooks; church records; family records, and personal papers including unpublished family

histories; census records; newspaper accounts of individual and collective actions and activities, and records of state and national associations to which these women belonged. I also conducted oral history interviews with friends and family members of some of the now deceased club members as well as interviews about the club movement in general with current club members. Through these resources, I developed biographical studies of various club members, identifying key goals, organizational participation, educational achievement and other basic elements of each woman's life to explore their personal interests and activism in various arenas. Their lives illuminate their passion in individual arenas as they pursued specific community projects, especially those that attacked or impeded the black community's growth.²¹

Each dissertation chapter analyzes the lives of KACW members whose leadership impacted black Kentuckians. Individually these women were actively involved in major community building efforts on various levels belonging to such groups as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Council of Negro Women, the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, the Y.W.C.A. (Phillis Wheatley Branches), the NAACP and the Kentucky Negro Education Association. Using available records from these organizations and other records as indicated earlier, the subjects' lives reveal the perilous actions they pursued for the greater good.

The African American women's club movement did not merely enable respectability as many earlier treatments of the club movement argue, but their significance lies in their serving as vehicles---support systems, communication systems for other activism. The club movement laid the foundation for women's organizing and

²¹ Lucy Harth Smith. ed. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. (Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1946).

activism in the modern Civil Rights Movement through an established communication network across secular and sacred groups.

This dissertation is organized in the following way: Chapter One discusses the Kentucky laws that affected the enslaved people and their impact on the women. It also looks at the continuation of many of the restrictions that became practice following emancipation and their influence on the freed people in the post-reconstruction years when Kentucky's rising racism led to the enactment of additional regulations to restrict black rights particularly in cities like Lexington and Louisville.

Chapter Two explores the black church which provided women with their first opportunities for organizing. This chapter exposes the efforts of Kentucky's black women in challenging the patriarchal structure of that institution and their efforts to improve black life in Kentucky through the church.

In Chapter Three, I examine the role of Kentucky's women in the national club movement, their own state organization, and the diverse interests and activities on the local level to create a system of self-help and racial uplift programs. The multiple levels of this movement provided black women support for their organizing efforts and provided a network of support and leadership opportunities which allowed them to develop and maintain their own state and city organizations focused on local needs with a unified voice consistent with national ideals for racial equality and social justice.

Chapter Four looks at the extent to which black clubwomen aided or created educational opportunities on numerous levels to assist in the development of their communities' literacy needs and to raise students' self-esteem by instilling racial pride in the youth. Much of the work that clubwomen pursued was centered on changing racially

restrictive public policy, which is the topic of Chapter Five. Public policy issues run the gamut and included such issues as voting rights, health services, and equal protection under the law. I conclude this study, which shows the importance of the club movement not only for the community building activities they provided to establish infrastructures for their black communities, but because their early organizing efforts served as the foundation for what later became the activism of the modern Civil Rights Movement. The work of Kentucky clubwomen became more difficult as their activism was in a state plagued with identity problems as to which ideology it supported. The Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs recognized their formidable challenge and charged forward with heads held high, strong and determined not to fail their communities.

Charles Payne's research argues that the inter-connectivity of the women and the community through their family and community networks allowed them to establish centers, mobilize existing community groups, establish goals, mediate disputes, disseminate information, and sustain a united effort. These preexisting friend and family networks were the foundation of many women's involvement in the club movement and later the modern Civil Rights Movement. He explains that when women became involved in a movement, they tended to draw their spouses, other family members, and friends into their activism efforts, through the process of the "organizing tradition." These networks of family and community provided the communication systems necessary to support and sustain the modern Civil Rights Movement.²²

²² Charles M. Payne. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

African American women reinvented themselves through self-determination and the aid of extended families of kinships and friendships, who's mutually agreed upon goals promoted the upward evolvement of the black community. They acquired self-defining agency as they transformed their lives and communities by taking control of their working conditions, social structures, church activities and personal spheres while attempting to uplift their entire race through benevolent programs. Kentucky's black clubwomen were change agents for their community and represented it to the white paternalistic state. Without the communication networks clubwomen established, locally, statewide, regionally and nationally at the turn of the 20th century, it would have been difficult, if not impossible to sustain the modern Civil Right Movement. Despite the significance of their contributions to the black community, the work of the KACW and other black women's groups remain undetectable in Kentucky histories. Fortunately, however, these women were visible to the communities that they loved and for whom they labored untiringly. The vast accomplishments of club women locally and nationally teaches us that being viewed as a voiceless, non-threatening, outsiders, and not being under the microscope of the power structure can be an advantageous position to inhabit as one is free to create, invent, and successfully attack those systems that oppress their community. The story of activism among Kentucky's black clubwomen fills in historic gaps in the history of the state and exposes the building blocks for the successes experienced by blacks during the period known as the modern Civil Rights Movement. It explores the myriad obstacles encountered by women of color in a state which although it supported the Union cause during the Civil War, it exhibited a Southern stance following the war as it became violent and hostile toward black people, enacting stringent race laws

to keep the races separate and to keep black people in a state of second-class citizenry. Kentucky's hardened racial laws and local practices complicated black women's community building efforts.

The leadership of the KACW was college-educated reform-minded black women accomplishing extraordinary projects while emphasizing racial pride and unity. Their elite status as college graduates however, did not protect them from discrimination outside the black community. Fine manners, stylish hats, fashionable dress, and lace handkerchiefs did not shield them from second-class citizenry in public spaces. Economic solidity and property ownership did not prevent their deaths by lynch mob or other violent means endorsed by racist public policy and laws. The struggle for equality in Kentucky, a Border state, had to be won through their individual acts of courage, through individual challenges to the status quo, through individual triumphs as well as through countless collective actions that altered and enhanced the black community either through community building or through amended local laws and policies. Famous black women like Ida Wells Barnett and Mary Church Terrell did not improve the conditions of black Kentuckians daily lives. Rather it was Kentucky teachers such as Mary Parrish, Lucy Harth Smith, and Ora Kennedy Glass, out-spoken activists like Dr. Mary Britton and Lizzie Fouse, nurses and other local women like Mary Merritt whose daily attack on local customs and race policies defeated Jim and Jane Crow accommodation policy, lynching laws, and other unjust regulations that impacted black people. To explore fully the experiences of black women from 1880 to 1950, the focused attention must be gazed on the lives of seemingly ordinary women who enabled the black community to survive and advance forward. Their stories bridge the gap between the Civil War and the

Progressive Era and lay the foundation for advancing the efforts of the modern Civil Rights Movement. The examination of the lives of the women of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women expands our understanding of the individual motivations for activism and reveals the conditions in Kentucky that negatively impacted black women's efforts and their approach to community uplift.

Chapter Two

Kentucky Legislation: Building the Foundation for Injustice

“The sun will yet shine in at my door.”—Mary V. Cook²³

When women of African descent arrived in Kentucky while it was a mere county of the state of Virginia, they came under the institution of chattel slavery. An enslaved woman, a cook, was one of the first women who lived and worked in Boonesboro, one of Kentucky’s earliest settlements established in 1775. About fifteen miles from Boonesboro at Estill Station, the first black child, Jerry was born to an un-named wife of slave Monk Estill, in 1782. Another enslaved woman, Molly Logan, along with her three sons, Matt, David, and Isaac, came to Lincoln County, District of Kentucky in bondage to the Benjamin Logan family on March 8, 1776. On May 20, 1877, at the Harrodsburg settlement, Molly and two white women were outside milking the cows when they were attacked by hostile Indians. The women managed to survive the Indian attack, but Molly and the countless, nameless, thousands of enslaved black women who came to Kentucky remained under attack by the iron handed constraints of slavery.²⁴

The slave statutes that defined Molly Logan and other black women as chattel property, governed their daily freedoms, sanctioned the rape of their bodies, and destroyed their families, began prior to Kentucky statehood. Adoption of Virginia’s slave

²³ I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, MA: Willey & Co., Publishers, 1891), 370. This statement was uttered by Cook on October 15, 1881, following concern over the inequality of her pay for teaching the largest number of students in the State Street Baptist Church School.

²⁴ Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter. *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 26-27; *Ibid.*, 43; Ted Franklin Belue, “Monk Estill” in John E. Kleber, ed. *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 298; Monk Estill maintained an apple orchard near Boonesboro and made gunpowder for Boonesboro and Estill’s Station. Both Boonesboro and Estill Station are in present day Madison County; Helen Deiss Irvin, *Women in Kentucky*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1979), 2, 7.

laws guaranteed not only the continuation of slavery in the new state of Kentucky but also guaranteed the extension of slavery to each succeeding generation of blacks in the state. Like those of countless other black women, Molly's offspring were committed to bondage even before they were conceived.²⁵

The conditions that black Kentuckians endured and fought to eradicate following the Civil War were the result of many years of legislation that sought to control and limit them and their families from the state's beginning. The legal treatment of slaves had a profound influence on them educationally, economically, socially, and most decidedly in their ability to sustain family groups and maintain viable communities through the early years following Reconstruction. The Commonwealth of Kentucky began as a part of Virginia in 1777, and was then known as Kentucky County, Virginia. By the time Kentucky became a state in 1792, its parent state had developed an array of laws designed to control both black slaves and indentured servants. The Commonwealth of Kentucky was admitted to the Union as the fifteenth state and, like Virginia, it entered as a slave state. Through Section 8 of its Constitution, Kentucky adopted, with limited exceptions, all laws which were in force in Virginia on June 1, 1792. This included all the laws Virginia had developed to deal with and control slaves; thus Kentucky fully embraced slavery as a way of life despite opposition to slavery from some Kentuckians. With each revised constitution during the pre-Civil War years, Kentucky laws regarding slaves became more racially specific and more harsh.

The importance that Kentucky placed on slavery and its consequential degradation of black people was pointedly emphasized in the Constitution. The Kentucky legislature, the General Assembly, was specifically prohibited from passing

²⁵ Harrison and Klotter, 64.

laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of the slave owners or without compensating the owners for the emancipated slave's value. Further, any emancipation had to be subject to the rights of creditors. The legislature further required anyone immigrating to Kentucky with their slaves to keep them as slaves as long as they remained in the state.²⁶

The laws governing free blacks were generous at the beginning of statehood, as Kentucky's first constitution allowed free black men to vote in state and local elections if they were at least aged twenty-one and had been state residents for two years or county residents for one year where they would vote. Of course, women, regardless of their race, could not vote in Kentucky at that time. The state's first constitution also allowed free black men to participate in the state militia. At the time of statehood, there were roughly 114 freepersons in Kentucky, but it is not documented how many of them were men who were either eligible to vote or serve as soldiers in the state militia. Given this minimal number of freepersons, it is obvious that even if all were in the eligible category, their votes could not have had a significant impact on any state or county election. At this same time period, the state was also home to approximately 11,830 other blacks who were slaves.²⁷

The few rights free black men appear to have enjoyed under Kentucky's initial constitution were specifically removed when the 1799 constitution was adopted. While the 1799 constitution again extended the right to vote to every free male citizen, it specifically exempted "negroes, mulattoes and Indians" from this right. Similarly, the

²⁶ Kentucky Constitution, 1792, Article IX.

²⁷ Ibid., Article III, Section I.; Article VI, Section 2.; Marion B. Lucas. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: Volume 1 From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*. (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992). Lucas in the introduction indicates these numbers from the 1790 U.S. census for Kentucky, which was at that time still a county of Virginia.

revised constitution again required the men of the Commonwealth to be armed and disciplined for its defense, but now, “negroes, mulattoes and Indians” were specifically exempted from this right or obligation. The same document that officially disenfranchised free black men and made them legally ineligible to defend their state again fully embraced slavery by prohibiting the General Assembly from passing any laws for the emancipation of slaves without the owner’s consent or owner’s compensation for their slaves as before. The other articles governing slavery remained in effect.

Additionally, the new constitution gave the General Assembly the power to prohibit importation of slaves from a foreign country or from any state which had obtained the slave from a foreign country since January 1, 1789. Because of this provision, Kentucky, like other slaveholding states, began “breeding” a new slave population either within their slave holdings or by white masters and their male heirs fathering the new slave “crop”. Although slaves were denied the right to grand jury indictment for indictable offenses under the new constitution, they were granted the right to jury trials.²⁸

In 1850 Kentucky adopted its third constitution, which continued to disenfranchise free black men by specifically stating that the right to vote applied to free white men who were at least twenty-one years old and who had resided in the state county, town, or city for a specific period of time prior to the election. And following the wording of the previous constitution, the 1850 constitution also specifically excluded free black men, mulattoes, and Indians from serving in the state’s militia and again wholly embraced slavery. It more specifically defined slavery in Kentucky as a race-based institution, stating that “No persons shall be slaves in this state, except such as are now

²⁸ *Kentucky Constitution*, 1799 Article II, Section 8; Article III ; Article VII, Section I; Article X, Section 11; Article VII, Section 2

slaves by the laws of this commonwealth, or some other state or territory of the United States, or such free negroes as may hereafter be sold into slavery under the laws of this state and the future descendants of such female slaves.” The provision whereby free blacks could become slaves thus encouraged free blacks to leave the Commonwealth and discouraged other free blacks from settling in the state. The latter provision regarding the status of children born to slave women was consistent with changes in Virginia’s law as previously children had assumed the status of their father; but because of miscegenation between masters and slave women, white men found it necessary to explicitly exclude their mixed-race children from their own free status. Releasing white men from paternal responsibility for children they fathered with enslaved women not only condoned but also encouraged the sexual abuse and rape of black women. Because blacks could not testify against whites in court, the law further prevented white men from being challenged by the victims.²⁹

While Kentuckians were not eager to admit that miscegenation occurred in their state, population statistics and numerous individual cases point to its existence. Deborah Gray White asserts, “In the pre-Civil War period black women were very prolific. According to demographers the crude birth-rate exceeded fifty per one thousand, meaning that each year more than one fifth of the black women in the 15 to 44 age cohort bore a child.” Specifically in Kentucky the percentage of the “negro” population that was categorized as mulatto increased from 14.6 percent in 1850 to 20.1 percent in 1860 clearly indicating that miscegenation transpired. One Kentucky slave holder purposefully fathered the first child of each of his slave women, a practice that was unacceptable to

²⁹ Lucas, 86; Tallant 179-180; *Kentucky Constitution 1850*, Article II, Section 8; Article VII, Section 1; Article X.

Harriott McClain. Adah Isabelle and her mother Harriott were slaves on Colonel Jackson McClain's plantation near Henderson, Kentucky. Recognizing that her daughter Adah Isabelle was approaching the age of puberty, which was generally the period of sexual molestation for young slave girls on the McClain plantation, Harriott attempted to run away with her daughter to the North. Unfortunately their original plans resulted in their capture and return to the plantation. As a punishment Harriott was imprisoned in a locked room. But she and Adah covertly communicated through a window and hatched another escape plan. One night Adah picked the lock to her mother's room and together they escaped to Henderson where Union soldiers assisted them across the river into Indiana and freedom. Harriott McClain reported that she and her daughter were further assisted by local blacks in Evansville.³⁰

For enslaved women sexual assault was an ever present threat, which the women dealt with as their circumstances allowed. The sexual exploitation of black women took many forms and was justified routinely by white males. While Adah's would be rapist, Colonel McClain and other slaveholders characteristically raped young slave girls as a matter of custom, other slave holding white males raped their female slaves for the sole purpose of increasing their human produce for financial gain. As previously stated, most white slave holders who fathered children with female slaves treated their own biracial children as slaves and many even callously sold them like any other slave.³¹

³⁰ Works Progress Administration. *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves: Indiana Narratives*. (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1976), 189-191.

³¹ Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 69; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.*, Volume II, General Report and Analytical Tables. Table 9. "Negro population, distinguished as black or mulatto 1920, 1910, and 1890, with per cent mulatto, 1920, 1910, 1890, 1870, 1860, and 1850, by divisions and states, and for cities having, in 1920, more than 50,000 Negroes." (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 35; Marie Jenkins Schwartz. *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood And Medicine in the Antebellum South*

However, a few slave holders actually kept their mixed-race children within their family but never legally acknowledged them. Still other slave holders provided their biracial children with educational opportunities and other privileges, particularly if these children were of a fair complexion. Such was the case of “two handsome mulatto girls,” who were the offspring of a well-to-do white Lexington man and one of his quadroon slave women. The two young women who were described as “almost white” were raised in their wealthy father’s household enjoying a comfortable refined lifestyle. They were sent to Ohio to obtain an education when they were old enough to do so and then later pursue higher education opportunities at Oberlin College. While the girls were legally slaves in Kentucky, they travelled back and forth from Ohio to Lexington over the years, visiting their father and other family. Everyone in Lexington’s power structure knew of their parentage and thus did not disrespect these “almost white” young women. When tragedy struck the family through the death of their father, the women hurried back to Lexington. Unknown to the girls during their absence from Lexington, their father had incurred considerable debts. Consequently when the young women arrived for the funeral they were seized by the local authorities and scheduled to be sold on the auction block to pay their father’s debts. After enduring the public humiliation of probing eyes, indecent comments, and physical examination by prospective buyers on the auction block, the young women were sold to a Louisiana gambler who later resold them as mistresses to another man. This further emphasizes the arbitrary and tragic consequences

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press , 2010), 27; Randolph Hollingsworth. *Lexington: Queen of the Bluegrass* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 62.

of the laws which gave children of enslaved women and white men the status of the mother rather than the father.³²

Fortunately for future club women Mary Ellen and Julia Amanda Britton, their white grandfather, Kentucky statesman Thomas F. Marshall, treated his daughter Laura, their mother, far differently. Marshall not only provided Laura with a good education but he also freed her at age 16. If Marshall had died before freeing Laura, she would have been just one more piece of property in his inventory of assets. Laura, who could and did pass for white, married Henry Harrison Britton, who was of Spanish and Native American descent and a free-born carpenter and barber. Thus, the Britton's offspring, including both Mary Ellen and Julia Amanda, were born free people of color in the slave state of Kentucky. They were educated at William Gibson's School for Colored Youths in Louisville, Kentucky and enjoyed the limited freedom allowed to free persons of color in the state. However, freedom did not exempt them from various race-based discriminatory practices. Their mother Laura was also a gifted singer and musician, while Julia was a child musical prodigy who began performing publicly in parlor concerts at an early age for wealthy whites. As such, she often travelled with her mother Laura and accompanied her singing performances. Because Julia was much darker than her white appearing mother, she was passed off as her mother's servant so they could stay in hotels and ride on coaches and trains together.³³

Kentucky, by statute, continued to demonstrate an official disdain of black people by excluding all blacks, free or enslaved, from being citizens of Kentucky and limiting citizenship to free white persons. An additional statutory change defined slaves as

³² J. Winston Coleman, Jr. *Slavery Times in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1940). 135-137.

³³ Jacqueline Burnside. "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women." *Appalachian Heritage* 15, 3(Summer, 1987), 13.

personal estate, thus facilitating the transfer of slaves as personal property to slaveholders' heirs. The official position of Kentucky, expressed through its enacted law, was that free black people were not welcome in Kentucky. In fact, beginning on June 11, 1850, it became a felony offense for any free black or mulatto to migrate to Kentucky with the intention of remaining in the state, and such persons could be convicted of a felony, and imprisoned for up to five years.³⁴

Consistent with this law, a enslaved black who was freed was required to leave the state. The regulations further required that masters or others who freed slaves should provide money to remove the freed persons from the state. If an owner failed to provide for the relocation of a former slave, the free black person could be hired out until a time when that person had earned enough money to leave Kentucky. If a black person was emancipated by a deed or will which failed to provide for that person's removal out of the state, the county court was required to direct the slave to be hired out from year to year until a sufficient fund was created to defray the expenses of moving the former slave out of state and maintaining him or her for a year. Many blacks, believing they were free, fell subject to this law and were taken into custody and hired out under these regulations. These were the legal circumstances under which Kitty, a Boone County slave, was taken into custody in 1857. Kitty had been the slave of William T. Winston until August 10, 1843. On that date Winston sold to fellow Boone County resident Joseph Chambers for one hundred fifty dollars "a certain negro girl slave named Kitty, for and during the term and period of twelve years from this date, together with all increase which said girl Kitty may have during said term of twelve years, to have and to hold said girl Kitty for the term

³⁴*The Revised Statutes of Kentucky, 1852*. Article I, Section 1 and 3 , Article III, Sections 1-4.; Article XI, Section I;

aforesaid, and her increase during said term.” Winston further stipulated in the sale that after twelve years Kitty was to be emancipated. In accordance with the terms of her sale, in 1855 Kitty proclaimed her freedom and lived accordingly in Boone County until 1857. At that time the Boone County Court ordered that Kitty be seized and placed in the custody of a trustee as prescribed in the conditions of the 1850 Kentucky Constitution. Additionally she was to be hired out until “a sufficient fund was raised to defray the expense of her removal to some place out of the State and to maintain her twelve months.” Kitty rejected the court’s order and appealed the decision to the Court of Appeals. Kitty was caught between two versions of the Constitution, with the 1850 version seeking to remove freed blacks from the state. Many slaves not knowing Kentucky law may have found themselves in this same situation. However, Kitty may be the only black woman whose challenge to Kentucky’s 1850 Constitution regarding her freedom reached the appellate court level. In any event, Kitty won her case, as the court ruled that “Her right to freedom was created and vested by the execution and delivery of the bill of sale from Winston to Chambers, and existed prior to the adoption either of the present constitution or Revised Statutes. The postponement of the enjoyment of such right neither impaired the right itself nor affected its enjoyment in such manner as the laws then subsisting allowed. ” In essence, Kitty won her case because her right to freedom predated the adoption of the 1850 Constitution , and thus the new rules did not apply to her.³⁵

The full weight of Kentucky law was directed toward the goal of the continued enslavement of black people. Kentucky slaves could not accumulate property and their

³⁵ *The Revised Statutes of Kentucky, 1852*, Article IX, Section I, Section 3, and Section 13. See for example, *Kitty v. Commonwealth*, 57 Ky. 522-528 (1857).

masters were prohibited from allowing them to engage in trade as a free person would. Slaves could not hire themselves out for their own benefit or the benefit of another slave. It was a punishable offense for a free person to be found in the company with slaves at any unlawful meeting or to harbor any slave. It was unlawful for any person having the control of a house or plantation to permit any slave not his own to remain in that person's house or on their plantation for a period of four hours without the consent of the slave's owner. Any person who permitted more than five slaves other than his own in his house or on his plantation at one time was subject to a fine of one dollar for each slave. Unlawful assemblies and seditious speeches by slaves were punishable with up to thirty-nine stripes. These laws intended to eliminate or deter black insurrections.³⁶

Kentucky law further established racial distinctions with regards to oaths administered to witnesses. When a slave was sworn in as a witness, he was required to state that if his testimony should prove to be false, then he would be given thirty-nine stripes upon his naked back. If the witness was a free black who gave false testimony, he would, upon conviction be confined to the penitentiary as his oath stated. Within the Kentucky court system, a black person was not allowed to testify in a civil or criminal case in which a white person was a party. Blacks were allowed, however, to testify in cases where another black person, free or enslaved, or an Indian, were the only parties in the case. With such laws in effect, white people could commit crimes against black people at will without fear of consequences. This is particularly evident in cases such as rape, where generally there would be only the female victim's testimony against the perpetrator's testimony.³⁷

³⁶ *The Revised Statutes of Kentucky, 1852*, Article III, Section 1; Section 6, Section 8, and Section 9.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Article VII, Section 14; Chapter CVII, Section 1.

Kentucky was so adamant about blacks testifying against whites that even after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment it would not allow the conviction of a white man that was based on the testimony of a black man, as in the case *Bowlin v. Commonwealth*, in 1867. Eventually the Kentucky Court of Appeals concluded that even though the Thirteenth Amendment was in effect, Kentucky remained free to discriminate based on race. The ruling of the Court was that the free black man by definition could not be a competent witness against the free white man and that the trial court was wrong to allow the testimony of the black man. The jury's conviction of the white man was therefore reversed. For the Kentucky Court, the issue was simply one of the state's rights to enact whatever laws it desired so long as they did not violate the expressed prohibition against slavery or involuntary servitude. The Court declared that the Thirteenth Amendment gave Kentucky blacks nothing more than freedom and did not elevate them to social or political equality with the white race. Blacks, in the eyes of the Kentucky Court, were free from slavery but did not enjoy rights that whites did and were subject to Kentucky jurisdiction and its race specific laws.³⁸

Anyone who aided a slave to obtain his freedom was subject to extremely severe penalties in Kentucky. Any free person who committed such an offense could be confined in the penitentiary for a period of two to twenty years. And any free person who even attempted to assist a slave's escape could be imprisoned for a period between two and five years. Furthermore, any free person merely suspected of attempting to aid a slave in obtaining freedom could be apprehended and brought before the court to answer the charge. Additionally, any person convicted of attempting to incite a slave to insurrection could be imprisoned in the state penitentiary for five to twenty years. If a

³⁸*Bowlin v. Commonwealth*, 65 Ky. 5.

person was convicted of knowingly concealing a stolen slave or harboring a runaway slave, he could be sent to the penitentiary between two and twenty years. Kentucky vigorously enforced these laws, and between 1844 and 1870, at least forty-four men and women were sentenced to prison in Kentucky for their efforts in assisting slaves to obtain their freedom. One of these prisoners was not released from prison until 1870, some five years after slavery was ended in Kentucky by operation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.³⁹

Although Kentucky had many laws to guarantee that slaves maintained an inferior station, unlike most Southern states Kentucky did not expressly prohibit the education of slaves. On the other hand, the state did not make any provision for their education either. The state laws governing the assembly of slaves with free blacks may have deterred some from establishing black schools, but black educational opportunities, though limited, did exist in the Commonwealth. Under the law, slaves had various means of acquiring literacy skills. State laws allowed slaves to assemble for Sunday church services or other lawful occasions with their owners' permission. With the assistance of some white church members, black churches often held classes to teach slaves to read and write. Because most black ministers had learned to read the Bible and write out their church sermons, many of them served as teachers for their black congregations. Some slaves attended local private schools with free black pupils while most learned to read and write from their masters or members of their master's family. Abolitionist John Gregg Fee opened several schools for blacks including a Berea school in 1855, which allowed black

³⁹ *The Revised Statutes of Kentucky, 1852*, Article V, Section 1 – 5.
James M. Prichard (May 9, 2006) “*Into the Fiery Furnace: Anti-Slavery Prisoners in the Kentucky State Penitentiary 1844 -1870.*” Kentucky Educational Television. Retrieved June 1, 2009, from Kentucky's Underground Railroad: Passage to Freedom: <http://www.ket.org/underground/research/prichard.htm>

and white students to attend together. Fee suffered many significant incidents of mob violence during the 1850s for his abolitionist and integrationist views. His integrated school at Berea did not hold classes until 1866. Not everyone appreciated the idea of educating blacks, so black schools often received threats or hostile reactions from some whites, which resulted in closing some schools and burning others as was done in Fee's case.⁴⁰

Susan Davis, who would give birth to future club leader Fannie Miller on June 23, 1864, experienced a different approach to literacy. As an enslaved child in Danville, Kentucky, Davis was rented out to a Presbyterian minister who loathed ignorance and thus insisted that even the slaves be taught to read and write. Davis' educational opportunities instilled in her an appreciation for learning, and she insisted that her children obtain an education once freed. When one of their neighbors predicted that Fannie Miller would be lonely being the only educated black girl in Danville, her mother replied, "Let her be lonely." Fannie not only completed her high school diploma at the Academy of Meadville College in Pennsylvania but also attended Berea College where she became the first black woman graduate of their college department in 1888, earning the Bachelor of Arts degree in Latin and Greek. Contrary to the neighbor's prediction, Fannie met and married fellow Berea College student Frank Williams; they settled initially in Louisville where in 1896 Fannie became one of the founders and the first president of the Woman's Improvement Club. In 1901 she became the founder and president of the Children's Friend Club in Covington as well as a charter member of the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Kentucky later known as the Kentucky

⁴⁰Lucas, pp. 140-145; *Kentucky Constitution*, Article III, Sections 6-11; Harold D. Tallant. *Evil Necessity Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 168-191.

Association of Colored Women's Clubs. For Susan Davis her early access to education as a slave profited future generations including her daughter Fannie Miller Williams.⁴¹

Although, slave marriages were not legally sanctioned in the state, but like other people, slaves fell in love and wanted to formally recognize their intent to make a commitment to one another. Before slaves could marry, they had to obtain permission from their masters of course. If both slaves were owned by the same master and he agreed the marriage ceremony was conducted without any complications. However, if the slaves belonged to different masters, then the wedding could be problematic and required arrangements between the two masters. Sometimes one master became the owner of both slaves. When this did not happen and the couple remained on separate farms, arrangements were made for the husband's visitation on weekends and at other set times. During the late 1930s Mrs. Susan Dale Sanders reminisced about slavery and her parents' slave marriage in Spencer County. As recorded in dialect in a WPA interview, she said, "My father had to stay at his master's, Col. Jack Allen's and wo'k in the fields all day, but at night he would come to my mammy's cabin and stay all night, and go back to his master's, Col. Allen's fields the next mon'in." However, some slave owners simply forbade their slaves from marrying outside their property. Since Kentucky laws did not recognize slave marriages, it is not surprising that many masters, although they had consented to the wedding, failed to respect slave unions. If on separate farms, a married slave may have to breed with someone other than their spouse at the master's direction. The slave family was as tenuous as a slave marriage because slave owners

⁴¹"The Educational World: An American Family VIII," *Headlines and Pictures*, August 1946, 38; By the time Fannie Miller enrolled, Berea College had six educational divisions: Primary, Intermediate, Preparatory, Normal, Ladies' and College Departments to meet all educational needs; Shannon H. Wilson. *Berea College: An Illustrated History*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 26.

were not intent on preserving them and often sold spouses from each other and children away from their parents for the benefit of a profit. Slavers had no respect for black motherhood as not only were children separated from parents but infants were often sold out of their mothers arms to satisfy the specific needs of a buyer. To Mrs. Sanders this fact was most troubling. She recalled, “The Nigger traders would come through and buy up a lot of men, and women slaves, and get a big drove of them and take them further south to work in the fields, leavin their babies. I’s e never can forget.”⁴²

Amelia Jones, who was sixteen years old when slavery ended, later described the calculating way her former master, Congressman Don White of Manchester, split up enslaved families. She explained, “The day he was to sell the children from their mother he would tell that mother to go to some other place to do some work and in her absence he would sell the children. It was the same when he would sell a man’s wife; he also sent him to another job and when he returned his wife would be gone.” Whites’ indifference toward the feelings of black families is indicated in Congressman’s Don White’s comment to the man whose wife he had sold: “Don’t worry you can get another one.” Amelia Jones at the age of eight reported that she had personally experienced the sale of her twelve year old sister and later the sale of her father to some southern destination.⁴³

Despite the limited power they had over themselves and their families, black women and men attempted to maintain their family units. Some resorted to begging their masters not to sell family members or pooling their money to purchase them as the family of Mary Crane did in Larue County. Some slaves ran away with the sole intent of

⁴² Lucas, pp. 17-18; *Kentucky Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in Kentucky from Interviews with Former Slaves. Typewritten records prepared by the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938.* (Boston, MA: Applewood Books, 2006), 16-17; Lucas, pp. 18-24.; *Kentucky Slave Narratives*, 17-18.

⁴³ *Kentucky Slave Narratives*, 38-39.

visiting family members. Still others made arrangements with their masters to visit family members locally. Under these conditions it was impossible for a nuclear family unit to exist for slaves. Although some owners kept their slaves for generations, it was uncommon to find two parents and all their children still living together during slavery. To the extent slaves could maintain anything approaching a family unit, the business of breeding and selling slaves naturally destroyed whatever family units that existed.

However, throughout the ordeal of slavery, black women worked with one another supporting and consoling one another when family members were sold, stolen, died, or ran away. They provided an extended family of friendship ties which supplemented and sometimes substituted for family and kinships relationships. Generally, they were always in the company of other black women and girls, even on small farms, working in the fields, sewing clothing or participating in quilting bees, corn shuckings, caring for each other's children, and cooking and working in the white people's houses. As Mrs. Susan Sanders, who had four sisters and two brothers, recalled, (again, in an interview recorded in dialect) "Yes, I grow'd up in slavery times. I used to carry tubs of clothes down to the old spring house, there was plenty of water, and I'se washed all the clothes there. Me and my sisters used to wash and sing and we had a good time." Through these connections they formed their own perceptions about what it was to be a woman, to acknowledge their own self-worth and to recognize their collective strength, valuable lessons for the work they would perform to uplift their race when emancipated.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ George P. Rawick., ed. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub. Co, 1972), 16: 9-10.; Lucas, pp. 18-28; Deborah Gray White. *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. (New York: Norton, 1985.), 119-141; *Kentucky Slave Narratives*, 7, 62, 17.

While it was clear that Kentucky intended to maintain slavery and to control its slave populations, not all white Kentuckians were convinced that slavery was right, and some wanted its presence removed from their state. In fact, thirty years prior to the outset of the Civil War, Kentuckians began a long debate about slavery and whether it should be allowed in the Commonwealth because, although they recognized that slavery was wicked, they also wished to appease those slave owners and were basically alarmed at the prospect of increasing the number of free blacks in the state. Kentucky's multi-mindedness on the issue not only supported an active antislavery movement, a colonization society supported by Henry Clay, and a pro-slavery contingent. Thus, when the Civil War began, Kentucky whites wished to remain neutral and not join either side.⁴⁵

Although Kentucky's Governor demanded that both armies stay out of the state, the Confederates openly enlisted soldiers in Kentucky. The Kentucky Legislature quickly passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to demand the withdrawal of the Confederate troops. The state also supported Union General Ulysses S. Grant's troops which had moved into Paducah following the Confederate troops who initially entered the state during the 1861 summer months. When the Kentucky rebels tried to establish a Confederate State Government in Bowling Green, Governor Beriah Magoffin refused to recognize them and continued proclaiming that the state was neutral, although it favored the Union. Confederates continued to occupy Bowling Green until February 1862. From 1863 until the end of the war, the Kentucky Confederate government existed on paper only.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Lowell H. Harrison. *The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky*. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1978.), 98-101; Harrison and Klotter, 176.

⁴⁶ Harrison and Klotter, 190-194.

Many Kentuckians were sentimentally attached to the South, especially because of family ties in Tennessee, North Carolina, and their parent state, Virginia. They also had benefited from agricultural trade with the lower southern states as markets for their slaves, livestock and other products. While the links to the Southern states were strong, connections and loyalty to the Union were established also through family relationships. Similar to their trade connections with Southern States, many Kentucky farmers and businessmen enjoyed economic opportunities with the North through railroad traffic. Still other Kentuckians did not believe in slavery. All across the Commonwealth Kentucky families were torn apart over the issues surrounding the Civil War, with family members pitted one against the other in the same households. Consistent with their indecisiveness, thousands of white Kentucky men joined the armies of both sides making it difficult for neutrality to exist.⁴⁷

Kentucky's black people, of course, were not divided on this issue, and 23,703 black Kentucky men enlisted in the Union army with most of them serving in the United States Colored Troops. This was a significant number of black recruits representing 56.5 % of the total eligible black males both slave and freemen in the state between the legal recruiting ages of 18-45. The level of participation is substantial when you consider that only about five percent of Kentucky's blacks were free people, indicating that most of the recruits were bondsmen. Officially, the only state to send more black soldiers to fight for the Union cause was Louisiana, whose black population was significantly larger than Kentucky's black population. However, because Kentucky would not accept blacks in the state regiments, some blacks joined units in other states. Union commands in Ohio, Illinois, Tennessee, and Indiana enlisted an estimated 2, 000 black Kentuckians by

⁴⁷ Tallant, 102-105.

the end of 1864. With these numbers added to those who enlisted in Kentucky, the state sent approximately 25,438 black soldiers to fight for the Union which outnumbers the 24,502 soldiers from Louisiana. Freedom was indeed important to Kentucky black men and women.⁴⁸

Even though Kentucky had remained neutral and did not secede from the Union at the end of the Civil War, many in the state saw themselves in a different light, a more Southern light. Because many families in the state were divided by the war, with fathers and sons, siblings, and other family members often taking sides and literally fighting against one another in battle, conflict remained high at war's end. At the outset of the war, Kentucky had 225,483 slaves, who were not affected by President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as they were not in a state which had officially rebelled against the Union. Although Kentucky rejected the Thirteenth Amendment when it was presented to its General Assembly in February 1865, with the majority of states voting for its ratification, legal slavery eventually ended in December 1865. The majority of Kentucky's slaves had already been freed by March 1865, either because the men in their families had joined the military, which freed them and their families or by running away. Some had been freed by their masters, some of whom gave land to their former servants.⁴⁹

Kentucky newspapers were consumed with articles about the anticipated status of blacks and how that status would be defined in Kentucky. Kentucky's black men and

⁴⁸ *Kentucky's Black Heritage: The Role of the Black People in the History of Kentucky from Pioneer Days to the Present.* (Frankfort: Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 1971), 30; Victor B. Howard. *Black Liberation in Kentucky: Emancipation and Freedom, 1862-1884.* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 71; Lucas, 166. Marion Lucas documents that the U.S. Army reports showed a total of 23,703 black Kentucky troops while the final report of the Adjutant General of Kentucky reported in 1867 that 25,438 Kentucky blacks served. Additionally Victor Howard discusses the escape and enlistment of blacks in bordering states and indicates that at war's end there were 25,000 black Kentucky soldiers.

⁴⁹ Lucas, 160.

women wanted their freedom like everyone else and anticipated the opportunities they believed freedom would bring, including the right to live their lives free from violence, free from direct control by a master or overseer, free to be with their family members, free to travel to locations of their choice, free to seek educational opportunities, free to occupy a job and support their families, free to worship at a church of their choice, free to participate in their community, free to contribute to the larger society, and free to vote for political candidates. Unfortunately, none of their expectations of freedom and its perceived opportunities were granted in Kentucky without severe limitations and confrontation.⁵⁰

Black Kentuckians, unlike blacks in some Southern states such as South Carolina, were always a small minority population in most rural regions of the state and consequently limited potential to obtain power through their numbers. Historically, they were viewed as less than white people, clearly not equal to them, and therefore, not deserving either equal rights or equal opportunities. Kentucky's General Assembly rejected the Fourteenth Amendment in 1867 and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. Obviously, white Kentuckians in 1870 were neither prepared nor willing to acknowledge blacks as anything other than a subordinate group which it would subject to second class citizenship as long as blacks would accept it.⁵¹

Kentucky's political ideology developed a more markedly Southern sensibility after the Civil War. The distinct situation of Kentucky, a former Union state, was that it continued to grapple with the fact that the South had lost the war and that the state must follow the mandates of the United States government regarding former slaves. Some

⁵⁰ Howard, 76-79, 83.

⁵¹ Harrison and Klotter, 217; Howard, 149, 153.

white Kentuckians who sided with the Confederates felt cheated by war's outcome and still harbored bitter feelings for the government over the financial loss resulting from war damages to their crops and personal property but especially the loss of their human property. Without enslaved labor to do the work on farms and in towns, whites now had to spend additional money and hire employees to maintain productive business, thus reducing their profits if their business was to survive. They were equally distressed by the occupation of federal troops and federal agents sent to assist the newly freed black people negotiate employment contracts, seek housing, obtain education and conduct their personal lives free of their former master's direction. Many white Kentuckians harbored deep resentments and refused to surrender the power and control which they had once held over black people, resulting in violent attacks on blacks as well as failure to allow blacks their civil rights. At the turn of the century, despite limited state segregation laws, de facto racial segregation existed throughout the state, as the racial attitudes among white Kentuckians hardened. Black men and women saw the brunt of these racist feelings manifest themselves in banishment, arson, beatings, shootings, murder, and lynching. Between 1890 and 1910, legislators deemed it necessary to pass laws to ensure that blacks remain "in their place."⁵²

Violence and lawlessness in Kentucky had begun during the war, when many groups of bandits and gangs had formed from misfits of both armies and entered the state taking advantage of the confusion created by the war and this violence continued. The most brutal period was the first fifteen years immediately following the Civil War. Across the state these vigilantes, outlaws, and the Ku Klux Klan attacked blacks without cause and killed many with little or no provocation. Not even women were exempt from

⁵²Wright, *Racial Violence*, 307-316; Lucas, 294-298.

these malicious attacks. In June 1904 in Lebanon Junction, Marie Thompson, described in the newspaper account as a “negro Amazon” struggled to end a disagreement that her son was having with John Irvin, a wealthy white farmer over a pair of pliers.

Unfortunately the fight became more violent, and Marie killed Irvin with a razor, which she claimed was in self-defense. Had Thompson been a white woman, most likely she would have not been charged with murder for defending herself. Being a black woman, Marie Thompson was taken into custody and accused of murder. On June 16, 1904, near midnight, a white mob appeared and surrounded the jail determined to lynch Marie Thompson. While they were attempting to break a heavy padlock on the jail door, a group of blacks appeared and shot at the whites. The white mob fled and the sheriff promised the blacks that he and his men would protect Thompson. Hearing this black people returned to their homes for the night. However when the white mob returned two hours later, the authorities did not resist and Thompson was removed from the jail.

Summarily the whites tried to hang her from a tree in the jail yard but she fought back. “The woman was struggling and fighting like a tiger all the time, but the mob was too much for her, and a minute later she was swinging in the air, with her feet several inches from the ground. All of a sudden she twisted around and grabbed a man by the collar, jerked a knife from his hands and cut the rope that was choking the life out of her.” Once on the ground, the 255 pound woman fought the men around her. Freeing herself, she started to run, only to be shot in the back amid a flurry of gunfire. More than 100 shots had been fired at her and she was left for dead. Upon seeing signs of life, the officers took her to a doctor’s office who determined that she could not recover from all the

wounds. There is no reference to any of the Lebanon Junction citizens or police officers being prosecuted for her murder.⁵³

From 1866 through 1940 blacks were attacked, beaten, raped, hung, shot, and summarily expelled from Kentucky towns. Among these violent acts was the high incidence of black lynchings or executions in the state during that period. Newspaper accounts document many of these 353 lynching outrages often on their front pages and often detailing the gruesome facts of how the person resisted or met their demise. Of this total number of lynchings, 258 - more than 70 percent of them - were committed against black people. Between 1870 and 1908, 13 black women were among those who died by lynching or were killed in another way. Most black Kentuckians were more likely to be lynched in either the central or the western part of the state where they lived in greater numbers. Louisville however had the largest black population but appeared more progressive on racial issues than other Kentucky cities and reported no such incidents. In Lexington, which ranked second for the number of blacks, race relations were not as strained as in many rural areas but racially motivated violence and brutality did occur in the city as well as in surrounding communities. Lynching, beatings, torture and other violent acts were visited upon African Americans who forgot "their place." From 1890 through 1940, 106 persons were lynched within fifty miles of Lexington. The Ku Klux Klan was responsible for much of the racially motivated atrocities. Unfortunately, among these violent acts were local police brutality and other harsh conduct sanctioned by the authorities. The predominant police opinion defined all blacks as criminals, perhaps with the exception of a few good "colored" citizens. Under these prevailing racist attitudes,

⁵³ *Courier Journal*, June 15, 16, 1904; *New York Times*, June 16, 1904; "Rope Breaks and Negress Runs Away." *Saginaw Evening News*, June 16, 1904, p.2.

black people in the most innocent situations often suffered tragic violent attacks and premature deaths.⁵⁴

Realizing that Kentucky was not a safe place for blacks, many families of color began migrating to more favorable states. Motivated by the racial violence surrounding Fayette and Scott counties during the second half of the 1870s and the opportunities for self-governance and free land, thousands of black Kentuckians migrated to Kansas, a state which had never allowed slavery. By 1880 Kentucky-born blacks living in Kansas numbered six thousand nine hundred and ninety. Overall Kentucky's black population continued to decline each decade following the Civil War. From 1870 to 1900 the number of blacks in Kentucky decreased from 17 percent of the state's population to only 13 percent in 1900. Kentucky's black out-migration continued for many decades until the black population diminished from a high of approximately 25 percent in 1830 to a low of 7 percent in 1950 where it remained for the next fifty years.⁵⁵

State legislation supported segregation on interstate railroads and prevented racial integration in private as well as public institutions. Theaters, parks, libraries, welfare institutions, schools, hospitals, restaurants, and many work sites remained segregated by custom statewide. Kentucky's cities with the largest black populations, Lexington and Louisville, grappled with how to enforce the state legislation and how to deal with the large black populations on a daily basis.

Kentucky's largest and arguably its most progressive city, Louisville, subjected

⁵⁴ George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings."* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1990), 294.; Gertrude Bolder's case, which involved neglect by the Lexington police department, will be illuminated in the chapter on public policy.

⁵⁵ Nell Irvin Painter. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction.* (New York: Norton, 1986), 147-51; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Compendium of the Tenth United States Census.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 476-78.

blacks to a more covert racist atmosphere than the Southern cities. Following the Civil War, Louisville's inconsistent policies excluded blacks from schools, social clubs, steamboats, and trains while initially allowing access to health services, most streetcars, and many local businesses including some restaurants, hotels, and local amusement areas. The three streetcar companies provided different discriminatory service to blacks. On the Walnut Company streetcar, black women could ride inside the car while black men were relegated to ride on the car platform. The Fourth Street and the Main Street lines required all blacks to be seated in the back seat of the car which was designated for them. However, the Market Street line did not allow blacks on any part of the streetcar as Mississippi State Senator Hiram Revels learned from experience. On May 8, 1870 Mary Cunningham Smith along with her stepson Gustavaus boarded a streetcar owned by the Louisville City Railway Company, which had been operating since 1864. Eight blocks from the Smiths' destination, their home, they were ejected from the streetcar without any explanation. Smith and her husband sued the company questioning whether the company could expel passengers because of race. After several delays, including one occasioned by the birth of Mary Smith's first child, they won their case plus court costs on October 17, 1872 in the U.S. Circuit Court.⁵⁶

By the 1880s, whatever access blacks had enjoyed earlier was removed for most blacks, except for special situations such as black church conventions when the local hotels temporarily lifted racial restrictions for out of town blacks. While whites did not want blacks in their establishments on a regular basis, financial gain forced them to be more accommodating from time to time. One of the greatest difficulties for blacks in

⁵⁶ Wright, *Life behind a Veil*, 52; Courier Journal, May 9, Oct. 20, 1870.; Pen Bogert. "A Woman of Courage: Mary Victoria Cunningham Smith," *The Griot* 1(Summer2000).

Louisville was determining what restrictions applied as the city had few black codes on the books making local custom the only real policies. Louisville's white citizens weren't openly hostile to blacks as in other parts of the state. They hired blacks for jobs albeit they were the most menial positions many of which probably resembled those they had occupied before the war's end. Consequently the only jobs available for women continued to be as domestic workers either as cooks, maids, caregivers, and laundresses. Local whites assisted blacks in establishing various community institutions such as schools. Of course the schools were segregated; consequently the black schools were significantly inferior to those for whites. Some blacks were given patronage positions within the city structure in an attempt to convince the city's black population that fairness existed. Those who achieved this elevated status relied on the generosity of the city's benevolent white citizens and were unlikely to challenge the status quo for fear of losing their positions. The local newspapers included stories about blacks, particularly stories about black attendance in local carnivals and public affairs which they reported using derogatory terms such as "negress" when speaking of black women or "coon" and "darky" for black men with the children almost always referred to as "pickaninny." The papers further sought to discredit black doctors, ministers, lawyers, and political aspirants. However, they boasted that the race relations in the city were admirable and progressive as they attempted to maintain the racial social order. These subtle racist tactics were all forms of Louisville's "polite racism," which required blacks to know their place and not seek aggressive solutions to racial inequities.⁵⁷

Many Louisville whites openly voiced their opposition to establishing black

⁵⁷ George C. Wright. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: In Pursuit of Equality, 1890-1980* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992), 47-50; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 48-49.

schools for the freed people and attempted to burn them down on more than one occasion. Generally, black churches and Northern benevolent groups provided early schools for blacks. The American Missionary Association sent teachers to Camp Nelson to teach the black enlistees to read and write but soon found that they were teaching the recruits' families as well. Among the teachers was one black woman, E. Belle Mitchell from Danville, Kentucky. Mitchell's experiences at the camp became known as the "Belle Mitchell Incident" which will be discussed in Chapter Four. The AMA made significant contributions to black education in Kentucky in 1867 and 1868. Similar religious groups such as the Free Baptist Mission of Providence, the Protestant Episcopal Aid Society, the Friends Association Pennsylvania, and other Baptist and Methodist groups contributed as well. The National Freedman's Relief Association, the Northwestern Freedman's Aid Commission of Chicago, and the Cincinnati Branch of the Western Freedman's Aid Commission were among the benevolent societies which supported educational opportunities for black Kentuckians. These religious and benevolent groups purchased property, recruited and paid teachers, and built and supplied schools with desks, textbooks and other appropriate supplies for black students. Finally the Kentucky legislature established public schools for black children in 1874. Black community leaders recognized the need for black teachers and began rallying for the creation of a teacher training college as well as equal funding for their schools.⁵⁸

Because Louisville provided greater job opportunities than Kentucky's rural areas and most other cities, its black population steadily increased during the years 1870 to 1930, tripling in number from 14,976 to 47,354 blacks. Overall these numbers show blacks as representing between 14.8 percent and 15.3 percent of Louisville's total

⁵⁸ Lucas, 260-261, 267.

population, with a half percentage increase over the sixty year period. Considering that most other locales in Kentucky were experiencing decreases in blacks, Louisville's ability to attract and retain that population was significant. Louisville's influx of blacks created housing problems. The freed people accepted any available housing. Wretched housing conditions existed for blacks migrating to Louisville. Low cost housing in black-majority areas like "Smoketown" helped alleviate the problem, if only temporarily. However, the buildings were poorly constructed and the streets in Smoketown were improperly drained creating unhealthy conditions for black inhabitants. On the outskirts of Lexington, opportunistic whites built poorly constructed shacks on formerly uninhabitable land with poor drainage for black people. In Covington, black men, women and children crowded into run-down ware houses, damp cellar and other undesirable spaces for living quarters in alleys. Housing was but one problem the freed people experienced as all were improperly clothed, some were without shoes, and they had little or no money. In most Kentucky cities, residential communities were segregated to guarantee limited contact between black and white citizens. Black migration to the city created overcrowded neighborhoods which harbored unsanitary conditions threatening the lives of its inhabitants. Overall blacks found themselves living in damp basements and other undesirable spaces just as they had occupied during slavery. The make-shift black communities were crippled by their unsanitary conditions resulting from animal and human waste, improper drainage, and decaying garbage. Daily black women were faced with providing food, heating, and clothing for their families with little or no income to meet these survival needs. The unsanitary conditions that surrounded them plagued their families with smallpox, tuberculosis, other diseases, and in many cases

death.⁵⁹

Many black employment opportunities also resembled slavery as many found themselves working in either the same positions or similar positions after freedom. Most white businesses would not hire blacks, stating that whites did not want to work with them. On the other hand, positions for maids, waiters, cooks, janitors were open to blacks statewide. These service jobs like slavery required black people to work six or seven days a week, for more than forty hours per week for the lowest salaries in the worst positions. Only a few service positions were desirable, like being messengers for banks and other businesses, but these were reserved for the established “better class” of black people. Some blacks were able to obtain positions as postmen in Frankfort, Louisville, Bowling Green, and Lexington, but most towns prohibited blacks from these occupations. The horse industry in both Lexington and Louisville provided employment to a small number of blacks as grooms, day laborers, occasionally as trainers and through 1911 as jockeys. Both coal mining and tobacco industries were available to blacks and both allowed blacks to participate in unions, but as with most industries, here too blacks occupied the lowest paid, most strenuous, and dirtiest positions with no opportunity for advancement. Many Civil War black soldiers, accustomed to receiving a monthly salary and seeing no other comparable employment opportunities in Kentucky, reenlisted in the U.S. Army, and became part of the military units later known as the Buffalo Soldiers who fought against the Native American tribes in the West.⁶⁰

For black women, the employment outlook across the state was often dismal and difficult to negotiate. Industrial employment was by far the worst option for them as

⁵⁹ Lucas 179, 196-198, 275-276; Wright, *Life behind a Veil*, 46-47.

⁶⁰ Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 77.

they were often exploited by their employers and grossly underpaid. Studies of Kentucky black women's working conditions in the early 1900s reveals that black women were forced to work without direct sunlight in clothing industries while in the tobacco industry black women worked in areas with inadequate ventilation and had no access to toilet facilities. They received less than four dollars a week, which was significantly less than the minimum amount necessary to sustain them not to mention their families.⁶¹

A few black Kentuckians established their own businesses or through their educational pursuits became professionals such as teachers, attorneys, physicians, undertakers and were thus able to make a substantial living compared to others of the race. Other blacks operated their own service businesses especially barbering and catering. In both Louisville and Lexington, blacks operated several successful barber shops which served white clients exclusively. Kentucky's larger cities saw the emergence of a black middle class and its positive impact on black communities. Overall, blacks found better employment prospects in Louisville than in any other Kentucky city.⁶²

Kentucky blacks had been enfranchised since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) and the Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871 and were allowed to vote in most cities and towns without restrictions around the state. Louisville newspapers strongly encouraged blacks to stay away from the elections but many blacks became very politically active. In 1886, two Louisville black men, W.H. Gibson Sr. and Horace Mann were nominated for county offices of corner and county court clerk respectively. Both

⁶¹ Wright, *History of Blacks*, 15.

⁶² Wright, *History of Blacks*, 16.

were defeated in the election but it was a political beginning for blacks in Louisville. Politically, Republicans continued to have the support of blacks in Kentucky. Some politicians showed their appreciation for black support by providing employment to select blacks. Because blacks also represented a large percentage of the Louisville Republican party, whites supplied them with many political incentives to keep them from mounting their own candidates. Most of these rewards were service positions as sanitation employees or railroad porters. Blacks could not gain access to the higher level patronage positions such as firemen and policemen. Blacks and whites also worked together on committees that governors established to investigate and make recommendations on particular race problems. Both the Republicans and Democrats used racial issues to get elected to office. Determined to keep blacks from the ballot as long as they could, in 1870, Lexington changed the date for the city-wide elections of offices to February, one month prior to the date that the Fifteenth Amendment became effective, thereby preventing blacks from voting that first year. In 1871, black Kentuckians had been granted the right to testify against white people in trials and in 1882, the right to serve on juries.⁶³

Lexington had the second largest black population in Kentucky during the early years of the twentieth century. Additionally, the largest concentration of blacks in the state resided in central Kentucky in the counties around Lexington. Housing patterns in Lexington indicate black neighborhoods in the city's east side and black hamlets (Davistown, Cadentown, Bracktown, Pricetown) surrounding the city. Within the city limits, some African Americans also lived on the same streets as white Americans. Like the rest of the state, black life in Lexington during the period 1890 through 1930

⁶³ Lucas, 310.; *Kentucky's Black Heritage*, p. 46.; Howard, 106-107, 144, 155.

was characterized by Jim and Jane Crow indicators of racial segregation. However, the large percentage of African Americans in and around Lexington may have accounted for what historian George C. Wright called the “fluid racial patterns” in the city. In Lexington, integration existed in some restaurants, parks, theaters and other amusement areas. But access to those venues was by means of Jim Crow sections, separate entrances or other demeaning practices. Lexington’s blacks were prohibited from using public libraries, schools and hospitals. Both the local newspapers, the *Lexington Herald* and the *Lexington Leader* provided a separate space entitled “Colored Notes” for news from the black community. These columns were always in the back sections of both papers, sometimes among the classified advertisements, sometimes in the agricultural section but never in the first section or on the front page. Wright argues that Lexington’s integration patterns were more fluid because Lexington’s whites reasoned that it was economically viable to allow blacks service in these arenas considering the size of the population and consequently financial resources they represented.⁶⁴

While whites in Lexington established local boards designed to remedy problems in the black community, black women and men themselves were rarely appointed to them. Failure of white community leaders to work with blacks in stopping the spread of vice and crime in the black community led blacks to establish the Good Citizen’s League in 1905, whose major complaint was against all the illegal saloons and gambling joints in their community. Although Lexington had several black professionals and businesses, the majority of black employment was in service to whites in positions that provided the

⁶⁴U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918); Wright. *A History of Blacks*, 54-57, 59, 63. In Wright’s discussion on race relations in Kentucky, he refers to Lexington and Louisville in this manner. See pages 43-102 for a complete discussion of the state’s racial climate during this period.; “Good Citizen’s League” *Lexington Herald*, Jan 23, 1905.

lowest wages. Still others operated their own businesses such as barbershops and grocery stores. Blacks found employment in numerous other occupations, but in limited numbers. Unlike most Southern cities, some black women held positions as clerks in department stores.⁶⁵

Freed blacks were so eager to educate their people that by the time the Freedman's Bureau officials arrived in Kentucky several black schools were already operating in black communities. Schools had been established in churches and at military camps including Camp Nelson in Jessamine County. Bureau reports indicated that by 1866, thirty five schools were operational and enrolled four thousand one hundred and twenty-two students with fifty eight teachers. Most of the students paid tuition to attend and over half the educators were black. Through community commitment and Bureau cooperation black educational opportunities around the state steadily grew over the next few years with blacks supporting their schools through tuition. During 1869 two hundred sixty-seven black schools existed with a total enrollment of approximately thirteen thousand students and two hundred forty-nine teachers. Of this number eighty-seven schools were completely funded by black tuition payments. The American Missionary Association assisted in opening other schools and supplying teachers, most of whom were white.⁶⁶

John Gregg Fee, who had established a school in Madison County before the war reopened his school at Berea in 1866 and offered the only school where both races could attend on an equal basis. Fee had spent the war years at Camp Nelson teaching soldiers and their families to read and write and wished to continue this work at Berea Literary

⁶⁵Wright, *History of blacks*, 6-15.

⁶⁶ Lucas, 234-267.

Institute, now Berea College. Fee's philosophy of education was grounded in his belief that all people were equal and thus he hired black as well as white teachers for this integrated school. Additionally black and white leaders served on the school's board of trustees. Black and white students lived, studied, worked, ate, and dated each other.⁶⁷

Recognizing that most of the funding and support received for black schools was temporary, two hundred fifty black leaders held the "Colored Educational Convention" in Louisville in 1869 to discuss sustaining black schools. The following year many schools established by the Freedmen's Bureau had closed because of depleted funds while other schools faced similar fates as local support dwindled. Black leaders sought support from Louisville city leaders to establish a black school system for their city. Similarly in Lexington, black leaders eventually insisted that the city develop a city-wide school system for educating black youth. Over the years black pressure groups eventually convinced the state legislature in 1874 to establish a separate education system for the state's black population. That separate system was of course ill-funded and un-equal in every way.⁶⁸

Black opportunities for higher education were extremely limited, as the only college existing in Kentucky following the Civil War was the Baptist school known as the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute, which opened in 1879 in Louisville. The initial mission of the Institute was to train ministers and others interested in liberal arts study but in 1884 the institution changed not only its name but also its curriculum. It became State Colored Baptist University and was "Kentucky's first black owned, comprehensive educational institution." State University, later known as Simmons

⁶⁷ Paul David Nelson. "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858-1908," *Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 1 (Jan 1974): 13-27.

⁶⁸ Lucas, 244-246.

University flourished for many years on the private funds of the Baptist Church.⁶⁹

With the establishment of black public schools throughout the state, it was difficult to find enough properly trained black teachers to meet the need. Although Berea College provided many black teachers for the schools, it could not possibly meet the increasing demand. Black educators established the Colored Teachers State Association (CTSA) in 1877, selecting John H. Jackson as their leader. Jackson annually sought legislative support for a state-supported teacher training or “normal” school for blacks. At that time, several private “normal” schools existed but over the years all but State University had folded. In January 1886 the president of State University, William J. Simmons, gave a passionate plea to the Kentucky House of Representatives for a publicly supported black normal institution. Afterward the CTSA petitioning committee again requested the approval of such an institution and by May 1886, the General Assembly approved the establishment of the State Normal School for Colored Persons, now known as Kentucky State University. John H. Jackson, a Berea College graduate and Lexington native, became its first president and faculty member. Both black women and men enrolled in the college and the first graduating class included eleven students, five of whom were females, including future club woman Winnie A. Scott. The school was located at Frankfort and was later partially supported through funds from the second Morrill Land Grant Act, which supported black education in agriculture, mechanical trades, and a domestic economy curriculum for women.⁷⁰

By 1900 daily reminders of *Plessy v. Ferguson* legislation were everywhere in

⁶⁹ John A. Hardin. *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 2-4; Lucas, 214-216.

⁷⁰ John A. Hardin. *Onward and Upward: A Centennial History of Kentucky State University 1886-1986*. (Frankfort: Kentucky State University, 1987), 1-2.

Kentucky. State lawmakers took separate but equal to a new level when it declared through the 1904 Day Law that not only would public institutions be segregated but private ones as well. The passage of the Day Law, which prohibited interracial education, eliminated the opportunity for black and white students to obtain an education together at Berea College. Here again the Day Law reflected in a sense the Kentucky legislature's disdain for its black population. The Kentucky Court of Appeals, then the state's highest court, upheld the law in *Berea College v. Commonwealth*. The rationale of the Court of Appeals provides insight into the Court's views on race during this period of time. The theme of the Court was that of protecting racial purity as it maintained that separation of the human family into races was divinely ordered. The Court further stated that each race has antipathy to other races, which was nature's guard to prevent amalgamation of the races. The Court justified their decision by declaring that their actions constituted a lawful exercise of the government's police power to prevent racial mixing. The Court also contended that if the races associated, the stronger white race eventually would obliterate the weaker black race and thus it was better to keep the races separate to prevent violence and preserve the peace. Kentucky's court system had not indicated and concern for "racial mixing" during slavery however when white masters routinely raped black women and fathered their racially mixed children. Viewed as property, black women's rape was legally sanctioned and their mixed offspring served to increase the white men's economic worth, all of which was acceptable in the eyes of the court system.⁷¹

Passage of the Day Law necessitated the creation of other educational institutions and other approaches to providing high school educations for Kentucky's black youth.

⁷¹ *Berea College v. Commonwealth*, 123 Ky. 209 (Kentucky Court of Appeals, June 12, 1906)

Through the tenacity of a group of interracial leaders including Berea College's President William Frost and the board of trustees, Lincoln Institute was founded in 1911 to meet the challenge. Lincoln recruited black students from all across the state to live on its college like campus to obtain a high school diploma. Students attending Lincoln were required to pay tuition as the school like Berea College was private.⁷²

Public accommodations in Kentucky were all segregated, from railroad cars to terminal waiting rooms, to segregated parks and recreational facilities. Black doctors were not allowed to practice in white hospitals and the state had only one hospital, the Red Cross Hospital Louisville, which served patients from across the state. Most hospitals provided very limited segregated rooms and wards in basements for blacks. All black facilities when provided were always smaller, dirtier and fewer in numbers. Other accommodations required separate entrances from a back door or alley and balcony seating in theaters, or seating in the back on buses. In addition to being denied access to accommodations black Kentuckians were denied access to better paying positions as well. Beginning in 1908 blacks in Louisville were the only ones of the race with access to public libraries in Kentucky.⁷³

By 1910 Kentucky's black population had decreased to 251,890 or 11 percent of the total state population, with 41 percent of the black population living in urban areas. Having migrated from their rural homes, not much had changed for most black men as they began the twentieth century with 35 percent still serving as agricultural workers; 23 percent were laborers either in cotton mills, factories or railroads; 6 percent worked in either the tobacco industry or the coal mines; 2 percent worked in building trades while 3

⁷²Wright, *History of Blacks*, 136-139.

⁷³Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, ; John Wilkins, "Blue's Colored Branch: A 'Second Plan' that became a First in Librarianship," *American Libraries* 7(May 1976), 256.

percent still worked as servants. Some black males, however, were professionals, including 321 school teachers, 128 surgeons and doctors, 112 musicians and music teachers, and 649 ministers. The remaining men were engaged in numerous businesses including barber shops, restaurants, grocery stores, and mortuaries. In 1911 the black jockeys who once awed racing fans with their equestrian skills were barred from racing in Kentucky. Perhaps racing had become too lucrative and visible for black men to be allowed to participate.

Surprisingly, less than half of the state's black women worked outside their homes. Among those employed like their male counterparts most of them were engaged in positions similar to antebellum employment with 37 percent employed as domestic servants and another 37 percent worked as laundresses. Three percent of the women were farm employees with 1,006 black women, which was two percent of those employed, working as teachers and being paid 20% less than white teachers.⁷⁴

Blacks continued to receive limited protection against violence from law enforcement officers, some of whom were often guilty of police brutality. African Americans, who ventured outside of their prescribed public space were still subject to lynchings, beatings, torture and other violent acts. Often innocent blacks were killed simply for being in the wrong place unknowingly.⁷⁵

Some blacks had successfully purchased and maintained ownership of personal residences in the cities of Louisville and Lexington. Others purchased farms around Jefferson County with 38.5 percent of the land farmed by blacks was owned by them by 1900. Public housing for blacks was in segregated neighborhoods and most rental

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918).

⁷⁵ Wright, *History of Blacks*, 84-87.

property for blacks was sub-standard. The black community of 1910 was an inclusive place with all classes forced to live together, sharing the same streets, grocers, restaurants, tailors, schools, parks, beauty and barber shops, mortuaries, and churches. Occupational and educational status did not privilege middle and upper class blacks to escape the common people of the race.⁷⁶

Black professionals and day laborers came together on the streets daily each respectfully recognizing the other as human beings and fellow members of the black community. Although some streets in the black community may be inhabited by lower class people, for the most part the black community was not divided by class but was all together regardless of occupation and economic status. Black people knew the members of their community and were forced to interact with them at least weekly during Sunday church services. Educated blacks with professional status and financial means sought ways to assist the needy through organized means. They also sought ways to control vice, crime, and other conditions that plagued the black neighborhoods where they were all forced to live.⁷⁷

Blacks in Louisville and Lexington often received more access to public facilities and amusement opportunities than other parts of the state. The state capital in Frankfort situated between the two larger and more “progressive” cities however was not as accommodating to its black citizens. Frankfort, the home of the state supported school of higher education for blacks, supported stricter Jim Crow practices. Public access to railway cars segregated, terminal waiting rooms, segregated parks, black facilities were smaller and fewer facilities, separate entrances and seating in theaters, and no access to

⁷⁶Lucas, 276-277; Wright, *History of Blacks*, 3.

⁷⁷Wright, *History of Blacks*, 60-63.

libraries. Throughout the state of Kentucky blacks experienced inconsistent public accommodation practices.⁷⁸

Despite all these difficult and arbitrary arenas to negotiate, Kentucky's black women accepted the challenges and assumed responsibility for attacking the structures that oppressed black people guided by the principles of Republican motherhood which established women's role as nurturer, educator, and moral advocate. The responsibilities of Republican motherhood limited women to the private sphere of the home outside the male world of politics and business. Beginning in 1868 with the white women's club movement, women cultivated the tenets and terminology of true womanhood asserting decency and family values through social clubs, benevolent societies, and schools to impart their own political agenda of "Domestic Feminism" for America. They realized that the ideas of true womanhood could be applied in the public sphere through civic engagement. This new territory represented a shift from the private spheres to the public sphere that heretofore was the restricted territory of males. Women's clubs began to investigate social issues that affected their families' private lives, including public health, education, suffrage rights, and temperance. Club women reasoned that any issue that impacted home and hearth was within their domain and they constantly expanded the scope of their maternalistic boundaries as they advocated the needs of women and children in the public domain and thus paved the way for social services and welfare programs.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Wright, *History of Blacks*, 63

⁷⁹ Anne Firor Scott. *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 146.; Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*. (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980), 74.

From the beginning, Kentucky African American women fought against the injustices dictated first by state laws and later by local custom. Kentucky's black women verbalized their displeasure with second class citizenship and demanded voting rights as early as 1886. By 1892, these black women were actively engaged in other civil rights activities and protest movements. *The History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky* documents the involvement of black women in the crusade against segregation on railroad coaches and includes biographical information on those women who spoke before the legislature on the issue of discrimination on Kentucky's railroads. Among the women speaking in contestation of the proposed separate coach legislation were future club women Mary V. Cook and Mary E. Britton. Britton's speech was subsequently published in the *Lexington Leader* newspaper. Further evidence exists that before the Anti-Separate Coach Movement, many black women such as Belle Smoot and Silena Gray purchased first class tickets and sat in the "white only" sections of railroad cars before being forcibly removed by authorities for refusing to move to the smoking car. Both women sued the railroad company. Silena Gray, from Lexington sued the Cincinnati Southern Railroad Company. Belle Smoot who was traveling with her husband Edward J. Smoot sued the Kentucky Central Railroad Company arguing that the railroad had denied her equal protection under the law because of the racially discriminatory seating regulations. Smoot provided documentation of the inferior smoking coach in support of her case. Many of the women in these activist roles through religious and secular affiliations later formed the Kentucky Association of Colored Women (KACW) in 1903 through which they developed their leadership and networking skills for their struggle against Kentucky's racist policies. KACW members articulated

their concerns about education, child care, health care, child labor, suffrage, temperance, and social justice, which eventually exposed the need for legislation in these areas.⁸⁰

Because of the social welfare policies of the New “Jim Crow” South, Kentucky blacks were forced to continue providing their own social services. The welfare and social services of the larger society either did not include blacks or provided segregated services which were inferior and never adequate to meet the black communities’ needs. Recognizing their shared needs and limited resources and alternatives, black women united in the struggle for social equality in a society determined to exclude, demean, exploit, or ignore them. These black women initiated a pro-active response to social and economic problems in their community under insurmountable odds to provide social services for the black community. Although black women did not have access to the level of personal financial wealth, or enjoy the security of protection from violence, or have the same publicity opportunities, as white club women, they still initiated every progressive reform that white women instigated. Within the black community existed an informal system of social welfare and self-help programs. By the turn of the century, Kentucky blacks had already established many community and church programs to assist the needy. Louisville’s Fifth Street Baptist Church began in the early 1870s to provide clothing for the poor, to finance indigent members’ funerals as well as giving financial assistance of \$1 per week to aid its destitute members. By the late 1800s both Louisville and Lexington had established orphans home which were generously supported by women's clubs of various churches. Other women’s organizations emerged to support

⁸⁰ S.E. Smith, *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky y containing half-tone cuts and biographical sketches*. (Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory, 1895).; Mary E. Britton. “A Woman’s Appeal: To Members of the Kentucky General Assembly.” *Lexington Leader*, April 19, 1892, p.3, cols. 3-4.; *Smoot v. Kentucky Central RR*, 13 F.337 (C.C. Ky. 1882).; *Gray v. Cincinnati Southern Railroad Company*, 11 Fed 683 (1882).

schools, hospital services, mother's training, and kindergarten programs in the black community.⁸¹

The work of black women was part of the racial uplift philosophy fostered by elite black women such as Anna Julia Cooper and Mary Margaret Washington. Through racial uplift, a self-help concept, blacks sought to improve/refurbish the black image through moral and material improvements -thereby becoming respectable. Historian Kevin Gaines demonstrates that through the cooperation of white political and business leaders, black elites hoped to become part of mainstream America by espousing certain standards, including obtaining higher education, adopting Victorian ethical and moral practices, maintaining a stable home and family, fostering the majority population's cultural ways and becoming more charitable. Their ideas and images of respectability were based solely on the larger society's tastes. Those subscribing to the uplift philosophy were not especially concerned with the plight of the lower classes which resulted in difficult intra relations within the black community. They differed in opinion when it came to issues like black migration, labor unions, and morality issues among other. The racial uplift ideology posed conflicting values for many elite blacks who tried to dispel racial stereotypes and racist biological claims of black inferiority while they themselves clearly articulated negative attitudes of black lower classes.⁸²

Because the blueprint for racial uplift also stressed a patriarchal structure, women were expected to take a back seat to the men, which created a strained relationship in many black households, as black women had always fought side-by-side black men in all

⁸¹ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.), 174.

⁸² Kevin K. Gaines. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.)

racial struggles. Outspoken black clubwoman Anna Julia Cooper complained about the emphasis on black manliness within the uplift philosophy and stated that racial improvement was impossible without the protection of the race's women. She further advocated for black women's education as an uplift component. Nationally black women faced conflicting and contradictory factors and diverse ideologies as they attempted to fit model a society that was unfortunately defined by their exclusion.⁸³

Black women were struggling with issues that negatively impacted their families welfare such as inadequate housing, limited employment opportunities, scant wages, insufficient clothing for all family members, rising fuel costs, and sub-standard segregated schools. In the black community they were plagued with unsanitary conditions, crime, vice, and in "defense of themselves" they were fighting the white male constructed "immoral black woman" which threatened and disparaged all black women. They needed to learn how to organize themselves and sought power through the only organization available to them at the time—the black church.⁸⁴

⁸³ Anna Julia Cooper. *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. (Xenia, OH: The Aldine Printing House, 1892).

⁸⁴ Deborah Gray White. *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

Chapter Three

On this Rock I Will Build my Nation: Community Work among Black Church Women

“Our Club life is the outgrowth of the encouragement and inspiration which the Church has given to the work of women in the Church and, as a ‘little leaven will leaven the whole,’ so have the small beginnings of organized work among women led to these general movements, both state and national that have brought out so prominently the great possibilities of Christian womanhood.”⁸⁵

Historian August Meier once said that if a black person did not belong to a church he was not part of the black community. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham asserts that from 1880-1920 the church was “the most powerful institution of racial self-help in the African American community.” She further expresses the roles that the church performed by saying, “Since the time of slavery, the church had provided an emotional and spiritual bulwark against individual demoralization and defeat. . . The black church constituted an arena in which poor, racially oppressed men and women assembled, freely voiced their opinions, and exhibited a sense of national community.” This chapter focuses on a small group of black Baptist Church women whose early activism was through the church and their accomplishments as part of their Christian ministry to the community. All major black denominations had established community organizations and institutions by the late 19th and early 20th centuries through which to advance their philosophy of racial self-help. These denominations were rich with women working tirelessly for their community through church supported programs as the major infrastructure for the black community. One of the principals of racial uplift was the adoption of moral and Christian values, which was typified by the majority of club women who actively participated in the

⁸⁵ Mamie E. Steward. “Afro-American Women and the Church.” *Colored American Magazine*, 12:1(January 1907):58.

various churches in the black community. The significance of the black church in African American communities can never be over emphasized, as it was from its beginnings the first and foremost self-help institution established by blacks. The black church, literally the backbone of the community, served as the foundation for much constructive activity within black communities nationwide. In America, the black church grew out of what has been termed the liberation tradition, which views the Christian community as the oppressed who join Jesus Christ in the struggle for the liberation of humankind. The resurrection of Jesus conveyed hope in God. White ministers always wanted blacks to teach the text of the Bible only, but the black clergy had other ideas and taught what the community needed to hear, whether it related to religion or local politics. Black ministers articulated hope in God to its congregation in such a way that the oppressed were willing to risk all to obtain their earthly freedom, which was possible through Jesus. Liberation theology also included radical revolutionary activity that in certain circumstances supported the use of violence to achieve freedom and justice.⁸⁶

The black church grew out of the conversion of slaves to Christianity by white ministers. Beginning in the 18th century, some white congregations began to include slave populations in their church. Slave masters used religion to reinforce slavery by teaching their slaves that they were the cursed children of Ham and destined to be oppressed workers. Generally, blacks were seated in segregated sections of the church and were often not allowed to participate fully in religious ceremonies such as communion. For the black members of St. George Methodist Church in Philadelphia

⁸⁶ August Meier. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971); Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 1, 47.; James H. Cone. *Black Theology of Liberation*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Book, 1986); C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990).

sitting in segregated spaces with religious restrictions placed on them was more than they were willing to accept. Under the leadership of Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, their dignity forced many of them to abandon the church rather than remain subjected to the degrading religious conditions there. They also sought greater control of their spiritual life and broader participation in their church's total operation. In 1787, Allen and Jones established the Free African Society in Philadelphia and then in 1794 Allen became pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, later affectionately known as Mother Bethel. In 1816 the African Methodist Episcopal denomination was formed when Bethel AME Church joined with other black Methodist churches in Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey naming Richard Allen as its first bishop. This was the first black controlled denomination in America and like its successors, quickly became a vital part of the African American community. When it was established, it had 20,000 members. By the end of the Civil War, its membership had more than tripled to 75,000 and exceeded 200,000 by 1876. Despite its early successes, the African Methodist Episcopal Church never succeeded in generating the membership that Baptist churches received.⁸⁷

From 1800 through the 1860s independent black churches spread in Northern cities including New York, Boston, Providence, Brooklyn, and Wilmington, Delaware. At the same time that black churches expanded in Northern cities, blacks were also seeking control over sacred life in the South. Southern blacks were isolated from mainstream America, and their churches served them on many levels including in their

⁸⁷Harry V. Richardson. *Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism Among Blacks in America*. (New York: Anchor Press, 1976); Richard S. Newman. *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers*. (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

educational, social, and political life. In the South the church was the community with all aspects of black life reflected there. During slavery, political, economic, educational, cultural and social institutions were illegal for blacks so the black family and black church were the only significant community institutions. Because they were slaves, control over their family was at the whim of the masters leaving the church as the only institution that African Americans controlled. Their churches served as the primary forum for addressing their social, cultural, educational, and political, as well as religious needs. Slave religion played a major role in the survival of slaves by preventing complete dehumanization. Slaves identified with the liberation stories in the Bible and its promise of freedom from oppression. They saw themselves as modern day Israelites and like Moses and his people expected liberation. Some black ministers preached liberation and encouraged slaves to run away and not turn the other cheek but to lash out against the oppressors. Historically, Southern black religious leaders instigated the three largest slave revolts in U. S. history through ministers Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831). Additionally, in his 1829 *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, a minister named David Walker openly advocated killing whites to obtain freedom from bondage.⁸⁸

Southern whites were very suspicious of black ministers and the development of black churches. They remembered Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner and were reasonably fearful of losing power over blacks, who saw themselves as being in Egyptian bondage like Moses as was evident in their spirituals and sermons. As a result, some states forbade black preachers. However, when black church membership increased in their

⁸⁸Edward D. Smith. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988) 75-100.

white churches, some Southern Baptist and Methodist churches agreed to support black branches as long as they could maintain some control over those congregations. Although Southern Presbyterians tried to keep blacks in their churches after the Civil War, blacks refused to remain under their control and instruction. Southern black Presbyterians did not want to belong to any other denomination but wanted their own separate churches with their own trained ministers.⁸⁹

After emancipation most freed people in the South became fundamentalists, either Baptists or Methodists. Their Protestant beliefs varied greatly even within the same denomination as churches sprang up all over the Southern landscape. Their ministers were generally highly regarded as community leaders and commanded a broad support base, which accounted for over one hundred of them being elected to political positions following emancipation. The black church remained considerably more entrenched in the Southern black community, especially the rural areas, than in the North although the Northern cities had far greater resources.⁹⁰

Baptists organized the Consolidated American Baptist Convention in 1867, which later dissolved. Between 1880 and 1893, three smaller conventions emerged, the Foreign Mission Baptist Convention (1880), the American National Baptist Convention (1886), and the Baptist National Education Convention (1893). Through the merger of the three conventions in 1895, the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. was formed. At the turn of the century, the black Baptist Church with its membership divided between the National Baptist Convention of America and the National Baptist Convention of the

⁸⁹ Ibid.; Harry A. Ploski and James Williams, eds. *Reference Library of Black America*. 5 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1990). ; Ernest Trice Thompson. "Black Presbyterians, Education, and Evangelism after the Civil War." In *Church and Community Among Black Southerners 1865-1900*, edited by Donald G. Nieman. (New York: Garland, 1994), 302-326.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

U.S.A., was a major power in black communities nationwide. Followed by the memberships of the Baptist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, two other black Methodists denominations shared in attracting black church members, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1796) and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (1870), later known as the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.⁹¹

During Reconstruction, black preachers became important elected and appointed political leaders especially in the South. After the Compromise of 1877, which effectively ended Reconstruction in the South and restored control of state governments to the Democrats, black people were forced out of Southern politics. The black church then became the most available center for black political activity. At church individual preachers could struggle for power, and the masses could voice their choice for leadership through voting, committee work, and holding various church offices. Black preachers emerged as the leaders in all phases of community life. They motivated black people to build schools and to contribute to denominational colleges; they encouraged homeownership and even helped some to become homeowners; they provided leadership in civic activities; and they often served as the main link between the black community and white officials. More importantly, many churches and ministers became actively involved in the struggle for black liberation. They joined the struggles for jobs and housing and fought against lynching.

Between 1915 and 1950 black churches in the Northern cities went through a tremendous growth period as a result of migration from rural southern areas. This increase did not result from a phenomenal religious awakening but rather blacks

⁹¹ John P. Davis, ed. *The American Negro Reference Book*. (Yonkers, NY: Educational Heritage, 1966), 402.

transferred their memberships from their Southern church to the Northern churches. Most blacks always held church memberships as the church served to connect them to the community. Blacks welcomed the self-direction and control that black churches offered the community.⁹²

Black ministers preached racial pride, self-determination, racial uplift, and full citizenship participation. The independent black church was a dominant and stable institution which served to develop its community by building schools to educate the race; serving as the conscience to the white community's leadership; voicing its demands for equal rights; speaking out for women's suffrage ; leading organized protests; providing a safe haven for the oppressed; objecting to the Jim Crow laws and separate-but-equal legislation; intervening and serving as mediators between black and white communities; spreading the church's work in African countries through missionary work; and developing leaders through the organizational genius of the black church.⁹³

Church leadership voiced the tenets of the racial uplift model including the ideas of racial solidarity, race pride, and economic reliance. One of the major goals for black churches was the education of their race and consequently many black churches also served as schools for elementary education until separate buildings were built for that purpose. Black churches supported and encouraged their congregations to support black establishments.

In Kentucky the emergence of black-only churches also gained momentum following the Civil War. Prior to that period Kentucky blacks attended white churches

⁹² Lincoln and Mamiya. 119-122.

⁹³ In the black church every group whether it's the choir, the youth group, the missionary society, lay society, etc. operates as a committee or other organized group with officers, goals, a fund raising component, program development, etc., and as such serves as a leadership training ground.

with segregated black sections and when the black parishioners died they were buried in segregated areas of the church graveyards. Baptist churches in Kentucky were the most vigorous among black congregations. They were also the first to host a convention, the State Convention of Colored Baptists, which met in 1865 in Louisville. The power of the pulpit in politics was evident early in Louisville where Baptist ministers, Rev. William Simmons, Rev. Charles H. Parrish, and others, wielded considerable power within their community as well as received major support from white benefactors who rewarded them with patronage positions for their congregations.⁹⁴

While the white majority viewed the black male ministers as the official voice of the black community, sermonizing about immorality, alcohol, gambling, sloth, cleanliness, thrift, and adultery, black church women took the lead in alleviating the community's ills. One of the first sites in which black women sought to empower themselves in order to effect social change was the black church. At the turn of the century, black churches remained the most important institutional resource for black citizens in Kentucky, as elsewhere. In a world where public institutions were controlled by whites, black life revolved around the African American church. The church opened its doors to all sacred and secular groups thus served as a public space for blacks. The church often functioned as a black school and sometimes offered such services as vocational education, circulating library collections, and athletic, scholarly, and literary clubs to the community at large. As a public space for the black community, it became the meeting place for any large gathering. The church hosted music concerts, plays, political rallies, literary readings, fraternal meetings, club women's conventions, as well

⁹⁴ Lucas, p.210; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham . *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Lewis G. Jordan. *Negro Baptist History U.S.A. 1750-1930*. (Nashville: National Baptist Convention, 1930), 246.

as serving as a house of worship. Many black denominations also housed their publishing house in the church. Through the church's many roles, the black community was unified and voiced racial solidarity and uplift agendas. Church leaders saw one of the church's most important roles—a moral role—as “uplifting the race” in order to achieve collective progress. In Negro Convention speeches, newspapers, tracts, and other venues, these leaders called for moral advancement. These leaders were men; but they saw responsibility for moral uplift of the succeeding generations as resting with black women in their role of raising children and inculcating in them good, Christian moral values.

The moral position of black women in the wider culture was historically contradictory. Before the Civil War, whites denigrated the morality of enslaved black women as an excuse before, and a judgment after, raping them, and to justify the refusal to respect families they formed. Black women were not recognized as exemplary mothers or even viewed as respectable persons. The prevailing image of women of color was that of an immoral, promiscuous, irresponsible, sexual predator. Winthrop Jordan points out that for many whites “black women's bodies epitomized centuries-long European perceptions of Africans as primitive, animal-like, and savage.” Attitudes about blacks as other than human and their sexuality as other than normal not only served to support slavery and sanction the sexual exploitation of black women, but also created a definition of black women as carnal, savage, deviant, and promiscuous. Stereotypical advertising and cultural icons like *Birth of a Nation* and “Jim Crow” policies also attempted to define blacks in generally negative, sexually deviant, non-productive,

stereotypical terms. Further, whites held black women responsible for the perceived pathological state of the black family, and black culture.⁹⁵

But among communities of slaves and later freedmen, black women were not merely the social but also the moral bond that nurtured and educated children and held the entire community together. At the turn of the century, while men were the “formal” leaders of black churches, it was black women who did much of the actual moral and spiritual work. As public roles for all American women widened, assuming more visible roles in church work and especially in the kinds of community-building activities that expanded outward from the churches became a way for black women not only to support “uplift” by asserting moral leadership in black families but also to demonstrate to the white community that black women were good, virtuous citizens worthy of public respect. This, too, would be a crucial aspect of black “uplift.”

Being faithful, hardworking members of their churches, black women served their communities through the many programs they organized within these churches. As they learned to lead and organize through their community-oriented church work, they

⁹⁵ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible”: A Reader in Black Women’s History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 11. Elsa Barkley Brown, “‘What Has Happened Here’: The Politics of Difference in Women’s History and Feminist Politics,” in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible”: A Reader in Black Women’s History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 47. Elsa Barkley Brown reminds us that black women were most often described as sexual predators. Brown states, “Throughout U.S. history Black women have been sexually stereotyped as immoral, insatiable, perverse; the initiators in all sexual contacts -- abusive or otherwise.” Tullia K. Brown Hamilton, “*The National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1920*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1978, p.13. In 1902, a columnist for *The Independent*, a periodical, wrote, “I sometimes hear of a virtuous Negro woman but the idea is absolutely inconceivable to me . . . I cannot imagine a creature as a virtuous Negro woman.”; E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). Rickie Solinger, “Race and ‘Value’: Black and White Illegitimate Babies, in the U.S., 1945-65,” in Vicki Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, eds. *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-cultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History, 2nd edition* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 463-78. Solinger’s research further relates the acceptance of the black women as sexually immoral beings as testimony to “Negro” culture. Solinger shows that from 1945 to 1965, white culture still defined black culture as pathological and black females as “irresponsible and amoral.”

gradually began to form new groups, assume leadership positions in those groups, and to demand leadership positions in the churches themselves. Black women, who saw their work for Christ as their calling, focused on church related activities every day, not just on Sundays.

Within the black church, most black freed women remained voiceless initially much like the white women. However, black women in some denominations challenged the control men held over them in the church such as the black women in the National Baptist Convention, which witnessed a power struggle in 1900 that eventually led to women forming their own separate convention, controlled by them without male dictates. The women's revolt included among its leadership several women from Kentucky who later became charter members of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women. Other black denominations witnessed similar challenges including the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) whose women negotiated specific leadership positions to be under their domain, and they could serve as ministers within their churches.⁹⁶

Several Kentucky Baptist women, who refused to have their voices muted and their leadership limited, worked with other women to call for their own convention. They rejected the male voice as the only valid authority in their churches. The efforts of black women to acquire a separate space in the male controlled black Baptist Church were similar to the struggle of black women in other Protestant denominations, where women also sought power. Several authors recognized the power that women possessed from their sheer numbers alone. They held three forms of power: the majority of the membership was women, they controlled numerous church organizations, and their

⁹⁶ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; The Women's Convention was also known as the Baptist Women's Missionary League and the Women's Auxiliary Convention.; Jualynne E. Dodson. *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the AME Church*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002).

fundraising abilities were unsurpassed. It was through the many church sponsored organizations that they amassed a sizable amount of funding for their churches' expenses. Because the numerous activities sponsored by the women-led organizations were highly valued community programs, the church could not discontinue providing them to their congregations. Membership numbers along with their many organizational programs and their financial acumen allowed the negotiation of formal positions of power and the implementation of new female focused policies including women's right to preach.⁹⁷

Through their church and broader philanthropic works black women promoted the philosophy of racial uplift, a self-help concept which seeks to improve/refurbish the black image through moral and material improvements that mirror the larger society's definition of respectability and refinement. Racial uplift also incorporates the aspirations for educational attainment, the adoption of Victorian ethical and moral practices, the maintenance of stable homes and families, assimilation into the dominant culture by adopting many cultural values of the mainstream and contributing to charitable causes. The lives of these black women, socialized through family, community, and educational spheres, challenged the majority culture's ideas of black womanhood and motherhood and served as models of the racial uplift ideology.⁹⁸

Black women were particularly important in the activities of Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal (AME), African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) churches in

⁹⁷ Jualynne E. Dodson. *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the A.M.E. Church*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).

⁹⁸ Stephanie Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Shaw investigates the lives of black women who were socialized through family, community, and educational spheres. Clement's life mirrors the "socially responsible individualism" model explored by Shaw, which produced women who were driven to work for the development of the black community.; Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Kentucky. Recognizing their worth to these denominations, Kentucky's black women became involved in contesting patriarchal power within their churches. Although black women in all denominations were engaged in questioning their limited church roles, the focus here will be the Baptist Church women as they were the largest denomination in the state. The lives of these black Kentucky church women exemplify the way in which involvement with the black church led to increasingly activist roles advocating women's leadership, first within the church itself and then in increasingly public spheres for advocating racial uplift, philanthropy, and political agendas.

A number of the outspoken Baptist women were journalists and teachers at State University in Louisville, Kentucky. Lucy Wilmot Smith, Mamie (Lee) Steward and Mary Virginia Cook each addressed their concerns for the equality of women inside and outside the church through Baptist publications such as the *American Baptist* and *Our Women and Children*. These early female activists, born between 1858 and 1863, were later joined by the next generation via Nannie Helen Burroughs in advancing their ideas through the patriarchal structure of the Baptist church.⁹⁹

In 1883, Reverend William J. Simmons called together the first statewide Baptist women's convention which focused on higher education. Among the women assembled were Smith, Cook, and Steward, who were instrumental in the success of this female led missionary organization, which served to recruit youths to State University, secure funds to pay for the University's property, build a girl's dormitory, and to develop a more missionary spirit among its members. They served on the Board of Managers of the new organization identified as the Baptist Women's Educational Convention of Kentucky

⁹⁹ L. A. Scruggs. *Women of Distinction: Remarkable in Works and Invincible in Character*. (Raleigh, NC: Scruggs, 1893), 121-128.

overseeing the successful completion of countless projects over the course of their lives. They also agitated for increased responsibility, for a separate woman's convention, and other issues specific to women.

In 1886, Lucy Wilmot Smith first gained attention in an 1886 appearance before the American National Baptist Convention (ANBC) where she delivered a speech called "The Future Colored Girl." The ANBC was a relatively young organization and the majority of its delegates were men. Smith, who served as historian for the ANBC, advocated for expanded employment opportunities for women in this speech. She rejected the idea that males and females receive different educational training. She further suggested that women pursue alternative careers in photography, nursing, journalism, and agricultural areas of beekeeping, dairy and poultry farming, and gardening. Smith, who never married, showed disdain for the practice of promoting marriage and dependence on males rather than encouraging women to seek careers and be self-supporting. "It is one of the evils of the day that from babyhood girls are taught to look forward to the time when they will be supported by a father, a brother, or somebody's [sic] else brother."¹⁰⁰

Smith was not alone among black Kentucky women in supporting non-traditional female careers, as Mary V. Cook also voiced this sentiment. However, Cook strictly endorsed professional positions in areas such as medicine, education, law, and journalism rather than agricultural occupations or positions as domestics which she deemed subordinate. Both represented the educated women within the church and both taught at State University, the Baptist denominational school in Louisville. They recognized the

¹⁰⁰ Lucy Wilmot Smith, "The Future Colored Girl." *Minutes and Address of the American National Baptist Convention, Held at St. Louis, Mo., August 25-29, 1886 in the First Baptist Church.* (Jackson MS: J.J. Spelman Pub., 1886), 68-74.

need for expanding not only educational opportunities and employment prospects for women but also control of women's role within the church. Smith and Cook, both single women, expressed their frustration with the limits placed on them within the church by male leadership. Both were most likely born, into slavery, with Smith in 1861 and Cook in 1863. Both women had also struggled with poverty as children and into young adulthood. Smith had to start teaching school at the age of sixteen to support her mother while Cook was almost denied an education because of limited resources. Thus as educators they recognized the value of higher education for all who are capable and as single women they understood that education provided employment positions beyond domestic arenas. Smith who died at the age of twenty-eight, never married, while Mary V. Cook waited until she was thirty-five before taking a husband.¹⁰¹

Mamie E. Lee however, had a very different background. On May 25, 1858, she was born to free persons of color Isaac and Caroline Lee in Lexington, Kentucky, and never endured the hardships of poverty or slavery. Indeed, Mamie's parents were prominent members of Lexington's black community and were able to send her to private schools for her education. Mamie Lee had a propensity for music which she taught at State University. Consistent with the politics of respectability, on April 25, 1878, she married William Henry Steward, Louisville's first black mail carrier. The Lee-Steward wedding was well attended because of the popularity and importance of both people in Lexington and Louisville. After the wedding, Mary Steward not only continued teaching music but also headed the Music Department, a position she held for more than forty years. She was described as a "beloved and popular teacher" as well as a splendid

¹⁰¹ Mary V. Cook. "Woman's Place in the Work of the Denomination." *Journals and Lectures*. (Mobile, AL: American National Baptist Convention, 1887): 50-56.

musician at State University. Within her community, she was always highly regarded for her skills as a mother and wife. Her household was said to be the “model home.”

Although she was a mother with primary responsibility for four children, Mamie’s contributions to the black community were considerable. Much of Steward’s life was focused on church activities through her husband William Steward’s involvement with Baptist Church publications. Their marriage provided significant opportunity for her to effect changes in both the community and the church they served. Like Cook and Smith, Mamie Steward was active in church work, taught at State University, and wrote for the Baptist publications, spreading the message of the church as it applied to women’s moral responsibility for racial uplift, child upbringing, and community improvements. She too worked with various other groups in the community.¹⁰²

Steward’s Christian concern for the welfare of others was manifested in her work as president of the Ladies Sewing Circle, which was organized in 1877. The Sewing Circle supported the Colored Orphans’ Home in Louisville by providing a variety of services as well as furnishing bed linens and bath towels, making clothing for the children, and paying staff salaries. Steward served on the Board of Directors for the Orphans Home and was secretary to that group of volunteers who governed the home’s activities. As one of the founders of the Baptist Women’s Educational Convention, Steward was elected as the first president, a position she held for the next thirty years. She too worked within the group of women advocating for the separate Women’s Convention. Once the Women’s Convention was established, she became active in its

¹⁰² Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, 240-242.

work as well. On the local church level, Steward dedicated her energies as the Fifth Street Baptist Church's organist for forty-seven years.¹⁰³

Steward also articulated a radical stance within the Baptist church and encouraged the ministers and laymen to utilize the tremendous resources they possessed in the women of the church. Steward's female perspective often was voiced through Baptist publications, and she frequently submitted words of encouragement to the members through *National Notes*, the official publication of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. One particular article published in 1898 addressed the effective utilization of women in the Baptist church. In her writing, Steward expressed her frustrations about the dedicated work among the church's women and articulated her concerns to the Baptist community in a bold statement that "no good work is inaugurated or prosecuted in which she [woman] is not an interested and ardent worker." She further criticized ministers for not encouraging and advising women church workers instead of objecting to the quality activities of the women on behalf of the church. Steward documented the prominence of women in the church, stating that three-fourths of the church membership was women and nine-tenths of the Sunday school teachers were also women. She pointed out that the expectation was that women perform missionary work, as all churches had Women's Missionary Societies and none had societies for men's mission work although some men did assist the women's work in that area. Steward reminded her readers that most of the "money raised for denominational enterprises comes from her [women's] scantily filled pocket book." This fact clearly was demonstrated during Steward's years as president of the Baptist Women's Education

¹⁰³ Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, 240-242.

Convention Board of Kentucky, where the women raised \$100,000. Steward concluded her remarks by advising the Baptist men to utilize the church's women to further the work of the National Baptist Convention as the women were the denomination's strength. Steward had written and circulated them widely through Baptists publications.¹⁰⁴

The most prolific writer and lecturer of Kentucky's visible church women was Mary Virginia Cook Parrish. Her activism in the church and the community was heard first as a young teacher seeking equal pay for her work at the church supported school and then in the church noting the accomplishments of women for the betterment of the community. She did not allow any to silence her as she worked with other like-minded women to carve out a separate space for women's Christian work in the Baptist Church.

Mary Virginia Cook was born a slave on April 8, 1863, in slave-holding Kentucky to a slave named Ellen Buckner in Bowling Green. No mention has been found of her father; however, her last name of Cook implies that this was either her father's last name or the name of her mother's owners as was the common practice for slaves. It is most likely that Mary Cook was fathered by her mother's owner, as the census records note her race as "mulatto" and label her mother as black. According to biographical sources, she decided to devote her life to Christ at an early age and worked to move others to do the same. She was approximately 2 years old when slavery ended, which afforded her an opportunity for public education in segregated schools. As a young girl she also demonstrated an interest in learning and fared well in the colored public schools; she won citywide reading and spelling competitions in which both black and white

¹⁰⁴ Mamie E. Steward. "Woman in the Church." *The National Baptist Magazine* 6(Aug-Oct 1898), 147-148; Davis, *Lifting as they Climb* 240-242.; *National Notes*, 16 no. 5(May 1913), 4. Reel 23 *National Association of Colored Women's Clubs Papers*, Microfilm.;

students vied for the coveted prizes. Her achievements earned her the respect of Rev. Allen Allensworth, an African American minister, who sought the assistance of white Baptists in Boston to help Mary with her educational needs. Through the financial assistance of the American Baptist Women's Hope Society who paid her tuition, she enrolled in State University, a private denominational school in Louisville, which later became known as Simmons University in 1881. There Mary won numerous academic awards. She also served as president of the Young Men and Young Women's Christian Association and president of the school's literary society. She was committed to the YWCA goals to "promote growth in Christian character and service through physical, social, mental and spiritual training and to become a social force for the extension of the kingdom of God." The YWCA campus chapters provided religious college women an opportunity to "translate their religion into practical Christian living." It was not uncommon for church affiliated colleges to sponsor YMCA and YWCA chapters, which supported the denomination's evangelistic teachings. Parrish's early exposure to the work of the YWCA through her affiliation with the student movement in college later led her to work with others to establish a branch of the YWCA in Louisville.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), p.695. This is the only source to give the exact date of birth for Cook. All others estimate her birth year as around 1863; U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*. (Bowling Green, Warren, Kentucky, p. 54) ; U. S. Bureau of the Census. *United States Federal Census. 1880*. (Bowling Green, Warren, Kentucky, p. 29). Although she refers to herself as Cook, both the 1870 and 1880 census give her the name Buckner which is inaccurate and assumes because her mother Ellen has married Richard Buckner and they lived together as a family in Bowling Green that she is his daughter. Both Richard and Ellen Buckner are listed as black. All other publications always refer to her as Mary V. Cook and say she was born to Ellen Buckner.; I. Garland Penn. *The Afro-American Press, and its Editors*. (Springfield: MA, Willey & Co., 1891), 368-370. ; Mary S. Sims. *The YWCA – An Unfolding Purpose* (New York: Woman's Press, 1950) 57-59; The student movement of the YWCA began in 1873 at Illinois State Normal University. Prior to that, college women participated in student YMCA chapters. Apparently, State University combined the two groups.; *YWCA Records*, Box 3, University of Louisville.

Upon graduating from State University, the school's administration selected her as a permanent teacher as well as principal in the school's Normal Department, where she taught mathematics and Latin. While serving in these capacities, she continued her education and completed the A.B. degree at State University in 1887. Cook remained in the teacher-principal position at State until she took a similar job at the Eckstein Norton University in 1892.¹⁰⁶

Beginning in 1886, Mary Virginia Cook took up her pen and wrote, "Nothing but Leaves" for the *American Baptist* in which she said, "the highest aim of God's creation is our fruit-bearing." Later in 1887 she edited a column in the *South Carolina Tribune* and at the same time began editing a column in the *American Baptist* under the Nom de plume Grace Ermine. Within the American Baptist Publishing House in Louisville, she was the editor for the educational division of *Our Women and Children*. During that year at the age of twenty-four, she published a paper titled "Woman's Place in the Work of the Denomination" which articulated her beliefs and revealed how she defined her work within the church. In this essay she lamented the routine criminal, licentious, and immoral behavior in America. She spoke of the government's failure to address these issues as either a corrupt lack of concern or as too fearful to attack the wickedness.

"Who is to wipe those iniquities from our land if it be not Christian women? A reform in these things can not be effected [sic] by ballot, by political station, or by mere supremacy of civil law. It must come by woman's unswerving devotion to a pure and undefiled Christianity, for to that alone, woman owes her influence, her power and all she is."

¹⁰⁶ Hartshorn, W. N. *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro since His Emancipation*. Boston: Priscilla Publishing, 1910.

It was clear to Cook that church work required sacrifice to accomplish the denomination's goals and thus women, "must die daily to selfishness, pride, vanity, a lying tongue, a deceitful heart and walk worthy of the calling in Christ Jesus."¹⁰⁷

In most of her essays, Mary Cook illustrated her points with stories about various women in the Bible to strengthen her arguments for women's broader inclusion in church affairs. In some of her later essays, she used the lives of contemporary women such as Ida B. Wells to demonstrate female advancement in adverse situations for racial equality. Speaking to Baptists across the denomination in this essay, she thanked the men for allowing women to participate both on the program and during the convention's deliberations and assured them that through the church's inclusion and moral principles women would become free. She encouraged women to seek a variety of professions including medicine, journalism, education and linguistics. She chastised the Baptist church for using Paul's admonition to a woman to be silent in church against "the pious women of the present."¹⁰⁸

About racial uplift and black womanhood, Cook explained, "A home can not be raised above the mother, nor the race above the type of womanhood, and no women are more ready to respond to the call than the women of the Baptist Church." She further appealed to the men of the church to take advantage of the good works that women are willing to perform on behalf of the denomination. She defined church women's roles broadly, removing them from the church and extending them in multiple arenas when she stated that, "This work is not exclusively confined to the churches, but to orphans,

¹⁰⁷ Penn, 373-374; Mary V. Cook. "Woman's Place in the Work of the Denomination." in *Journals and Lectures*. American National Baptist Convention, Mobile, AL, *Journal and Lectures* (1887) 45-56; *Ibid.*, 46; *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁰⁸ Cook, *Woman's Place*, 188-189.

asylums, hospitals, prisons, alms-houses, on the street, in the home, up the alleys, and in places where human souls are found, has woman, with her love for Christ and fallen humanity, found her way, amid the jeers and scorn of those who were too selfish to care for any other save self and household.” As her written work became popular, she was asked to lecture in many venues. One of her early works, “The Work for Baptist Women,” was published as a chapter in the *Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers on Baptist Doctrine and Missionary and Educational Work*. She was the only woman whose work was included in this text.¹⁰⁹

A later article, “Our Women,” began “There is nothing in which I am so interested as the progress of our women and the proper training of our children. I am so pleased to say our woman [sic] are not asleep, especially in the southland.” This passage summed up her life and her activist focus. In this writing, she outlined the many accomplishments of black women and praised the work of women who had overcome the adversity of slavery like herself. She condemned white mob violence and uttered concern for safety and protection. She believed that by training both boys and girls to be virtuous and to pursue honorable professions they would avoid the reckless life, which results from alcohol and fornication. She expressed a need for intelligent, articulate women with integrity and morals to lead the race. She reprimanded women who were self-absorbed and did not support the race in uplift endeavors. She called for women trained in the domestic, agricultural, and business trades of “sewing, cooking, tailoring, printing, short-hand and typewriting, sericulture, horticulture, stock raising, designing, civil

¹⁰⁹ Cook, *Woman's Place*, 190,194.; Mary V. Cook. “The Work for Baptist Women.” in Edward M. Brawley, ed. *The Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers, by Colored Baptist Ministers*. Reprint. (Freemont, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971[c.1890]), 271-286. The book was first published by the American Baptist Publication Society in 1890 edited by E.M. Brawley, as *The Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers on Baptist Doctrine and Missionary and Educational Work*. First published by the American Baptist Publication Society in 1890.

engineering, household ethics” to instruct black youth so they could make a living through more lucrative positions than “subservient” ones.¹¹⁰

In 1887, along with Rev. Charles Parrish, Cook organized the King’s Daughters Missionary Society, also known as King’s Daughters Equal Burden Bearers. The Burden Bearers was established to work with the needs of the poor, the unsaved and outcast; to welcome people to the church; and to assist the community and church needs. The group’s activities were primarily carried out by the church’s women, who visited the sick, nursed and medicated the infirm, cleaned and furnished some rooms, provided food, and sometimes paid people’s rent. They also helped with funeral expenses for the poor, or find homes and good families for others.¹¹¹

Cook’s work and presence within the Baptist denomination was extensive, as she worked with both the American National Baptist and the National Baptist groups. Within the Calvary Baptist Church, she was missionary secretary and corresponding secretary of the Sons and Daughters of Calvary. She was one of the founders of the Women’s Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, also known as the Women’s Convention, in 1900 along with Virginia Broughton, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and others. In 1908, she became treasurer of the Women’s Convention. They also elected her as State Vice President for the Convention during her years with the body. Her missionary labors lead to her selection as the corresponding secretary of the State Baptist Women’s Missionary Convention for 43 years, from its inception in 1903 until her death in 1945. Early in her church career, she became involved with the work of the Baptist Women’s Educational Convention (established in 1883) and served on their Board of Managers, securing funds

¹¹⁰ Mary V. Cook. “Our Women.” *The National Baptist Magazine*. July 2, 1895 (Washington, D.C.: American National Baptist Convention, 1894, 1901), 137-139.

¹¹¹ Mary V. Parrish. “King’s Daughters of Louisville.” *National Association Notes*. 16, no. 5 (1913): 3.

for State University for girls' dormitories and female teachers' salaries. Still in the educational realm, Mary V. Cook was the only woman on the executive board of the National Baptist Education Convention along with 20 men, and was one of only two women on the executive board of the American National Baptist Convention, along with her colleague Lucy Wilmot Smith, another Kentuckian.¹¹²

Despite the enormity of her organizational participation, she also had a family life which focused heavily on the church. On January 26, 1898, Mary Virginia Cook had married fellow State University graduate, Rev. Charles Henry Parrish, a Lexington, Kentucky native, who shared similar ideas with her concerning women's abilities. Most sources attribute one child to this marriage, Charles Henry Parrish, Jr., born January 12, 1899. Mary Cook Parrish was always eager to do God's bidding, help the sick or support any worthy cause. One of the boarders in her home in 1910 was a three-year-old young orphan of mixed racial heritage named Frankie Hawkins. By the 1920 census, young Frankie no longer was listed as a boarder or as Hawkins but instead was listed as one of Parrish's sons. It is not known whether Cook Parrish officially adopted Frank through the legal system or whether she simply continued taking ownership of and raising orphaned or abandoned children as was the widespread practice in the black community which viewed children as belonging to the total community and not just one's specific blood relatives.

Kentucky's early black female activists viewed themselves as mothers and "other mothers" and took whatever appropriate actions necessary to save and protect and care

¹¹² "Golden Jubilee: Baptist Women's State Missionary Convention of Kentucky 1953". Louisville: American Baptist, 1953, p. 12-13. University of Louisville Archives. Simmons Bible College Records 1869-1971. Box 5 Folder 7. The exact dates of her service to some of these groups is not indicated in the records.

for their children. Building on Stephanie Shaw's study, sociologist Pat Hill Collins has explained that "other mothers" acting in a socially responsible manner provided the foundation for political activism through their nurturing ways and thus stimulated an atmosphere of caring and personal accountability for all black community children. The caring/activism model was a tradition among black educated women like Mary Cook Parrish, as demonstrated through the many self-help organizations they established. Parrish was always heavily involved in the community affairs, and as a community worker and leader it was her responsibility to take action regarding Frank, either by finding him a suitable guardian or placing him in an orphanage. Parrish, acting as "other mother," chose instead to raise him as her own.¹¹³

By 1910, Mary Cook Parrish and her family had settled in their home at 847 Sixth Street, Louisville, which was in the heart of the black community making her aware of community needs, establishing networks of likeminded Christian people and making her home available to members of her church and other groups with which she was affiliated. Her vast associations and affiliations reflected her philosophy about the extent and nature of Christian women's work. She was supportive of Christian educational opportunities and other projects to benefit the youth of the community and was one of the founders of the Phillis Wheatley YWCA in Louisville as well as a life member of the YWCA Board of Directors. In addition to providing employment opportunities, making available housing at minimal costs, and presenting health lectures, the Phillis Wheatley YWCA branch conducted Bible study classes. Cook Parrish's work for children also included

¹¹³ G.F. Richings, *Evidence of Progress Among Colored People* (Philadelphia:Ferguson, 1902), 218; Both the U.S. Census 1920 and 1930, Kentucky lists two sons Frank and Charles Jr., living with parents Charles and Mary V. Parrish at 847 Sixth Street Louisville; Patricia Hill Collins. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd edition. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 189-192.

membership on the Board of the Kentucky Home Society for Colored Children. Through her work with the Women's Convention, she was elected Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of the National Training School in Washington, D.C. As an educator, she strongly supported the work of the Training School, as its founding was consistent with her philosophy of educating women. While she was a teacher at both State University and later at Eckstein Norton Institute, she sought ways to work with parents and their children for the benefit of the educational process and the development of strong academic programs. Professionally, she belonged to the Kentucky Negro Education Association (KNEA) and was its secretary during the 1894-95 term. As a parent, she organized the first Parent Teacher Association (PTA) at Louisville's Central High School, where her sons attended. This was the first PTA organized in the city, and Parrish was its president.¹¹⁴

Cook Parrish's Christian perspective also led to political activism, including challenging legislation by testifying before the State Legislature regarding segregationist practices in Kentucky. Mary Cook Parrish served as President of the West-End Republican League of Colored Women in Louisville. In addition, she was a delegate to the 1932 Republican National Convention. Indeed, there were no areas of community life in which Mary V. Cook Parrish was not involved as she practiced what she preached and believed. From her earliest years the most prominent force in Parrish's life was the

¹¹⁴ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1910. Louisville Ward, Jefferson, Kentucky, Roll T624.486; p. 4A Enumeration District: 150; Image: 357. (Ancestry.com. 1910 United States Federal Census, on-line database accessed Feb. 18, 2008). ; *Charles Henry Parrish, Jr. Papers*. Box 21. University of Louisville. The Parrish papers, obituary and the biographical summary document Mary V. Parrish's continuous role in the establishment and management of the Louisville Wheatley YWCA; *YWCA Records*. Box 3, Folder, "Newspaper Publicity 1925-26". University of Louisville; *Ibid.*, Box 5, various issues of the official organ of Louisville's YWCA, *The News* document Parrish's election to various offices on the Committee of Management of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch. *The News* also documents the plethora of programs and activities of the branch.

church, and as a Christian woman she felt obligated to become involved in all aspects of the community and voice a moral approach to the community's problems and needs. She suffered from ill health for several years until she collapsed one Sunday morning while getting dressed for church, dying several days later on October 16, 1945. Mary Virginia Cook Parrish, an advocate for women's rights had enjoyed a productive Christian life of service to the black community which she viewed as an extension of her faith in God and her church responsibility.¹¹⁵

Cook Parrish's fight for separate space for women in the Baptist Church was finally realized through the voice of one of her protégée, Nannie Helen Burroughs. Nannie Burroughs' initial reason for being in Kentucky was associated with her employment with the National Baptist Convention and she worked aggressively with Parrish, Steward, and other women founding the Women's Convention.¹¹⁶

Nannie Helen Burroughs was born on May 2, 1879, the oldest child of John and Jennie (Poindexter) Burroughs of Culpeper, Virginia. In 1883 Burroughs and her mother, Jennie Burroughs, a domestic worker, relocated to Washington, D.C., where they lived with Burroughs' aunt Cordelia Mercer. The District of Columbia's black school system provided an excellent education and in fact offered opportunities that exceeded those provided for white students, who did not have a high school department. Well-known highly educated blacks served as teachers and principal of the M Street School, including Anna Julia Cooper and Mary Church Terrell's husband, Judge Robert Terrell. Burroughs enrolled in the segregated school system and advanced well until she contracted typhoid

¹¹⁵ S.E. Smith; Library of Congress Manuscripts Division. *The Papers of Nannie Helen Burroughs*, Box 23 Correspondence from Mary V. Parrish, 1915-1944.; Lawrence H. Williams, *The Charles H. Parrishes: Pioneers in African American Religion and Education, 1880-1989*. (Edwin Mellon Press, 2002).

¹¹⁶ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*.

fever and had to defer her education for two years. When she returned to school, she studied extremely hard to catch up with her studies, often completing two grades at a time to finish with her original classmates. While in high school Burroughs expressed her interest in creative writing and organized the Harriet Beecher Stowe Literary Society. Because she had been promised a position as Assistant to the Domestic Science Teacher upon graduation, Burroughs had purposely focused her studies on domestic science and business fields. She successfully completed her coursework and graduated with honors from the Colored High School (now known as Dunbar High School) on M Street in 1896.¹¹⁷

However, upon graduation, she was not given the promised position and was cast aside, despite receiving public accolades from her teachers for her superior performance as a student. One excuse given for denying her the promised position was that she was too young for the position but others speculated that employment as an assistant teacher in the District's "colored" schools was restricted to students with fair skin. If the latter was the case, it was not unusual, for many fair-skinned black women were very complexion conscious. Both Deborah Gray White and Paula Giddings have discussed the intra-racial conflict over skin tone. Fair-skinned women who could and did pass for white like Mary Church Terrell were often associated with the upper class of the race. A large number of National Association of Colored Women's Clubs' (NACW) leaders were light in complexion. Gray White points out that even the name choice for the

¹¹⁷Most sources on Burroughs list her birthplace as Orange, Virginia but Burroughs personal papers and records at the Library of Congress list her birthplace as Culpeper a town located in Culpeper County, which is adjacent to Orange County ; Traki L. Taylor. "Womanhood Glorified: Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Training School for Women and Girls, Inc., 1909-1961" *The Journal of African American History* vol. 87 New Perspectives on African American History. (Autumn, 2002), p. 391; Sadie Iola Daniel. *Women Builders*. Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1931, p.108; Opal V. Easter. *Nannie Helen Burroughs*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995, p. 25

organization illustrates the color consciousness of Terrell, Josephine Bruce, and many others who preferred to refer to themselves as “colored” as it implied native American or European ancestry. Burroughs and other darker complected club women like Mary McLeod Bethune preferred the terms “Negro” or “Afro American” as they reflected their connection to African heritage. Unfortunately, color prejudice was pervasive in the many black organizations, and Burroughs received her lesson about color discrimination from her own race when the black administration at the M Street School refused to hire her because of her dark complexion. It was at that point that Burroughs vowed to establish a school that would be open to all kinds of females. Burroughs said, “It came to me like a flash of light ... and I knew I was to do that thing when the time came. But I couldn’t do it yet; so I just put the idea away in the back of my head and left it there.”¹¹⁸

In 1900 Burroughs spoke before the National Baptist Convention in September in Richmond, Virginia, and out of her speech was born the Woman’s National Convention, Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, whose charge was mission work. Although she gave many speeches in her lifetime, perhaps the most powerful one was that one given in 1900, titled “How the Sisters Are Hindered from Helping.” At the conclusion of the speech, Reverend Charles Parrish and Reverend Lewis, both respected among the delegates, endorsed the separate Woman’s Convention. Summarily, the motion was approved and thus began the Woman’s Convention, Auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention. Many questions abound concerning the approval of the separate convention without significant opposition, as this had been proposed before by the women of the

¹¹⁸ William Pickens. *Nannie Burroughs and the School of the Three B’s*. (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1921), 15; Daniel, p. 108. This 1931 monograph does not have any sources cited; Pickens, 14; *Library of North American Biographies-Volume 7: Scholars and Educators* (The Philip Lief Group, Inc.1990); U.S. Census.1900.

denomination. What had changed to warrant the sudden authorization? How did Burroughs get on the program to speak? Did she have inside connections? Did Parrish and Jordan perfunctorily support the motion or was there more behind their sanction? More importantly, where was Mary Virginia Cook to echo her support for Nannie Helen Burroughs at this crucial moment? After years of requesting a separate Woman's Convention Mary Virginia Cook was conspicuously absent from the Richmond meeting. But Cook was not silenced by her absenteeism. Even though Cook was not there in person, her desires were carried out through her new husband, Charles Parrish.¹¹⁹

Mary Cook Parrish may have written or otherwise encouraged the words spoken by Burroughs at the assembly as she had befriended young Burroughs upon her arrival in Louisville, Kentucky. There are no documents to say whether or not that was what happened; however it is plausible considering the close relationship of the women. Considering all that was at stake and the numerous years women had attempted to get a separate convention, plus Cook Parrish's writings proclaiming women's superior qualities, work effort, and expectations of equality, would she willingly not speak? In correspondence Burroughs revealed that she looked upon the Parrish family as her family who had taken her in as "a mere girl into your home." Burroughs arrived in Louisville in 1900 and a few months later delivered her "How the Sisters are Hindered from Helping"

¹¹⁹ Daniel, Sadie Iola. *Women Builders*. (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1931), 109. The author reported that Burroughs had said prior to 1900 that her interests were not only in "making a living but in making a life"; Papers of Nannie Helen Burroughs validate the relationship between the two women. In her letters she always addresses them "My dear Mrs. Parrish" while letters addressed to others are formal, e.g. "Dear Mrs. Parks." Additionally she ended some of her letters with messages to Rev. Parrish and referred to him as "my friend." (Feb 20, 1931). When Reverend Parrish died, she sent an apology letter for being unable to attend the funeral. In that letter she talked of her love for the family, staying with them for five years in Louisville as one of the family, and of him as "a strong arm upon which we could lean" and as a "devoted father to me." (April 11, 1931). She spoke of "happy years ...together" and referred to Rev. Parrish's "most beautiful paternalism." She concluded her letter of sentiment by saying, "Mother sends love and she too, sorrows with you because she loves you." She also sent notes to their son such as "remember me to C.H." (Dec. 29, 1932).

speech. She spent considerable time with Mary and Charles Parrish at their home. The brief speech was consistent with Mary Cook Parrish's 1889 Convention speech. Burroughs' speech addressed women's work for the denomination and raised the issue of limited female power within the Baptist Church just as Mary V. Cook Parrish and Mamie Steward had voiced it earlier. Almost every time Mary Cook Parrish spoke or wrote, it was about women, women's rights, women's work, women's morality, women's occupational needs, women's responsibilities... In fact, "Miss Cook is never more in earnest than when saying a word for the women's work." Much like Mary Cook Parrish's past speeches, the text of Burroughs speech was Biblically inspired. "Ye entered not in yourselves and they that were entering ye hindered," she proclaimed. It was the first time that Burroughs had spoken at a national convention and perhaps was her first time attending such an event. Her lifelong passion was for a school for girls where everyone would be welcome and there would be no discrimination. But when given the opportunity to address the National Baptist Convention for the first time, she addressed the inequity among the denomination just as Mary Parrish had done many times before.¹²⁰

No, Mary Virginia Cook Parrish was not silenced at the 1900 National Baptist Convention but rather had at least two voices speaking on her behalf—those of her husband and Nannie Helen Burroughs. Higginbotham speculates that although Burroughs had worked a short time with Reverend Lewis Jordan she had most likely shared the content of her speech with him and garnered his approval as well. Both Reverends Jordan and Parrish recognized and appreciated the work of the women and the inequalities that the existing patriarchal structure created. Parrish and Mary V. Cook had

¹²⁰ Scruggs. *Women of Distinction*, 124.; Daniel, 111-112; *Bible* (Luke 11:52).

attended school together at State University beginning in 1881 and had worked together at Norton Eckstein Institute beginning in 1892. Clearly over the seventeen years that Parrish and Cook had been acquainted prior to their marriage, he had understood and obviously supported her stance on women's issues and roles both in the church and public sector. And while Jordan had only recently begun working with Burroughs in his office, she had most likely explained women's plight in detail to him to gain his support as well. Whatever the details behind the scenes, women's voices resonated at the convention successfully bringing into existence the Woman's Convention, Auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention in 1900.

The speech launched Burroughs' national reputation as a speaker. Because of this speech, women were finally allowed to have their own convention, an idea that had originated in 1890 at the American National Baptist Convention. Since some of the women were divided over the issue of a separate convention, during the earlier year it was defeated at the time. But Baptist women had continued their fight for a separate national organization at the National Baptist Foreign Mission Convention of 1890, and again at the 1895 at the founding of the National Baptist Convention, which had merged three black Baptist conventions. Then, the women's cause had not been supported by the male leadership and it had been defeated. But, in September 1900, Burroughs proclaimed in her "How the Sisters are Hindered from Helping" speech, "For a number of years there has been a righteous discontent a burning zeal to go forward in His [Christ's] name among Baptist women of our churches and it will be the dynamic force in the religious campaign at the opening of the 20th century." After hearing Burroughs speech regarding the male leadership's failure to recognize women's desire to help, the Woman's

Convention was born. At that historic moment, twenty-one year old Nannie Burroughs was selected as the corresponding secretary for the fledgling group generally referred to as the Woman's Convention (WC). Her dedication to the work of the organization was evident through the activities of her first year in office where she reported that she had "labored 365 days, traveled 22,125 miles, delivered 215 speeches, organized 12 societies, written 9,235 letters, and received 4,820 letters." Within the Woman's Convention, the most prominent positions were those of president and corresponding secretary and over the remaining sixty-one years of her life, Nannie Helen Burroughs would continuously serve as an officer of this body, being the corresponding secretary through 1947 and the president from 1948 until her death in 1961.¹²¹

Burroughs' association with the National Baptist Woman's Convention (WC) while in Kentucky also provided access to other Christian women who recognized the plight of working class women nationwide and who were willing to support her efforts to resolve many of the issues facing working class black women. Through the charge of the Woman's Convention to do mission work and her employment as secretary to the Foreign Mission Board, the Woman's Home and Foreign Mission Board (WHFMB) was established in the same year. The motto of the WHFMB was "To preach one Lord, one faith, one baptism." The women's group was provided space in the Foreign Mission Board's journal, *the Mission Herald*, which became the WC's official periodical. The

¹²¹ Darlene Clark Hine, editor. *Black Women in America An Historical Encyclopedia, volumes 1 and 2.* (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1993); Virginia W. Broughton. *Twenty Years' Experience of a Missionary.* (Chicago: The Pony Press Publishers, 1907), 100.; *Journal of the Twentieth Annual Session of the National Baptist Convention Held in Richmond, Virginia September 12-17, 1900*(Nashville: National Baptist Convention, 1900)10,68. As cited in Higginbotham *Righteous Discontent*, 150; Daniel, p. 109. ; Lewis G. Jordan. *Negro Baptist History U.S.A. 1750-1930.* (Nashville: National Baptist Convention, 1930), 246. The Women's Convention also was referred to as the Baptist Women's Missionary League and the Women's Auxiliary Convention (p. 262) in this volume which was written by Burroughs supervisor and supporter of feminist activities, Reverend Jordan; NBC, *Journal*, 1901, 19-21. Quotation from Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, p. 158.

home office of the WC appeared to follow Nannie Burroughs, as it was initially listed in Louisville and its address appeared in 1916 as the Training School at Lincoln Heights, Washington, D.C., with Burroughs as the secretary to the group.

During the early years of the WC, National Baptist Convention (NBC) leadership not only wanted to move the WC from its Louisville headquarters but also make it a board under the direct control of the NBC male leadership, who would then appoint its membership. Seemingly, this proposal was an effort to remove Nannie Burroughs from her position in the women's organization, as she was outspoken and not controllable like many of the other women in the denomination. The men recognized the value of female support for their causes and their fund raising and wished to have them working for and supporting the boards that had been established by the NBC only. They were not pleased with the separate convention and over the first few years attempted to gain control over the women's work.¹²²

The Woman's Convention (WC) survived the annual meeting of the NBC its first year after being established although efforts were made to demote the WC's status to that of the Woman's Home and Foreign Mission Board. Burroughs worked even harder the second year for the WC and reported that she had traveled "32,350 miles, delivered 350 lectures, formed 156 organizations, and sent out 12,890 letters." Through all her travels and lectures, where she preached about the Christian Education Board and the work of the Home and Foreign Missions of the NBC, she always found an opportunity to also talk about the need for a national training school for women interested in Christian work.

¹²² Edward A. Freeman. *The Epoch of Negro Baptists and the Foreign Mission Board: National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.* (Kansas City, KS: The Central Seminary Press, 1953),130-131.

Burroughs also assisted several youth groups, including the Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress (NYPCEC). The NYPCEC consisted of youth and adult leadership from virtually every black American denomination working for the interests of Christianity and education. Burroughs was in fact the only woman on the seventeen-member NYPCEC Board of Directors and the only female member of the fourteen-member Executive Committee of the NYPCEC. At the 1902 convention of black young people, Burroughs was also one of the convention speakers, and her topic for the day was, "The Colored Woman and her Relation to the Domestic Problem." Her thesis was that because black women were not prepared in the latest home management techniques, white women were importing other ethnic groups to meet their domestic service needs. Her solution was to establish a national training school to train black women's hands for "better service and their hearts for purer living." She argued that "Untrained hands however willing, will find themselves unwelcomed [sic] in the humblest homes." Burroughs showed disdain for educated women who believed themselves too good to perform domestic jobs to support themselves. She declared, "Fidelity to duty rather than the grade of one's occupation is the true measure of character."¹²³

By the time the NBC met in September 1902, Burroughs had established alliances with the leadership of the various boards of the NBC by donating money to them through her fundraising efforts. President E.C. Morris began the convention by talking about the women and how they had been given additional time to consider their status and that he

¹²³ I. Garland Penn and J.W.E. Bowen, eds. *The United Negro: His Problems and His Progress: Containing the Addresses and Proceedings the Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress, held August 6-11, 1902*. Atlanta: D.E. Luther Publishing, 1902., p. 34, 46-47; between pp. 318-319, 325-26.

understood that they were now ready to become a board chosen like all others boards and would have their headquarters location chosen by the leadership of the convention.

However, Dr. R.H. Boyd, reporting the missionary activities of the Home Mission and Publishing Board, heartily voiced his support for maintaining the Woman's Convention as a separate entity, asking for the "unanimous endorsement of the convention for the works and efforts that are now being put forth by our sisters."¹²⁴

However, the WC's own president, Sarah Willie Layten in her address to the WC, argued for demoting the convention to the status of a board of NBC. She recommended that the headquarters be moved from Louisville and "since we have organized ourselves not to hinder but to help the National Baptist Convention in all its phases of Christian work, we recommend, therefore, that the name of our organization be changed from Convention to Board in order that we become perfectly harmonious to the policy of the National Baptist Convention." It is difficult to understand why Layten was willing to surrender to male leadership on these issues, as the women had fought so hard to gain their separate sphere without male control. Perhaps she was fearful of the assertive young Burroughs, or perhaps she felt unable to lead such a group of zealous, tenacious, articulate self-defining women. If she had been married to any of the Baptist men in assembly one may even speculate that she had been pressured by a spouse to capitulate control to the NBC. But that was not the case. It is possible that Layten felt she had taken on more than she could effectively manage, or perhaps she felt inadequate and inferior compared to Burroughs, who appeared always prepared to lead the women forward with confidence and vision. Whatever reasons Layten had for her recommendations, she

¹²⁴ Earl L. Harrison. *The Dream and the Dreamer: An abbreviated Story of the Life o Dr. Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls at Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C.: Nannie H. Burroughs Literature Foundation, 1956), 21, 24.

undoubtedly knew that the battle was not over, as Nannie Helen Burroughs had yet to have her voice heard at the 1902 Woman's Convention.¹²⁵

Indeed Burroughs and her supporters would have the last say about the WC's status on the following day, when she made her annual report to the WC and vehemently proclaimed that "Ours has not been a backward movement for it can truly be said that religious work, as carried on by our women, is God-ordained, God-inspired, and because of their vigilance there can be no backward movement." She concluded by again pleading her case for a national school "where we may teach young women how to live and how to labor all the way from earth to glory." In the NBC session another strong voice of support for the WC came from the audit report of Reverend Robert Mitchell of Frankfort, Ky., who praised the efficiency of Burroughs records and proclaimed, "I concluded that the ladies work in this department cannot be duplicated in any other way... I think the ladies should have the unqualified endorsement of this convention in the work which they have so nobly and heroically undertaken... I think the convention should let them work in their way."¹²⁶

Before the NBC voted on the final status of the women's organization, a tragedy occurred during a speech by Dr. Booker T. Washington, when 98 persons were killed in a stampede in the Shiloh Baptist Church where those assembled mistook a scream of "fight" for the word "fire" and panicked. Following this catastrophe, the NBC cancelled the remaining business sessions and all unfinished business was referred to the Executive Board. Prior to the tragedy, the WC had concluded its business session and was therefore prepared to move forward with the motions it had carried which included: continuing the

¹²⁵ Ibid, 25.

¹²⁶ Harrison, 25-26.

headquarters in Louisville, maintaining the name Woman's Convention and retaining the unaltered Constitution; planning a Christian and Educational Course; developing an industrial department through Burroughs and other initiatives to make their organization permanent. The WC had survived the second year and continued moving forward in its Christian mission while maintaining its autonomy and female focused vision.¹²⁷

It was through the commitment of black women such as Mamie Lee Steward, Mary Cook Parrish, and Nannie Helen Burroughs whose continuous requests over a number of years that finally convinced the ministers to provide women their own space to more effectively manage their work for the church and resulted in the Women's Convention, Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention. Smith, Steward, Cook Parrish, and Burroughs used Baptist publications to articulate their idea that the church should transcend socially constructed gender roles. However, these women were not the only women who were engaged in Christian activism. The networks of other black Christian women in Kentucky were very strong within denominations, and many worked within the boundaries of those defined arenas to effectuate change.

Similarly, black women of other denominations both achieved separate women's spaces and expanded opportunities for female leadership in their churches. For example, in 1874 women of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church organized the Women's Parent Mite Missionary Society (WPMM) and in 1896 southern women formed a second missionary society under their own leadership. Additionally, Kentuckian Martha Jayne Keys of the AME Church began a twenty-four year campaign for the ordination of female ministers at the 1936 General Conference, which finally led

¹²⁷ Harrison, 28-29.

the AME Church to accept the full ordination of women as ministers in 1960 and to elect three female bishops since 2000.¹²⁸

Higginbotham's work on Baptist Church women argues that they employed the "politics of respectability" to advance the goals of black equality, supporting temperance, sexual repression, modest dress, cleanliness, hard work, thrift, and politeness. The adoption of hegemonic values and behavior "did not constitute supine deference to white power," rather black Baptist women's concern for proper behavior "served to reinforce their sense of moral superiority over whites." One Baptist's Woman's Convention publication alleged that white behavior on streetcar was rude and reminded blacks that, "Here is an opportunity for us to show our superiority....Let us at all times and on all occasions, remember that the quiet, dignified individual who is respectful to others is after all the superior individual, be he black or white" Through the politics of respectability and racial uplift ideology, black women forged opportunities to control the economic growth of their community, the health of the race, the moral training of their youth, and the education of their people. These ideologies permeated benevolent clubs, secret societies, and church organizations and were not specific to the Baptist denomination. Uplifters expected individuals with education, wealth (relatively speaking within the black community) or social position to be involved in social welfare activities for the elderly, orphans, the poor, the uneducated, children and other needy persons.¹²⁹

Their self-definition infused their work, public, and personal spheres. Because of

¹²⁸Jualynne E. Dodson. *Engendering Church: Women, Power and the AME Church*. (New York:, Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Dennis C. Dickerson, "Martha Jayne Keys and the Ordination of Women in the African Methodist Church," *AME Church Review* 118:385 (January-March 2002) 72-83; R. R. Wright, Jr., *Who's Who in the General Conference* (Philadelphia, PA: AME Book Concern, 1924); R. R Wright., Jr. *Encyclopedia of African Methodism Episcopal Church*, Philadelphia, PA: The Book Concern of the AME Church, 1947.; Dodson, 59-60.; The three women bishops who were ordained were Vashti Murphy McKenzie in 2000, Carolyn Tyler Guidry in 2004, and Sarah Frances Davis in 2005.

¹²⁹ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 192-93.

the social welfare policies of the New “Jim and Jane Crow” South, blacks were forced to continue provide their own social services. The philosophies of the “politics of respectability” and “racial uplift” validated women’s role in the black community. It was through their church roles that black women acquired their leadership, financial planning, and organizational skills. Tera Hunter confirms the role of the black church in serving a variety of functions which provided “other outlets for social, spiritual and political expression as well as economic cooperation. Churches and secret societies then tended to reinforce the ties that bound people together as family, friends, and neighbors.” Further she vocalizes the church conventions’ role in promoting the “leadership development, skills in governance, and religious education, and also applauding the most dedicated religious converts.” These opportunities put women in roles that served to increase their self-esteem, promote racial identities and define themselves as persons worthy of respect and emulation within the greater society.¹³⁰

Additionally women’s roles in the church provided them with opportunities for growth and played a significant role in the overall development of the church and community. Black women, “the backbone of the black church,” through their tireless fundraising and missionary efforts transformed the church and in the process constructed their own organizations and redefined their identity within the church’s political and social structure. The “feminist theology” espoused by black Baptist women contested the patriarchal hegemonic structures of both the black and white Baptist Church and gained inclusion in the overarching activities of the church. Higginbotham states, “Women’s missionary and financial efforts were decisive to the success of the black Baptist church in rallying the impoverished masses for the staggering task of building and sustaining

¹³⁰ Hunter, 67-68.

institutions independent of white control. One cannot overstate the importance of black women in shaping a public opinion conducive to racial self-help. Such a focus reveals racial solidarity and racial self-determination; it also reveals gender conflict and women's assertion of female solidarity and gender determination."¹³¹

Female solidarity in the church emanated from the long standing relationships through kinship/friendship networks. These networks based on personal associations within the black community, extended through family and friends and other communal associations, served to unite black women. It was also through the process of "making community" that black women networked/aligned with other women who shared common goals and interests to gain control over their own lives and communities. Other kinship/friendship relationships were forged in sororities and other national groups, like the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Urban League.¹³²

Through the empowering activism of such black women the church emerged from the patriarchal voice of a male ministry to become the inclusive voice of both males and females engaged in a progressive dialogue about how to transform their communities through Christian uplift work. The church as an arena always transcended many spheres limited by gender and race. Church women also came together outside their individual churches and across denominations to serve the greater black community, which by their definitions was a simple extension of church work. Christian good deeds and community

¹³¹Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 50.

¹³² In Darlene Hine's work *Hine Sight* she sums up black female agency in this way, "It was through 'making community' that Black women were able to redefine themselves, project sexual respectability, reshape morality, and define a new aesthetic."

uplift work also validated black women's respectability because the church was the recognized site of respectability. The women's efforts significantly impacted many lives, as their networks of influence extended beyond the black church to encompass local community organizations, schools, political rallies, and through many national arenas as well. Black church women encouraged and recruited the next generation of activist women including their own families to work for black advancement.

Chapter Four

The Black Women's Club Movement in Kentucky: Shaping National Issues

“Five years ago we had no colored women’s clubs outside of those formed for special work; today, with little over a month’s notice, we are able to call representatives from more than twenty clubs. It is a good showing. It stands for much. It shows that we are truly American, with all the adaptability, readiness to seize and possess our opportunities, willingness to do our part for good as other American women.”-- Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin¹³³

The black church was crucial to women’s early social life, and organizational development, giving them practice in organizing and developing institutions; they then stepped outside the confines of the church to begin building institutions to serve crucial needs in the wider community.

Only two of the original clubs that became the Kentucky Association of Colored Women were formerly affiliated with churches. Although the other clubs were made up of church women, they focused on other secular issues such as women’s educational needs, child welfare, economic empowerment, creative arts, and self-improvement. Scholars such as Stephanie J. Shaw and Deborah Gray White agree that black women’s racial uplift and community activism began long before John W. Jacks wrote his letter to London’s Anti-Lynching Committee’s secretary slurring black women; before the national club movement; and before the hardening of a national policy of legally sanctioned white supremacy. The development of club work among Kentucky’s black women began in the church as women took to heart the church teachings. As Kentucky native Mamie E. (Lee) Steward expressed in 1907, women’s work through clubs was “the outgrowth of the encouragement and inspiration which the Church has given to the work

¹³³ “Address of Josephine St. P. Ruffin to the First National Conference of the Colored Women of America, July 29, 1895,” held in Boston. Records of the NACW (microfilm) reel 1, frame 008. The full text of Ruffin’s speech also appeared in *Woman’s Era* 2 (August 1895), 13-15.

of women” and thus they were both invigorated and motivated to perform Christian acts. They viewed the problems affecting the black community as possibilities for Christian women’s collective efforts. For the first generation of free black women, the church provided multiple opportunities for personal and collective growth. Since most black churches formed missionary societies which were generally assigned to the church’s women, the women learned how to manage these trusted responsibilities. Thus in addition to religious enlightenment, the church served as a site for collective work, the development of organizational and leadership skills, and fund-raising strategies for women.¹³⁴

Since the church served multiple functions in the early years following slavery, including providing opportunities for education, political advocacy, and social opportunities, it offered an opportunity for black women to come together around shared issues in the community. The black church encouraged its congregation through Biblical scripture to care for its widows and orphans, and its Christian women sought ways to meet these expectations. Through their casual conversations, women openly expressed their desires for adequate schools, day nurseries, orphanages, and elder care and other health care facilities as well as their aspirations for civil and voting rights. These seemingly informal interactions often resulted in direct action to alleviate community problems by black women establishing clubs and organizations focused on specific issues.

¹³⁴Mamie E. Steward. “Afro-American Women and the Church.” *Colored American Magazine*, 12:1(January 1907):58; Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999, p. 26-27; Stephanie J. Shaw, “Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women”, in Darlene Clark Hide, ed., *“We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible”: A Reader in Black Women’s History*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995, pp. 433-447.

Given the church's influence in women's lives, it is likely that their community outreach activities were based in the scriptures which encouraged, "Do not take advantage of a widow or an orphan" but rather "look after orphans and widows in their distress" and "give proper recognition to those widows who are really in need." Early on, Kentucky's black women focused on the needs of those who were unable to care for themselves. Recognizing that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," women worked within the church to provide for the poor, the parentless, the sick, and the elderly. When black men, who had enlisted in the United States Colored Troops during the Civil War, were injured, black women remembered the scriptures which encouraged, "I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me." The women responded by giving aid and comfort. This chapter chronologically details the early work of women which led to the establishment of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs (KACW). It also documents the structure, diversity of club missions, membership growth, and continuing presence of KACW members among the national officers which helped shape the national agenda.¹³⁵

Before the Civil War, organizing community uplift work among Kentucky women of color was stifled because of the enslavement of most of them, as there were few free blacks in the state prior to emancipation except around larger cities of Louisville and Lexington. Within the confines of the larger cities free black women worked through their churches to develop various programs to improve their black communities. However, once emancipated, other black women immediately began working

¹³⁵ *Bible*. Exodus 22:22; James 1:27; 1 Timothy 5:3; Acts 20:35; Matthew 25:36

cooperatively to elevate the educational, economic, social, and political status of the black masses.¹³⁶

Over the first fifty years following emancipation, a variety of black women's clubs - church affiliated, musical, literary, political, health related, social, and educational - clubs were organized by Kentucky's black women and affiliated with the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Many of the early organizing efforts among women in the black community took place through church clubs and missionary societies under the directions of their ministers. Still other women's clubs focused on meeting specific needs of children, women, and the elderly that were identified by the women themselves. Issues of particular interest were education, care of orphans and the elderly, safe housing and career training for single women. Each succeeding decade as the political and social tide changed in America, additional clubs developed which concentrated on that particular aspect of society as it related to blacks. For example, with the onset of World War II, patriotic clubs such as Lexington's Dorie Miller Chapter of American War Mothers were organized "to assist and further any patriotic work" and "to assist men and women who served and were wounded or incapacitated in the World Wars."¹³⁷

In fact, one of the earliest examples of Kentucky's black women's collective efforts was the work done on behalf of the black men enlisted in the Union Army. Church women took a leading role in establishing soldier's aid groups in Louisville, which was

¹³⁶ The total free black population of the state never went above one percent of the state's total population from 1790 through 1860 and was always less than five percent of the state's total black population. In 1790 there were 114 free blacks statewide and by 1860 the number had increased to 10,684 with about half of them living in and around Lexington and Louisville. *U.S. Census Reports 1790-1860*.

¹³⁷ Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, p. 27.

the major recruiting station for black men. Groups of women identified the dearth of adequate health care for black soldiers during the Civil War and established soldiers aid societies to meet that need. When Louisville witnessed the influx of black soldiers during the final two years of the Civil War various black churches established groups to assist the soldiers who were injured or otherwise ill. Women and men were both members of the Louisville's Ladies' Colored Soldiers Aid Society, which boasted a membership of over one hundred a few months after it was organized in 1864. Members of the Society met weekly, normally in the city's Methodist churches. Various members of the Society visited the wounded soldiers in the hospital each day, providing them with a variety of treats from their refreshment wagons as well as presenting the black soldiers of the 107th Colored Regiment and other similar units with "costly" American flags on occasion. They also assisted the wives and families of the wounded soldiers through their fundraising efforts. One of the nurses reported that "The Ladies' Colored Soldiers' Aid Society of Louisville was doing them more real good than the general government itself was doing them." Other groups who participated in similar efforts to aid soldiers and their families included the "Daughters of Zion" and the "Sons and Daughters of the Morning."¹³⁸

During the first years after freedom, women's organized efforts were not limited to Louisville, however, as other cities were the sites of similar work in various public arenas. For instance, Lexington women's first concern was education and thus they established the Ladies Education Association around 1865. They purchased a building locally known as Ladies Hall which housed a small school. Ladies Hall was often

¹³⁸ Minutes, Green Street Baptist Church, 1: November 23, 1864; T. Strothers, "Louisville Correspondence," *Christian Recorder* 4, no. 45(November 5, 1864):179; Lucas, 169.

utilized by other local black groups, such as the Lexington Convention of Colored Men of Kentucky, who held their first convention in March 22-26 in 1866 in the facility. While Louisville's Ladies' Colored Soldiers Aid Society and Lexington's Ladies Education Association were never members of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, their existence serves to inform us some of the seminal community organizing efforts of the state's black women during and immediately following the Civil War, supporting professor Stephanie Shaw's point that the black women's community work was not limited to the club movement, as women were similarly involved in organizing, strategizing, protecting the helpless, and protesting the inequality before the club movement heyday and after the movement's momentum declined. These activities may have been inspired by antebellum mutual benefit societies.¹³⁹

Women remained engaged in various support groups in communities across the state such as through the Order of the United Brothers of Friendship (U.B.F.), a secret benevolent society which was established in Louisville in 1861 by the Kentucky state legislature. At the 1875 convention of the U.B.F., a benevolent organization, a group of women who had for many years supported the Order sought to have their own order for women. They were officially chartered as the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten (S.M.T.) the women's society in 1876, fifteen years after the U.B.F. was constituted originally. The female members, known as Templars, were the wives, daughters, and sisters of U.B.F. members. Their organizational responsibilities included working to make the combined organization financially solvent as it assisted or supported members during illness,

¹³⁹ *Proceedings of the First Convention of Colored Men of Kentucky: held in Lexington, March the 22d, 23d, 24th and 26th, 1866 with the Constitution of the Kentucky State Benevolent Association.* Louisville: Civill and Calvert Printing, 1866. Miscellaneous Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress); Shaw p. 434.

disability, homelessness, hospitalization, or death of a family member through monetary installments. When associated juvenile societies were established years later, it would be women's responsibility to offer leadership and guidance to them as well. Other women's fraternal orders such as the Daughters of Samona emerged during these early years in Kentucky as well.¹⁴⁰

Shortly after the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten emerged, women from several black churches banded together in 1877 to raise money for a black orphanage at the Taylor Barracks in Louisville. Ten years after establishing the orphanage, the alliance of churches organized the St. James Old Folks Home, which they supported until the mid-1890s when it closed because of debts. Several women's groups began a drive to reopen the home. Through their endeavors they managed to secure enough money not only to reopen the home but also to purchase a different house and property valued at ten thousand dollars. They paid the mortgage on this property in full within five years and the home remained open until 1920.¹⁴¹

Also during 1877, the Ladies Sewing Circle, a club that would eventually become a charter member of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women, was formed. The Ladies Sewing Circle, which predated the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) by nineteen years and the KACW by twenty-six years, was the earliest established club to later become a charter member of the KACW. Organized by women of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville's first black church, the Ladies Sewing Circle's primary mission was to support the needs of orphans. Consistent with their

¹⁴⁰ W.H. Gibson. *History of the United Brothers of Friendship and Sisters of the Mysterious Ten: In Two Parts, a Negro Order*. Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert Company, 1897; Lucas, 323.

¹⁴¹ Wright, *History of Blacks in Kentucky*, 35-42; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 141. 123-155.

charitable commitment to assist those in need, these women were concerned about the tattered condition of poor African American orphans witnessed in Louisville and decided to make clothes for them. Several women in the church joined this effort and established the Ladies Sewing Circle to make clothing for orphan children. The Sewing Circle also provided continuous support for the Colored Orphan's Home. In addition to clothing, the Ladies Sewing Circle also provided bed linens, bath towels, and furniture for the children. Members of the Sewing Circle held a variety of fund-raising events for the orphanage throughout each year including bake sales at the orphanage and an annual "Thanksgiving Entertainment" fund-raising dinner. Through this support, the Circle was able to even pay the salaries of the staff, which included the head matron and a cook. By 1897, the Ladies Sewing Circle members through their 10 cents a month dues and semi-annual fund raising social events, raised \$2,572.82 in support of the Colored Orphans' Home. In addition to the support that the Sewing Circle provided, one member, Mamie E. Steward personally served as secretary on the Orphans' Home Board of Directors, a group of volunteers who governed the home's activities.¹⁴²

While some women were concerned about orphaned children, others recognized that the black masses had limited educational opportunities. To attack the illiteracy rate among black people and thus decrease black poverty through education black women worked through groups. Two organizations arose to promote educational opportunities for blacks, one with a public school beginning and the other focusing on higher education. The first group, The Colored Teachers State Association was organized in

¹⁴² Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, p. 140; *American Baptist* (v.26) November 11, 1904(p. 2), December 2, 1904 (p. 2); *Indianapolis Freeman* August 22, 1891, p. 5; H. C. Weeden. *Weeden's History of the Colored People of Louisville*. Louisville, KY: H.C.Weeden, 1897. pp. 21-22.

1877 with 45 black educators and trustees in attendance. In 1913 the organization was renamed the Kentucky Negro Educational Association (KNEA) and continued its existence until 1957. Among the group's initiatives was legislation to establish the state supported college for blacks now known as Kentucky State University, salary equalization for black teachers in the public schools, equal facilities in black schools, and admission of blacks in the University of Kentucky's graduate schools. While this organization was not specifically female, the majority of its members were female, countless numbers of whom were later members and officers of the KACW. Included among these clubwomen is Lucy Harth Smith who became the second woman to serve as president of the KNEA and who also served as president of the KACW.¹⁴³

In addition to black teachers, church women of most denominations, much like the women of the Colored Teachers Association and the women who established Ladies Hall in Lexington, created opportunities to support and or establish educational institutions for black Kentuckians. The second group, the Baptist Women's Education Convention Board was organized at Louisville's Fifth Street Baptist Church on September 18, 1883, to support State University (later known as Simmons University) in Louisville. The group's objectives were to promote attending the denominational University to the state's youth, to raise money to pay off the University's property, to build a female dormitory and to encourage missionary work among the group's members. The Board accomplished their fundraising charge as they not only raised money to assist

¹⁴³ Gerald L. Smith "Kentucky Negro Education Association" in *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, edited by John E. Kleber, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991. p.507; Lucas, 260; *Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Educational Association, April 25-28, 1916*. Louisville, Kentucky: Kentucky Negro Educational Association, 1916, pp. 24-39. Although the Association had met since 1877, the proceedings were first published in 1916 and included the names of all 572 KNEA members of which at least 317 or 55 % were women.

the University in eliminating its debt and building a girls' dormitory, but also paid the female teachers' salaries at the University through fund-raising activities. In fact with regard to fundraising, few KACW clubs were as successful as the Baptist Women's Education Convention Board which raised \$711.15 within their first month and over the course of their first thirty-two years amassed a total of \$39,460.83 to assist the progress of State University. The ground-breaking ceremony for the Girl's Dormitory and Domestic Science Hall was held on April 14, 1908 as club woman and State University teacher Mamie E. Steward raised the "first spade of dirt." The completed building was a "handsome pressed brick structure, with all the modern improvements, heated with steam heat and lighted by electricity." The facility, which was four stories high and cost \$25,000, contained thirty dormitory rooms for housing sixty female students, four classrooms and an assembly room. The classrooms were equipped for teaching the female curriculum of dressmaking, basic sewing, millinery, music and domestic science. The dedicatory program for the Girl's Dormitory and Domestic Science Hall was held on February 7, 1909.¹⁴⁴

Although State University was located in Louisville, the members of the board came from cities all across the state and included such women as Lexington's Elizabeth "Lizzie" Fouse and Mary V. Cook, both of whom had attended the school. Cook also had taught at State University as a permanent teacher and principal in the school's Normal Department, teaching mathematics and Latin while she completed her A.B. degree.

¹⁴⁴ Rev. C.H. Parrish, editor. *Golden Jubilee of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky: The Story of 50 Years' Work from 1865-1915*. Louisville: The Association, 1915, p. 138.; Lucy Harth Smith. *Pictorial Directory* 1947, 14.; Parrish, *Golden Jubilee*, 138, 143-45, 159-160, 144.

Mary V. Cook, however, recognized other community issues that needed remedying besides education. Consequently, in 1887 she and Rev. Charles Parrish, whom she later married, organized the King's Daughters Missionary Society, also known as Kings Daughters Equal Burden Bearers Circle. The Burden Bearers Circle was established to work with the needs of the poor, the unsaved and outcast; to welcome people to the church; and to assist the community and church needs. Primarily the church's women performed the group's work. Through the Burden Bearers Circle, Mary V. Cook worked with Louisville's white members of the King's Daughters' Circle, an international Christian organization. This society was one of the groups established through an interracial and interdenominational body with which Cook was affiliated. Cook was extremely dedicated to them, serving as president from 1900 until her death in 1945. Of this group, she said, "The scope of the work is as far reaching as sin and suffering exist. No home is too humble to visit; no woman or man too steeped in sin and shame to save. Children are gathered from the streets as far as possible, clothed and put in some Sunday School. The sick are visited, bathed, bed and room made clean, nurse and medicine furnished, often food provided and rent paid. They help bury the dead of the poor, find homes and good families for the worthy and help along all lines."¹⁴⁵

Education remained a high priority for Lexington's women as well but not just for students who could afford it. In 1892 the plight of Lexington's black orphans gained the support of middle class educated black women when the women established the Colored Orphan Industrial Home. Eliza Belle Mitchell Jackson was the driving force behind the Orphan's Home. Although Jackson's life began as a slave when she was born to Mary

¹⁴⁵ Mary V. Parrish. "King's Daughters of Louisville." *National Association Notes*. 16, no. 5 (1913): 3.

and Monroe Mitchell in 1848 in Danville, Kentucky, through her father's earnings as a carpenter her family eventually purchased their freedom from slavery and Eliza Belle was able to attend private African American schools in Danville, Kentucky. Later she was recruited by Reverend John Gregg Fee, the founder of Berea College, to teach black troops and their families at Camp Nelson in Jessamine County, during the Civil War. It was at Camp Nelson in 1865 where E. Belle, as she was known in the community, first gained national attention when racial prejudice from members of the American Missionary Association (AMA) led to her dismissal from her teaching assignment with black soldiers. The white missionaries accountable for her dismissal indicated that they did not object to her teaching at the camp but refused to eat and live in the same room as "a woman of color." "The Belle Mitchell Incident" as it became known scored an early victory for civil rights when, after investigating the incident, the AMA required all their teachers to sign a statement that "they would not make complexion a condition of association among teachers."¹⁴⁶

Following the incident, E. Belle Mitchell taught in Lexington's AMA school for black children, the Missionary Free School of Color, which had opened in August 1865, as well as other black schools in Richmond, Nicholasville, Louisville and Frankfort for the next two years. Although she enrolled at Berea College in 1867, she did not graduate but rather married Jordan Carlisle Jackson and eventually settled in Lexington where she became actively engaged in community organizations such as the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. In 1892 Jackson and nineteen other black Lexington

¹⁴⁶ Laurretta Flynn Byars. "E. Belle Mitchell Jackson," in *Notable Black American Women, II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996. p. 318); Sears, Richard. *Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man*. Berea, KY: Berea College Press, 1986.

women met in the Chapel of the St. Paul A.M.E. Church and established the Ladies Orphans' Home Society. The Society's purpose was to establish a home to provide food, housing and educational training for poor orphans and needy elderly women. The Colored Orphan Industrial Home opened in 1894, and during its first year of operation it admitted twenty-nine children (fourteen females and fifteen males) and seven needy women. Once opened, the home provided students with a threefold instructional program which included religious and industrial training along with the basic school curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Every student was required to learn a trade so they could be employable once they left the Orphan Home. The home also served community needs by operating as a church, bank, and community center.¹⁴⁷

The Board of Managers of the Colored Orphan Industrial Home became a member of the KACW and its board chairperson, E. Belle Mitchell Jackson served as fifth president of the KACW in 1914 and 1915. Other KACW women who served on this board included Dr. Mary E. Britton who was secretary of the Orphan Home Board from 1892 until 1923. However, Jackson's commitment to the Colored Orphan Industrial Home was relentless and unsurpassed in sheer length of service: she served on the Board of Managers of the Home from 1892 for nearly 50 years until her death in 1942. As the Board of Managers' head, Jackson faced overwhelming challenges keeping the home financially solvent. Money was scarce within the black community, forcing the managers to work extremely hard to raise money. The managers creatively utilized various activities to increase their meager bank account including putting on plays, concerts, lectures, tea parties, and neighborhood fairs. They solicited donations from schools,

¹⁴⁷ Byars, Laretta Flynn. *Lexington's Colored Orphan Industrial Home: Building for the Future*. Lexington, KY: I.B. Bold Publications, 1995, p. 44.

churches, individuals and social and civic organizations. The managers also requested funds from the city and county governments at a time when social service programs for black neighborhoods did not receive support from local government administrations. Black women's efforts to raise funds for the orphanage led them far beyond the local community as they tried to acquire money from philanthropists in the eastern and northern parts of the United States. Their relentless efforts even took them outside of the United States to London, England, where they worked with a professional philanthropist, the only white person associated with the home, who solicited funds from some of the most prominent individuals of that time. In 1912 when the Home was destroyed by fire, the National Association of Colored Women passed a motion to donate \$100 to the rebuilding efforts.¹⁴⁸

Although Kentucky women were making great strides in community building efforts during the years following the Civil War and prior to the 20th century, they were not alone. Across the country similar groups of progressive black women were organizing, strategizing, planning, and implementing programs to "advance the race" educationally, economically, socially, morally and politically. In fact various groups of women, among them the National League of Colored Women, viewed the advancement of the race as the responsibility of black women. While the organizational name suggests that it was a national group, it did not have a broad membership certainly not a national following among black women.

¹⁴⁸ Byars, Laretta Flynn. *Lexington's Colored Orphan Industrial Home: Building for the Future*. Lexington, KY: I.B. Bold Publications, 1995; *Minutes of the Eighth Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women. July twenty third to July twenty seventh, 1912 Hampton Normal and Industrial institute, Hampton, VA.* p. 43. NACW Microfilm Reel 23, frame 383.

Meanwhile, amid the numerous philanthropic activities and grassroots projects of black women nationwide and discussions for a national body, in 1895 the mainstream press set off a national conversation among these educated black women by making a malicious allegation against black women as a class. The attack was precipitated by Ida B. Wells' anti-lynching campaign in England. On March 19, 1895, John W. Jacks, President of the Missouri Press Association sent a letter to Miss Florence Balgarnie, Honorable Secretary of the Anti-Lynching Committee in London England, in which he alleged that blacks were "wholly devoid of morality" and explicitly that black women "were prostitutes and all are natural liars and thieves." He further questioned whether, of the two hundred black people in his locale, "there are a dozen virtuous women or that number who are not daily thieving." Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin of the Woman's Era Club of Boston sent letters to black women across the country along with a copy of Jacks' letter, encouraging them to recognize "the need of our banding together if only for our protection." Her letter further emphasized that there were other pertinent issues that the group need to discuss. In closing she invited "all colored women of America members of any society or not" to attend a meeting. While Jacks' attack may have been aimed at Ida B. Wells specifically, black women nationwide were outraged. The words misrepresenting and characterizing black women were so hurtful that years later when Mary Church Terrell spoke of the founding of the NACW in her response to the infamous letter she challenged her audience to band together and "face that white man and call him liar." According to Mamie Garvin Fields when Terrell "raised her voice to say 'LIAR,' you could almost feel it on your skin." The charges pronounced on black women by the Jacks letter compelled black women to address the letter's contents.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ NACW records, *A History of the Club Movement Among the Colored Women of the United States*.

The meeting held in Berkeley Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, became known as the First National Conference of the Colored Women in America. Resolutions were adopted which denounced the Jacks' letter as well as one praising Ida B. Wells for her work in bringing the truth about lynching to the world's attention. Surprisingly, however, during the meeting Jacks' letter received little additional consideration and discussion among the women present. Having taken parliamentary action to make their stand known against Jacks' letter, the black women had an opportunity to discuss the relevant issues that existed nationwide which confined black people to second class citizenry. As they identified the issues, the representatives worked methodically to address common interests and establish goals for racial uplift. The conference also resulted in the formation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women with Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin as its president.¹⁵⁰

Because the large number of delegates attending this conference represented fourteen states, the organization was viewed as a national body and was subsequently invited to participate in the Women's Congress at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. However, in December 1895 when black women from twenty five states representing the National Federation of Afro-American Women found separate exhibition spaces for black women, they declared themselves the Colored Women's Congress of the United States. The Congress met in Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church and received a large audience each day.

Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1902, (microfilm Reel 1, frame 6-8); Mamie Garvin Fields. *Lemon Swamp and Other Places: A Carolina Memoir*. (New York: Free Press, 1983), 189-190.

¹⁵⁰ NACW records (microfilm Reel 1, frame 11, 12, 24); Charles Harris Wesley. *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service*. (Washington, DC: NACWC, 1984), 32-34.

Kentuckians Mary V. Cook and Ida Joyce Jackson attended the three day 1895 Atlanta Congress of Colored Women. Jackson, who had also very likely been the founder of the Normal Reading Circle around 1889 in Frankfort, attended the Congress with her husband, Professor John H. Jackson, who was at that time principal of State Normal School for Colored Persons (now Kentucky State University). At this Congress Ida Jackson submitted a resolution to make the Congress a permanent body and the resolution passed handily. Kentucky's official representative, Mary V. Cook, was elected as one of the two secretaries during the course of the convention and presented a paper, "How can the interests of Northern and Southern colored women be more strongly related." This congress met only once more in Nashville; it disbanded because of competing "national" groups.¹⁵¹

In July 1896, when both the National League of Colored Women and the National Federation of Afro-American Women met in Washington, D.C, Kentucky women were most likely present. The National Federation held its first annual convention on July 20, 1896, with fifty two delegates representing thirty-four clubs in attendance. Both groups had been having internal discussions about expanding the work of their organizations to include more women's groups, but neither had communicated this idea to the other. The National League sent a letter proposing that each group supply seven representatives to discuss merging the organizations. The "Committee on Union," as the representatives for the National Federation were called, met with the National League and presented its report during the evening session on July 21, 1896. The committee submitted the

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Lindsay Davis. *Lifting as They Climb*, p. 25-26; G.F. Richings, *Evidence of Progress among Colored People* (Philadelphia: Ferguson, 1902) 227.; "Session of the Woman's Congress at Atlanta," *The Enterprise* (Omaha, Nebraska) January 11, 1896, p. 2.; *The Woman's Era* 2, no.9 (January 1896).

“articles of agreement” which both bodies’ representatives accepted and thus formed the consolidated group known as the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).

Once merged, the two organizations brought together 113 organizations from the Colored Women’s League and 85 organizations from the Federation of Afro American Women for a total of 198 women’s organizations in the newly formed National Association of Colored Women representing a membership of approximately 5,000 black women from 25 states. Ironically, John Jacks’ demeaning letter had served as a catalyst for the two groups to merge to form a unified body of black female activists focused on racial uplift and progress.¹⁵²

The merged organization recognized the need to be more publicly visible in their reform efforts as a means of defending themselves from future attacks. The national body also proposed to coordinate all local efforts nationwide. The NACW encouraged all black women’s groups to participate and did not look down on the working class women’s efforts. The structure of the National Association did not call for a standardized social welfare program although many common interests emerged, including the image of black women. Class did not mean respectability but was tied to each woman’s benevolent actions, moral behaviors, clean living, political engagement and good works on behalf of the black community. NACW leadership also continued to encourage and

¹⁵² Paula J. Giddings. *Ida: A Sword Among Lions*. (Amistad: New York, 2008), 348. The letter’s contents have generally been referenced in other works. According to Giddings (696) one copy of the Mar 19, 1895 letter from Jacks to Miss Balgarnie is in the possession of Wilson J. Moses; NACW records (microfilm Reel 1, frame 11, 12, 24); Charles Harris Wesley. *The History of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1984. p. 28-39; Shaw, “Black Club Women,” 433-447.

maintain strong ties with the black church, as the church remained the site of respectability within the black community.¹⁵³

After the 1895 Congress of Negro Women in Atlanta and the establishment of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs in 1896, Kentucky women's club work gained momentum and they were eager to affiliate with the national body. Once the National Association of Colored Women was established in 1896, the first two Kentucky clubs to be listed among its membership were Mary V. Cook's Eckstein Daisy Club and the Louisville Woman's Improvement Club, of which Cook was also a member. The Eckstein Daisy Club was organized in 1892 probably by Mary V. Cook while she was teaching at the Eckstein Norton School. This was a small black educational institution in the small community of Cane Springs, located in Bullitt County just twenty-nine miles from Louisville. The Eckstein Norton University which provided industrial education for blacks was founded in 1890 by Dr. Williams J. Simmons and his associate Reverend Charles H. Parrish. Shortly after Eckstein Norton opened, Mary V. Cook became a teacher at the institution, teaching Latin and mathematics just as she had done at State University (Simmons University). It is most likely that Cook was the founder of this early club as she and the Eckstein Daisy Club were among the earliest members and clubs of the NACW prior to the organization of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women. While records are not available to say whether or not Mary V. Cook was present when the NACW was founded, it is likely that she was, since she was heretofore engaged as the Kentucky representative at the Atlanta Congress, participated annually at National Baptist Convention speaking on behalf of full participation for women, and was

¹⁵³ Shaw, "Black Club Women," 433.

actively engaged in other national organizations, including the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In fact Mary V. Cook did attend the first meeting of the NACW September 15-18, 1897 the following year in Nashville, Tennessee, where those present adopted the association's name, constitution, officers of the association, membership guidelines, etc. During the afternoon session on September 16th Cook presented the Eckstein Daisy Club's report to the body assembled. In the morning session the next day, Cook was nominated for the office of Treasurer of the Association, but after a second ballot, Silone Yates of Missouri was elected to the office. Later Cook was appointed to the elections committee in the afternoon session and was named as the State Organizer for Kentucky. She also introduced a successful motion to have the Chairman of the Executive Board contact all states without representation at the conference and request that they appoint State Organizers to serve on the Executive Board. During the afternoon session Cook presented a paper, "Our National Association a Means of Development." That Cook was nominated for an office during the first session of the newly formed NACW speaks to the familiarity of those in attendance with her activist record on behalf of women.¹⁵⁴

Kentucky's other early connection to the national association during the NACW's infancy was the Louisville Woman's Improvement Club, which was organized in 1896 by NACW charter member and national celebrity Ida B. Wells Barnett. In fact, the

¹⁵⁴ Richings, *Evidence of Progress*, pp. 218-221; "The Camp Meeting: Women Who Want to Vote and W.C.T.U. Workers," *Decatur Daily Republican*, July 31, 1894, p. 2; National Association of Colored Women's Clubs Records "Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Held in Howard Chapel Congregational Church at Nashville, Tenn., September 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, 1897" (microfilm Reel 1, frame 77, 78, 80, 81, 82.); Charles Harris Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service*, Washington, DC : Mercury Press, 1984, p. 52. The 1899-1901 list of the names of the NACW clubs by state listed both the Eckstine [sic] club of Caine [sic] Springs, Kentucky and the Louisville Woman's Improvement Club among its club memberships.

organization of the Louisville's Woman's Improvement Club in 1896 marked the beginning of clubs formed specifically related to the national club movement among black Kentuckians. During the same year the national organization began, Ida B. Wells, later known nationally as the "mother of clubs" for launching numerous women's clubs across the country, was in Louisville scheduled to present a lecture titled, "Lynching in America" when she was approached by several women interested in club work. After giving the women a brief description of the mechanics of women's clubs, Wells agreed to meet with them for a more in-depth discussion of the movement. The subsequent meeting resulted in Wells assisting twenty five Louisville women in organizing the Woman's Improvement Club, whose purposes were "[the] elevation of woman, the enriching and betterment of home, and the incitement of proper pride and interest in the race." in 1896. Among the charter members of this club were Mary V. Cook, Georgia A, Nugent, and Mamie E. Steward, all of whom influenced both national and Kentucky club work for many decades.¹⁵⁵

The club was structured to closely resemble the departmental layers of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs as relayed through Ida Wells' experience with the national body. Under the NACW club model, the group functioned through the elected offices of president, vice-president, treasurer, and several recording and corresponding secretaries. The official business of the club, however, was under the direction of the Executive Board Director, who was elected by the body with the club president serving in an ex-officio capacity. Through the seven departments of home and

¹⁵⁵ W.D. Johnson. *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: The Standard Print, 1897, p.95;

health, race, charity, literature, art, music, and current topics, the club organized its efforts at racial uplift.¹⁵⁶

Mrs. Fannie B. Williams, a school teacher who was the first black female graduate from Berea College, where she studied Latin and Greek, was elected as the first president of the group. The groups met twice monthly on the first and third Fridays from 5 to 7 p.m. in Louisville's Young Men's Christian Association Library, where they held their business meeting followed by a presentation given by one of the sections. Woman's Improvement supported kindergarten training classes for black women and ultimately the first black day nursery in Louisville. Club woman Ida B. Nugent, sister of Georgia Nugent, served as principal of the nursery. Eventually in 1905, another Louisville KACW club, the Loyalty Charity Club, opened a second black nursery which tended and fed children beginning at seven o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening for only a nickel per day.¹⁵⁷

Across the state in cities and towns with smaller black populations than those of Lexington and Louisville, black women were organizing clubs with their own specific focus. Among them was the Ladies Domestic Economy Club organized in 1898 in Danville. Their goals of this club were "to encourage domestic economy, and to assist in charitable works, improvement along literary lines and for advancement of womanhood." Two of their projects were providing interest-free scholarship loans to worthy black students and maintaining the grounds of the local black cemetery. During that same year

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.94.

¹⁵⁷ W.D. Johnson. p.95; Burnside, Jacqueline, "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women" in *Appalachian Heritage*, 15, 3 (Summer, 1987), pp 14; Johnson Biographical Sketches, p.96; Wright, History of Blacks in Kentucky, p.35; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 152. "Club Work among Colored Women." *Colored American Magazine*, 11, 2 (August 1906): 87-88; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 152.

another Louisville Club, the Oak and Ivy Embroidery Club also got its start. Its primary focus was assisting the elderly, supporting local charities, and promoting education.¹⁵⁸

A Louisville club that emerged sometime around 1900 gained considerable attention and eventually led to the establishment of the National Training School for Women and Girls. The Women's Industrial Club was organized sometime between 1900 and 1901 by Nannie Helen Burroughs, who had come to Kentucky to serve as secretary, bookkeeper, and stenographer for the Foreign Mission Board of the Baptist Church. The Women's Industrial Club served many functions for Louisville's 50,000 black people. One of the projects of the club was to provide low-cost lunches for office workers in the downtown area. Additionally in the evenings, the club provided classes in domestic science and office skills. Burroughs strongly believed in self-help and taught the evening classes for the club she developed in Louisville. As the club's funds increased, Burroughs hired others to teach the classes, which freed her to serve as the school's director. The Louisville school offered courses in sewing, cooking, shorthand, bookkeeping, typing, handicrafts, and millinery to club members for ten cents per week.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ "62nd Annual Session of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. to be Held at Zion Baptist Church 2200 West Walnut Street Louisville, Kentucky October 14 and 15, 1966," p. 18; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 42.

¹⁵⁹ Daniel, *Women Builders*, p. 110. Daniel's indicates that Burroughs Industrial Club existed for nine years through the funding of Burroughs before a wealthy white woman began assisting her. Since Burroughs was in Louisville for only ten years total, she had to have begun the club during the first twelve months after moving to Louisville; "Eyes on Africa", *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 17 # 33, Sept. 3, 1904, p.1, col.1. This article was one of the earliest references to the Women's Industrial Club however it does not state the actual date that the club was established. Burroughs was president of this club when the KACW was established in November 1903 making it in existence sometime before that date; Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green, eds. *Notable American Women, the Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

In describing the club work that Burroughs managed in Louisville, one writer said, “The leading spirit of this very helpful organization is Miss Nannie Helen Burroughs who has no peer among her sex as a director of large affairs and for thoroughness in in [sic] handling the minutest details of the many departments entrusted to her care.” The writer elaborated on Burroughs’ other activities at the time she was running the Industrial Club, which included her employment with the Foreign Mission Board and serving as the corresponding secretary of the Woman’s Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention. The position with the Woman’s Auxiliary, for which she was paid \$40 per month, required much of her time, including organizing and lecturing responsibilities across the country. If these activities were not enough to occupy her, the article stated that Burroughs also served as principal of William J. Simmons’s Business Institute.¹⁶⁰

Whether their concern for education was focused on young women and adults seeking self-improvement and personal academic growth or on preschool and elementary age children, black women’s groups in other Kentucky cities began to spring up concentrating on educating black people in various age and gender groups. Such was the continuing work of one Covington club established by Fannie B. Williams. Much like the church women who founded the Louisville’s Ladies Sewing Circle in 1877, women in Covington also recognized the needs of many impoverished black children and developed a club to assist.

¹⁶⁰ “Eyes on Africa”, *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 17 # 33, Sept. 3, 1904, p.1. I found no records of a Simmons Business Institute as this author suggests but it could refer to the Eckstein Norton Institute which William J. Simmons founded shortly before his death to provide industrial training for blacks. Burroughs was indeed affiliated with this school for many years.

Fannie B. Williams, wife of Frank L. Williams, the principal of the Covington's Lincoln Grant School, organized the Children's Friend Club on February 6, 1901. Williams, who previously was the first president of the Woman's Improvement Club in Louisville, and twenty other women, many of whom were members of the 9th Street United Methodist Church, came together with a goal of assisting school-age children with clothing and medical needs (doctor visits, dental needs, eye exams, etc. to go to school.) Many of the black children were not attending school because of these issues. In April 1901 the club made dresses and shirts for needy children from gingham they purchased. Some local stores donated fabric and others donated shoes to the group for the children. As a result of the club's efforts, 22 new children were enrolled in the local colored school. The ladies held a Christmas party in December 1901 where they distributed 15 dolls and 10 wagons to needy children. The group selected five women to serve as captains to coordinate efforts to canvas the city the following year to identify indigent school-aged children.¹⁶¹

Some of the aforementioned women's groups eventually became dues paying members of the statewide association of clubwomen. The beginnings of this association can be traced to November 1903 when black women representing various Kentucky clubs met with the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) representative, Elizabeth Lindsay Davis in Louisville's Plymouth Congregational Church to discuss organizing the state's black women's clubs. Davis, who had taught previously in Louisville's public black schools and was known as "Lizzie" by her close friends, eagerly

¹⁶¹Minutes February 6, 1901 through December 19, 1901. Records of the Children's Friend Club of Covington, Kentucky (1901-). From the collection of Rosa Watkins, Anna Mae Snowden-Jones, Alberta Cain and Samuel A. Cain of Atlanta Georgia. Mrs. Rosa Watkins was initially the corresponding secretary of the Children's Friend Club.

returned to Louisville the following month, on December 31, 1903. The group of women again met at Plymouth Congregational Church in Louisville with NACW national organizer Davis where thirteen clubs voted to be federated as the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Kentucky. The name was later changed to the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Incorporated.¹⁶²

In the meeting's evening session, Davis spoke for over an hour on the topic, "The History of the Women's Club." The association elected Louisville teacher Georgia A. Nugent as its first state president and established an executive board chaired by Mamie E. Steward, with Mary V. Cook Parrish, who had married in 1898, and eight other clubwomen constituting the board's membership. Among the other people attending the meeting were Reverend C.C. Wakefield and future clubwoman Emma C. Clement's husband, Reverend George C. Clement, who led the morning and afternoon prayers, respectively. Among the out-of-state guests attending the meeting were future KACW president Lizzie Fouse of Corrydon, Indiana and Professor George Washington Carver from Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The initial membership of the Kentucky organization was thirteen clubs representing 180 total members. Ten of the thirteen charter clubs came from Louisville with one club each coming from Covington, Danville, and Frankfort. It is significant to note that at least five of these thirteen clubs had been

¹⁶² "Federation of Women's Clubs: Lifting as We Climb" *American Baptist* 26:11(January 8, 1904): 1; "Points About People," *American Baptist*, January 1, 1904 p.4; Elizabeth "Lizzie" Lindsay Davis, authored the first history of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs titled *Lifting as they Climb* in 1933.

established in the previous century beginning with the Ladies Sewing Circle which was organized in 1877.¹⁶³

Mary V. Cook Parrish's influence on the KACW is evident in KACW's motto: "Looking upward not downward, outward not inward, forward not backward." When the KACW was organized, Parrish was serving as president of the Kings Daughters Missionary Society of Calvary Baptist Church. The national motto of the Order of the King's Daughters and Sons, of which Cook's group was a member, was almost identical to the one the KACW adopted in 1903. The statewide association's motto, "Looking upward, not downward; Outward not inward; Forward, not backward," expressed the social reform model of improving the welfare of those who were, for whatever reason disadvantaged. The emphasis on "upward" implies racial uplift, a self-help idea that sought to improve or refurbish the black image through moral and material improvements that often mirrored the larger society's definition of respectability and refinement. KACW's refusal to look "downward" recognized that reform women must neither pass judgment on nor look down on those they sought to assist. By looking "outward" they made a commitment to helping others instead of focusing on self-centered goals and programs. Recognizing that the hoped-for outcome of their uplift efforts was to move the masses into a new way of life through their programs, KACW members sought to forget the past and maintain focus on the race's future. The programs of KACW incorporated

¹⁶³ *American Baptist*, 26:11 (January 8, 1904): 1; Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting As They Climb*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933, p. 299; Appendix A provides a list of these original clubs and their respective presidents. For a list of all known affiliate clubs of the KACW, see Appendix B, which is arranged alphabetical by city.

uplift aspirations for educational attainment, the adoption of Victorian ethical and moral practices, and the maintenance of stable homes and families.¹⁶⁴

The KACW's stated purpose in their Constitution was "to secure harmony of action and co-operation among all women, in raising to the highest plane: Home, Moral, Religion and Civic Life." They planned to accomplish their goal by encouraging the establishment of new clubs where they did not exist; assisting local clubs to become more aware of the multiplicity of club work; and by obtaining the support and interest of the "best women of the community for the promotion of education and the betterment of the home." The work of establishing new clubs and encouraging existing clubs to join the fold was the official work of the State Organizer, who was initially Mary Cook Parrish, followed briefly by Mamie Steward.¹⁶⁵

While Kentucky women were in the early stages of expanding the state association, club woman Mamie Steward and others were regularly attending meetings of the NACW and were working to bring Kentucky into the national body. For Kentucky's fledgling association there were a number of reasons to officially affiliate with the NACW. These included the possibility to directly influence national issues through a voice in the NACW, the opportunity to financially support national women's projects, the prospect of taking Kentucky specific issues to the national forefront, the chance to represent Kentucky through national office, and the ability to access national black leaders for local and state activism projects or meetings to help rally Kentucky black

¹⁶⁴Gaines; Shaw, "Black Club Women", p. 433-447.

¹⁶⁵ "62nd Annual Session of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. to be Held at Zion Baptist Church 2200 West Walnut Street Louisville, Kentucky October 14 and 15, 1966," p. 3; Wesley, 423-424; "Federation of Women's Clubs: Lifting as We Climb" *American Baptist* 26:11(January 8, 1904): 1.

populations to specific black causes. An example of this last opportunity came to fruition a little over a year after the KACW organized. In June 1905 Mary Church Terrell delivered an address at Louisville's Bethel A.M.E. Church under the sponsorship of the Baptist Woman's Convention and Louisville's Woman's Improvement Club bringing her views on national "race" issues to Kentucky clubwomen face to face. Terrell also spoke to Louisville's black community at Quinn Chapel on June 19, 1905. Through her relations with the national association, Nannie Helen Burroughs was credited with getting Terrell to lecture in Louisville at the time.¹⁶⁶

In 1906, following the submission of club fees and appropriate paperwork, KACW allied with the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) as dues paying members. Kentucky club women became totally enmeshed in the work of the national organization within a short period, hosting the annual conference of the NACW in Louisville in August 1910 and twice hosting the Central Association of Colored Women in 1934 and again in 1969. Like the national association, the KACW organized by departments, with individual chairpersons coordinating specific programmatic thrusts such as education, better homes, kindergartens, and employment.¹⁶⁷

Meanwhile in Lexington's Dr. Britton, secretary of the Colored Orphan's Home Board sought other women interested in racial uplift efforts. In 1905 she publicly announced the "Woman's Club" which had been established two years earlier by a group of "earnest Christian women, for the purpose of operating a Day Nursery to care for

¹⁶⁶ Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, 46.; Charles Harris Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (Washington, D.C., 1984)52.; *Freeman* (Indianapolis). July 1, 1905, vol. 18 no. 26 p.2 col.2-3.

¹⁶⁷ 62nd Annual Session of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. to be held at the Zion Baptist Church 2200 West Walnut Street Louisville, Kentucky, October 14 and 15, 1966 (conference program), (October 1966): 19.

babies and young children of working parents.” She described the women’s goal “In addition to self-improvement, it is our aim to be of service in the community by assisting to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate.” Her description of the unfortunate was “many self-respecting, well disposed, honest, laboring people who have the good will of the best thinking people, both black and white.” She went on to talk about the women laborers who must leave their children alone at home because they have no one to care for them. The attention of the Women’s Club was to be directed on these working mothers and a day nursery became the primary project of the club. The curriculum for the children included lessons in “politeness, good table manners, love of God and obedience to the laws of society and government,” and “habits of order and cleanliness as a preparation for systematic living.” To encourage other women to assist them and to consider the possibility of joining the group of benevolent women, Britton explained that the membership of the club was limited to thirty members who met in each other’s homes but when a larger meeting space was secured, other women could join the organization. The announcement of a social, “the Sock Social” to help fund the nursery was included in the article and everyone was asked to contribute whether attending the social or not. Britton emphasized that the use of all receipts would be for the nursery and would be publicly explained. The name of the club was eventually changed to the Woman’s Improvement Club. The club successfully raised enough money for the nursery and by 1945 the Day Nursery employed a housekeeper and two matrons, was being supported by the Community Chest and the Lexington government, and over the years had nurtured thousands of children.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ “Colored Woman’s Club.” *Lexington Leader*, October 22, 1905, Section 2, p.5. col. 3-4; Lucy Harth Smith, editor. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*, (Lexington: the

With Mary Cook Parrish serving as their State Organizer, KACW's club membership grew steadily as new clubs like Lexington's Woman's Improvement Club, were established and others were recruited from around the state through her efforts. In 1915, Mrs. Tabitha L. Anderson, Chairperson of State Rural Work, verified that the number of clubs had expanded from the 13 charter clubs to 150 clubs statewide with 50 clubs in rural communities. Since most clubs had memberships of at least ten to fifteen women, the KACW had amassed at least 1,500 to 2,250 members in its first 12 years. At the 1931 state meeting in Danville, the state organizer reported 125 clubs with a total membership of 2,000 women that included seven city federations and one county federation. Records of the association indicate that in 1934 the membership held steady at 125 clubs and 2,000 active members. Over the course of the KACW's history, approximately 300 clubs across Kentucky belonged to the state group at one time or another.¹⁶⁹

Many clubs met in member's homes, which had limited space and this was the primary reason for small memberships of ten to fifteen women, although there were exceptions to this; Louisville's Chrysanthemum Embroidery Club, for example, limited its membership to twenty-five members. These larger clubs met in local churches or lodges regularly because of their size. Once the Louisville and Lexington Phillis Wheatley YWCAs were established, some clubs met in their facilities. Louisville's Charity Pity Club met at members' homes until the organization became too large.

Association, ca. 1947), 49.

¹⁶⁹ "Reports from State Clubs," *National Association Notes* 18:3 (December 1915), 1.; Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, p. 299-300; "Fourth Biennial Session, Central Association of Colored Women of the N.A.C.W." Louisville, KY: the KACW, July 1934, p.7; Appendix A, compiled from NACW and KACW minutes, lists 293 local clubs, 8 city federations, and 2 statewide KACW clubs by city and includes the date each club was formed when known.

Through frugal management, the Charity Pity Club purchased a club house on Walnut Street in 1935. Like many black clubs, Charity Pity enjoyed a stable membership and at one period their membership was as large as one hundred members. Over the course of its history Danville's Domestic Economy Club owned three different clubhouses. They generously donated their first clubhouse to the black community to serve as a day nursery and old folks home. In Owensboro, the Married Ladies Industrial Club purchased property on which they erected their clubhouse. The Jolly Matrons Improvement Club in Elizabethtown indicated in 1945 their plans to build a club house on property that clubwoman Mrs. Bettie Board had bequeathed them.¹⁷⁰

While club size was often limited, the programmatic thrust of these groups seemed inexhaustible, running the gamut of issues facing the black community and focusing on everything from art and literature projects to anti-lynching legislation, from supporting playground equipment to patriotism, from promoting black history textbooks to providing hospital equipment in segregated wards, and from building dormitories for women to beautifying drab communities. Many of the early concerns for children remained from one decade to another, with day care facilities continuing to be an issue into the 1930s as did the access to education opportunities including libraries, quality medical and health services, and political equality. In the 1910s some clubs were concerned about health issues and with the beginnings of Negro Health Week in 1915, clubs put more emphasis on supporting small clinics, health education, or creating other health related projects. Individual KACW women with a particular interest in a project motivated and mobilized other women to join the causes and become a collective voice

¹⁷⁰ "KACW 62nd meeting program," 22; Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 24, 16, 41, 40.; *Scrapbook of the Domestic Economy Club, Danville Kentucky* in the custody of Helen Fisher Frye.

for providing summer health camps for malnourished children, hospital care for blacks, elder care facilities, black history education, libraries, YWCAs, prison reform legislation, pay equity for black teachers and numerous other causes. Statewide black clubwomen worked developing the local black communal infra-structure through self-help institutions and programs.¹⁷¹

While individual local clubs sponsored and supported individual projects that were specific to the needs of their home communities, they worked collectively through the KACW on certain issues. The KACW supported two statewide projects, the “Scholarship Loan Fund” and “Cancer Control” which it promoted annually. The “Scholarship Loan Fund” begun in 1913 by Lizzie B. Fouse of Lexington as a means to support students seeking college degrees was the first proposed statewide project. Under the provisions of the fund, worthy students borrowed money from the fund and upon graduation paid back the KACW for the use of the money. The Scholarship Fund received its monies through interest from two certificates of deposits plus annual donations from churches, community leaders, and the KACW membership. The Scholarship Loan Fund committee held annual fundraising competitions among all KACW clubs. The club collecting the most money for the fund received a medal and bragging rights for the year. Whichever individual collected the most money over twenty-five dollars received a ring monogrammed with SLF and engraved inside with the

¹⁷¹Lucy Harth Smith, editor. *The Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1947. This alphabetical directory of some of the association’s clubs documents club goals and individual club projects and accomplishments as well as lists officers. Darlene Clark Hine, “Introduction” in *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. xxii. Hine emphasized the agency of African American women in developing “religious, educational, health care, philanthropic, political, familial institutions and professional organizations that enabled our people to survive.” Hine labels the process of building and shaping the black neighborhoods as “making community.”

year and “Ky. Fed.” By 1933, the Association had raised over ten thousand dollars for scholarships. As a result of its fundraising during the first twenty years of the Scholarship Loan program, forty- two black students graduated from such colleges as Wilberforce College, Fisk, Simmons University, and Kentucky State Normal with loans from the program. Kentucky was the first state to have a scholarship loan fund. The NACW eventually established a similar fund, and Lizzie Fouse eventually served as chair of the National Scholarship Committee which monitored and distributed the funds.¹⁷²

The second state project of the KACW was for Cancer Control. Through a recommendation from the KACW in 1938, Alice B. Crutcher of Louisville was appointed Vice-Commander of the Kentucky Division of the American Cancer Society. The Cancer Control program was successfully monitored by Crutcher for many years, culminating in the creation of fifty-five chapters of the American Cancer Society in the state and a Cancer Clinic established in the Red Cross Hospital, a black facility. The Clinic was the first to be set up in a black hospital with the approval of the American College of Surgeons. Through this facility impoverished cancer patients received cancer therapy. Crutcher also organized a volunteer service which educated people about cancer, treatment facilities, and approved cancer therapy. Several club women, including Emma C. Clement, and Carolyn Steward Blanton, worked closely with Crutcher disseminating information and soliciting volunteers. Throughout its history, the KACW supported numerous other progressive initiatives, including the passage of legislation to establish

¹⁷² Davis, *Lifting*, 304-306; The NACW established the Hallie Quinn Brown Scholarship Loan Fund in 1922. Davis, *Lifting*,104.

health care facilities for the black mentally retarded, and the passage in 1929 of the Mother's Aid Pension Law, which provided pensions for widowed women.¹⁷³

When Lucy Harth Smith was president of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs she launched a project to document the eighty clubs that were active within the association. Smith worked through the membership to compile and edit *The Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. This publication documented the purpose and accomplishments, provided the names and addresses of the current officers and membership of each club, included photographs of each club's officers or members. Other than annual minutes of the state organization this directory is one of the few publications which acknowledged the state wide activities and provided faces to the names of those women involved in the community organizing efforts also unlike the minutes the directory provides club goals and individual club activities, while the minutes only list action taken by the body and names of members present.¹⁷⁴

With each decade, the willing members of the KACW took on new programs and found numerous ways of attacking the structures that dictated second class citizenship for the black population. During national conferences, Kentucky clubwomen participated in discussions on relevant matters of the day as they related specifically to women and African Americans and endorsed national solutions and methods to challenge the status quo. At the 1912 national convention in Hampton Virginia, one topic of discussion was woman's suffrage. This issue was further emphasized in 1920 following the ratification of the 19th amendment to the Constitution granting women's voting rights. Kentuckian

¹⁷³ KACW 62nd Session meeting program, 3; Wesley, 424-5; Davis, *Lifting*, 304-306.

¹⁷⁴ Lucy Harth Smith, editor. *The Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1947.

Georgia Nugent, who was chair of the NACW Executive Committee, commented on the NACW proposal to establish citizenship schools, saying, “The ballot without intelligence back of it is a menace instead of a blessing and I like to believe that women are accepting their recently granted citizenship with a sense of reverent responsibility.”¹⁷⁵

As United States entered World War I, women proved their worthiness for full citizenship by supporting patriotic works in their local communities. Nationally black club women raised five million dollars in war bonds. In December 1917, state president Martha E. Williams assembled a group of club members and urged them to eliminate waste in their daily meal plans to support the war effort. “Our government has called the women of the great commonwealth to arms to do her fighting with the knife and fork, by eliminating all waste and using less wheat, beef, pork, mutton, lard, sugar and milk, may the women of the Federation of Kentucky not be slackers but measure up on the foremost line with the women of the world in this battle. We can win and come off the field with flying colors and we must win.” Kentucky clubwoman Georgia A. Nugent, who was the NACW’s corresponding secretary at this time, also admonished black women to become involved in other war efforts through the various service groups. “The great World’s War, which in we have been so deeply plunged and one that has no parallel in history, has been the means of a closer cooperation.... [We will] cooperate in every way from conservation of food, Red Cross work, and buying of Baby Bonds and Liberty Bonds.” Additionally, at the 1918 biennial meeting of the NACW in Denver, Kentucky’s Mary Waring led a group of Red Cross workers into the convention while the audience rose and sang the “Star Spangled Banner.” She further encouraged convention attendees to

¹⁷⁵ NACW Reel 1, frames 0613

sign a petition requesting the use of black Red Cross nurses during the war. Waring also presented a well-attended symposium on “Health, Hygiene, and War Foods,” where she distributed leaflets on both tuberculosis and venereal disease.¹⁷⁶

Patriotic work among KACW women did not end with the First World War. One of the local clubs was established on December 1, 1942, to support the war effort during World War II. The Dorie Miller Chapter of American War Mothers boasted a membership of one hundred ten Lexington women. They worked to foster patriotism and to assist and unite mothers whose children were serving in the armed forces during World War II. Their goals also included a desire to assist service men and women who were wounded or disabled in the wars and to work with the American War Mothers Organization. When the Dorie Miller Chapter was established, Lucy Harth Smith, whose youngest son Edwin was drafted into the Army during this period, became the corresponding secretary for the group. Smith recognized that blacks had historically defended the country but the country had never defended them or appreciated their patriotism. She routinely articulated the need for blacks to continuously demonstrate their commitment to the nation through military service and bragged with racial as well as national pride when she outlined ways that blacks were performing on the battlefields

¹⁷⁶Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, p. 60; Martha E. Williams, “President’s Address” (speech given before the KACW on December 1, 1917), in National Association of Colored Women, Holograph Reports, 1897-1952, The Papers of Mary Church Terrell (Washington, D.C. : Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1977); Georgia A. Nugent, “Report of the Corresponding Secretary for 1917 and 1918. “in National Association of Colored Women, 11th Biennial Convention Minutes, July 1918, NACW Papers, 7; Davis, *Lifting* p.60; Mary Waring, “Health, Hygiene, and War Foods, “ in National Association of Colored Women, 11th Biennial Convention Minutes, July 1918, NACW Papers, 37.

abroad. Smith explained that by fighting and giving their lives in the war blacks were entitled to full citizenship.¹⁷⁷

Whether it was patriotism or tackling everyday problems of black community, KACW women were there to provide solutions. One of the areas of concern was young women's social and economic empowerment along Christian lines. Mary Cook Parrish was very familiar with the work of the Young Women's Christian Association as she had served as president of the Young Men and Young Women's Christian Association while attending State University in Louisville in the 1880s. Parrish relished the YWCA goals to "promote growth in Christian character and service through physical, social, mental and spiritual training and to become a social force for the extension of the kingdom of God." Her early exposure to the work of the YWCA as a student led her to work to establish a branch of the YWCA in Louisville. Thus in 1917 Mary V. Cook Parrish and a committee of black women established the black YWCA which became known as the Phillis Wheatley Branch. They offered a multitude of programs and had increasingly large memberships. Louisville's YWCA Board of Managers was an affiliate member of the KACW. In Lexington, club women Lizzie Fouse and E. Belle Jackson, the KACW's fourth and fifth presidents respectively, played a considerable role in the creation of the Phillis Wheatley branch of the YWCA in Lexington in 1920. Both Louisville and Lexington's YWCA governing bodies were affiliate members of the KACW.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, p.27. "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association Held in Washington, D.C., October 30- November 1, 1942." *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 28, no.1 (Jan., 1943), 5.

¹⁷⁸ I. Garland Penn. *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*. (Springfield: MA, Willey & Co., 1891), 368-370. ; Mary S. Sims. *The YWCA – An Unfolding Purpose* (New York: Woman's Press, 1950) 57-59; The YWCA student movement began in 1873 at Illinois State Normal University. Prior to that, college women participated in student YMCA chapters. Apparently, State University combined the two groups; *YWCA Records*, Box 3, University of Louisville. *National Association Notes*. Vol. 18, no. 3 December 1915, p. 6. National Association of Colored Women Microfilm Reel 23, frame 648; Young Women's Christian

While the YWCAs supported healthy as well as Christian bodies through youth activities, other health related groups formed across the state. Beginning in 1915, Booker T. Washington's Negro Health Week increased club interest in the areas of health. Many club women supported a variety of programs across the state, as a part of Negro Health Week. Additionally hospital and health related clubs formed providing a variety of services to sick and hospitalized patients. Many of these facilities and clubs supported specific hospital wards and rooms in local hospitals which were earmarked for "colored" patients.¹⁷⁹

For instance, the Frankfort hospital had its beginnings when several African American women established the Women's Hospital Club in 1910 under the leadership of Winnie A. Scott. Winnie Scott, born in Frankfort Kentucky, was among the members of the first graduating class of the State Normal School for Colored Persons, now Kentucky State University, in 1890. She became a teacher first in the segregated school systems in Bagdad and Lawrenceburg, then in Frankfort, and finally became the assistant principal of the black high school in Frankfort. Through Scott's leadership, the Hospital Club raised enough money to purchase a building which was transformed into a hospital to serve blacks in Frankfort. After Scott's death, the club women continued fundraising until in 1915 they were able to construct a modern hospital which they named the Winnie A. Scott Hospital in their club leader's honor. That hospital was the only hospital in Frankfort that served blacks until 1959, when the other hospital desegregated. The Winnie A. Scott Hospital was generously supported by Frankfort's City Federation of

Association of Louisville Records 1911-1979. (Louisville, Ky.) Box 28. Branch Correspondence. "The News", 1917, p.2.

¹⁷⁹The records on Negro Health Week are located in the Booker T. Washington papers, Box 132, Moton Papers at Hollis Burke Frissell Library, Tuskegee University; *Works Projects Administration in Kentucky*. Jefferson County. 1935-1941, Box 59.

Women's Clubs as well as individual club efforts such as the Woman's Progressive Club, and the Domestic Economy Club.¹⁸⁰

Likewise, other clubs recognized the need for appropriate health care facilities in their communities which led to the creation of additional facilities. Clubwomen whose efforts resulted in the establishment of hospitals and hospital rooms for blacks were honored with clubs named for them including the aforementioned Winnie A. Scott Memorial Hospital Club, and the Amanda Smith Hospital Club in Shelbyville, and the Annie Simms Banks Auxiliary Club of Clark County Hospital in Winchester. These hospital clubs worked to insure that the black facilities were maintained through fundraising and personal effort on the part of club members. The Daisy M. Saffell Hospital in Shelbyville was named for the woman whose tireless efforts created it. Likewise, Covington's Slaughter Memorial Hospital was the result of the efforts of the Mother's Club and its President, Effie Slaughter, to rally ministers, doctors, and other community members to support the hospital's creation.¹⁸¹

Some Kentucky clubs honored famous black women by naming clubs after them. These included the Junior and Senior Phyllis Wheatley Clubs in Paris, the Phyllis Wheatley Loyalty Club in Middlesboro, and the Mary McLeod Bethune Art Club in Winchester. In Danville one club was named the Mary B. Talbert Club after woman who served as the NACW national president from 1916 to 1920. Interestingly, three women's

¹⁸⁰ *Fourth Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School for Colored Persons for 1890-91 and Annual Announcement for 1891-92, Frankfort, Ky.* (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson Public Printer, 1891), 51; Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, 239-40; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 18, 26, 52.

¹⁸¹ "Covington News." *The Kentucky Club Woman* 10(1) (Feb. 1928), 3. Both the white and black club women of Kentucky used the same name for their publication. The sub-title for this publication is "Official Organ of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs." This issue is in the Danville "Domestic Economy Club History" scrapbook in the possession of Mrs. Helen Fisher Frye, Danville; Davis, p. 305; *Kentucky Club Woman* vol. 10 no. 1, February 1928, 3.

clubs were named in honor of well-known black men: the George Washington Carver Art Club in Winchester, the Booker T. Washington Club in Russellville, and the previously mentioned Dorie Miller Chapter of American War Mothers which was organized in Lexington.¹⁸²

Still other clubs were named for Kentucky clubwomen such as KACW pioneer, Mamie E. Steward. On May 22, 1930 twelve Louisville women established a club as a tribute to honor the memory of Steward, “whom everyone loved and revered”. The Mamie E. Steward Friendly Group’s goals were “improvement, civic, and racial uplift.” Steward, who had become ill in 1929 eventually, died in March 1931. Mamie E. Steward was highly regarded in all aspects of her life, and the respect she earned in her life was evident at her funeral. She was eulogized by the NACW biographer and friend Lindsay Davis, who said, “Beautiful in person, beautiful in life, beautiful in character, always congenial, always lovable, always amiable, always affable, always patient, always happy, she had an unlimited circle of friends at home and abroad who knew her worth, who commended and approved her work and called her blessed.” Other clubs named after KACW clubwomen include O.K. Glass Circle, Junior Club (Frankfort), the Georgia A. Nugent Improvement Club (Louisville), Elizabeth C. Carter Neighborhood Club (Louisville), and the Daisy M. Saffell Circle of Kings Daughters in Shelbyville.¹⁸³

Although club work on the local level was varied and individually focused year to year, the work on the national level was extremely structured and offered many challenges to effectuate change on a broad scale. Kentucky’s initial club leadership was eager to embrace the challenges that faced black people nationally and sought national

¹⁸² *KACW Records*, Minutes list participating clubs by name as well as the annual meeting programs.

¹⁸³ Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 39; Davis, *Lifting*, 242.

office. Women such as Mary Cook Parrish were already regularly attending and actively participating in NACW programs when the KACW affiliated with the national group in 1906. However, other Kentucky women enthusiastically welcomed opportunities to serve the national body. Beginning with the 1906-1908 biennial, Mamie Steward, Ida Joyce Jackson and Mary Cook Parrish held national positions. Steward was elected as one of the recording secretaries, Ida Joyce Jackson of Frankfort was appointed as Chairman of Ways and Means, and Parrish was appointed as Head of the Social Sciences Department.¹⁸⁴

As the needs of the NACW grew, it added new departments and positions, such as statistician. In 1908, Mary Cook Parrish was the first person to be elected as national statistician and was regularly re-elected, while Steward remained recording secretary. In July of 1912, when Parrish was re-elected national statistician for her third 2-year term at Hampton Institute, she asked that specific instructions be given regarding her report as the NACW statistician, which was seconded by Mrs. Booker T. Washington. Consequently, Parrish was required to provide a detailed tabulated report for inclusion in the association's minutes, which had not been provided in the past. Parrish continued to be the statistician through the 1916-1918 term. Over the duration of her affiliation with the organization Parrish also held several other positions within the NACW.¹⁸⁵

In fact, from 1906 through 1918, Kentucky women occupied at least two of the thirteen national elected offices. Beginning in 1914 Georgia A. Nugent of Louisville also

¹⁸⁴ NACW reel 23, frame 0330- 0333.

¹⁸⁵ Minutes. Minutes of the Fifth Biennial Meeting or sixth convention of the National Association of Colored Women Held at Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York, August 24th to 29th 1908. New Bedford, Mass: New Bedford Printing Co, 1909. NACW microfilm Reel 23, frames 349, 363, 373, 375, 389, 393; *National Notes*, vol. 16 #5, May 1913. NACW Records (microfilm); Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting As They Climb*, 299, 34-36.

joined the national officers, first as corresponding secretary and then as Chairman of the Executive Board, through 1922. The 1914-1916 biennium was an exceptional period for Kentucky women, as they held two national offices, plus chaired five departments. Among the departments and their chairpersons were: Rescue Department chaired by E. Belle Jackson; Industrial and Social Conditions chaired by Mamie Steward; Rural Conditions chair, Tabitha Anderson; Railway Conditions chairperson Lizzie Fouse and Printing Chairperson Mamie Steward. During this time, Mary Parrish also served as National Chaplin, where her motto was, "You must not only pray but you must work." Beginning in 1922, Lexington's Lizzie Fouse was elected as Corresponding Secretary, while Tabitha Anderson of Frankfort became the chair of Home Economics, and Louisvillians Mamie Steward and Fannie Givens chaired Fine Arts and Crafts and Printing respectively. By 1926 Fouse was the only Kentucky woman in an elected position. However, the KACW remained on the national scene in various capacities including through Mamie Steward who at the age of sixty-eight represented the Central Association of Colored Women on the Resolutions Committee. Also, Fannie R. Givens served on the NACW Trustee Board, which was chaired by Mary McLeod Bethune. Kentuckians leading NACW departments included Louisville's Fannie R. Givens chairing the Fine Arts Department; Tabitha Anderson of Frankfort chairing the Rural Department; and Lexington's Lizzie Fouse chairing the Child, Welfare, and Maternity Department. Fouse also continued to serve as Corresponding Secretary until 1928 and then moved on to become National Chairman of the Better Homes Department until 1930. When Sallie Stewart of Indiana became national president in 1930 she officially narrowed the focus of the association to concentrate on the work of two departments, the

Mother, Home, and Child Department and Negro Women in Industry Department.

Stewart named Lizzie Fouse as National Chairmen of the former. Lizzie Fouse remained in the national arena as head of the Mother, Home, and Child Department from 1930 until 1935.¹⁸⁶

After 1935, Kentucky women's election to national level positions dwindled, and it was more than ten years before they held another NACW elected positions, when Lexington's Lucy Harth Smith was elected as Parliamentarian in 1947. Smith also served as Chairman of the Executive Board of the National Association for Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) and was among their founders in 1930 in Hot Springs, Arkansas and served as their national supervisor for four years. Serving as a role model for young girls, she encouraged them to set high goals and equally high moral standards. The national motto for the girls is "Know Thyself" and their emblem represents the four leaf clover, the fourfold development of girls – "mind, soul, body, race." The name was later changed to the National Association of Girls Clubs (NAGC). Smith worked with the state Kentucky Association of Colored Girls and her expectations for these girls relating to high moral standards was consistent with the beliefs that Smith often voiced to other young girls at her school and in the Lexington community. During this same time, Lizzie

¹⁸⁶ Minutes of the Fifth Biennial Meeting or sixth convention of the National Association of Colored Women Held at Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York, August 24th to 29th 1908. New Bedford, Mass: New Bedford Printing Co, 1909. Microfilm reel 23 frame 330; Minutes. Minutes of the Ninth Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women Held at Galloway Hall, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce Ohio, August 4-6, 1914. Reel 23, frame 407-408. ; Ibid. Reel 23 Frame 349 ;Minutes of the Eighth Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women. July twenty third to July twenty seventh, 1912 Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Hampton, VA. p. 43. Microfilm Reel 23, frame 0363 ; National Association of Colored Women Records (Microfilm) Reel 1 frame 0847, 0849; *National Association Notes*, v. 17 no. 4, Mar-Apr 1915, p. 8, Reel 23; *National Association Notes*. vol. 18, no. 3 December 1915, vol 18, no. 3 p. 6. ; NACW Reel 23, frames 0648, 0649; Davis, *Lifting*, 34-40; 97-101; *National Notes*, vo. 26, no. 11 July 1924, Reel 23 Frame 0900 ; *National Notes*, vol. 37, no. 3 Feb. -Mar 1935, p. 13; NACW minutes, reel 23, frame 0392; *National Notes* Jan-Feb 1947, reel 25 frame 0126, 0127; Davis, *Lifting*, 93.

Fouse, who started the KACW Scholarship Loan Fund, served as chairman of the national Scholarship Committee.¹⁸⁷

It is significant that Kentucky women were consistently part of the early leadership of the national body and were not just the recipients of national policy and program initiatives, but rather were engaged in the initial national dialogue and decision-making process. Kentucky's heavy representation on the national level may be attributed to the degree of support received from Kentucky's women, the large number of clubs in the state, and the number of delegates who attended the NACW conventions. KACW clubwomen were also innovative and creative, claiming the distinction of two firsts among the NACW membership. They were the first NACW affiliate association to have a state publication, the *Kentucky Club Woman*, which was initially edited by Daisy Saffell. They were also the first to establish a scholarship loan project in 1913. The NACW eventually established a similar scholarship program, the Hallie Quinn Brown Scholarship Loan Fund, in 1922. Kentucky women supported the NACW in all fund-raising events and national programs, and they regularly sent many representatives to the conferences. For example, in 1912, in addition to national officers Mary Parrish and Mamie Steward, 17 other Kentucky women attended the convention representing 11 clubs, 2 city federations, and the statewide KACW.¹⁸⁸

Besides the local Kentucky women who attended the national conferences, Kentucky was represented by another woman who had grown up in the state. Although she is often listed as having been born in Louisville, Mary Fitzbutler Waring was born in

¹⁸⁷ Davis, Lifting, 75, 88-97; *National Notes*. Vol. 28, no. 1, Jan-Feb1947, p.1 NACW microfiche reel 25, frame 115.

¹⁸⁸ Minutes, Eighth Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women Reel 1, frame 0375; Davis, 104.

Amherstburg, Ontario, Canada, on November 1, 1869 to Sarah and Henry Fitzbutler. When Mary was almost four years old, her father, who later became a medical doctor, moved his family to Louisville, Kentucky, in July 1873 and founded the only hospital for blacks in the city. Later in 1892, Sarah, Mary's mother, also completed her medical degree and became Kentucky's first black female medical doctor. Both parents worked in the same hospital and were often assisted by Mary even during her youth, which undoubtedly influenced Mary to become a doctor as well. Mary's early life in Kentucky consisted of education in the colored schools of the city and attending the local normal school. Following in her mother's footsteps, she also graduated from the National Medical College of Louisville. Like her mother, Mary was always active in community organizations, the women's clubs, church, and social groups. She taught high school in the Louisville colored school system from 1898 until 1901 when she married Frank B. Waring and moved to Chicago to become a teacher there.¹⁸⁹

During her early years in Chicago, Waring continued taking an active role in her community, working with such groups as the Phyllis Wheatley Club and the Emanuel Settlement Day Nursery, which assisted young black women migrants. Waring took a leadership role within these organizations, which assisted women in locating housing, child care, vocational training and counseling, and employment. She later established the Necessity Club, which maintained a Day Nursery on Dearborn Street providing much

¹⁸⁹ Leslie L. Hanawalt. "Henry Fitzbutler: Detroit's First Black Medical Student," *Detroit in Perspective: A Journal of Regional History* 1(Winter 1973): pp. 130-1. According to this source, the Fitzbutlers were living in Canada when at least two of their six children were born. Since Mary later gets naturalized it is obvious that she was not native born as most sources of information on her have indicated. Also the 1950 supplement to the Who's Who in Colored America finally lists her birthplace as Amherstburg after erroneously listing it as Louisville in its directories from 1927 through the 1944 editions; Most sources also give her birth year as around 1870 while the 1900 U.S. Census lists it as 1869; *1900 United States Federal Census* [Database online]. Louisville Ward 10, Jefferson, Kentucky: RollT623 531; Page 10B; "Race Gleanings: Louisville" *Indianapolis Freeman*, March 25, 1905, v. 18 no. 12, p. 7, col. 4.

needed services for the black community's mothers. Waring served as the club's president for its first twelve years. Through her local work she was able to raise community awareness of working women's health issues and the need to extend health care services to them. Her leadership skills expanded beyond the local level when in 1911 she was selected to represent the NACW on the National Council of Women. Waring's next leadership opportunity was as the corresponding secretary for the Illinois Federation of Colored Women in 1913. That same year she was appointed not only chair of the NACW Department of Health and Hygiene but also editor of the *National Notes*, the official NACW newsletter, where, she regularly addressed health concerns in *National Notes* columns. At the 1933 NACW Chicago Convention, Waring was elected national president after serving four years as national vice-president. As National President, she emphasized issues around family, home life, women's work and, of course, health. Through her messages in *National Notes* she spoke out against discrimination and lynching. She had a very productive presidency and was rewarded with a second term through 1937.¹⁹⁰

Club work was infectious, and like Mary Fitzbutler Waring, many other women formed or joined women's clubs wherever they moved. Oftentimes, they formed clubs similar to those in which they had previously participated. Three good examples are Ida Joyce Jackson Fannie B. Miller Williams, and Nannie Helen Burroughs.¹⁹¹

Jackson was born to James and Kate Joyce in Columbus, Ohio on March 28, 1863 and attended the public schools in the city, graduating from Central High School in 1882.

¹⁹⁰Rima Lumin Schultz and Adele Hast, eds. *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990: a Biographical Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 936-9.

¹⁹¹Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, 297.

The available records do not indicate what she did for the next few years until she served as the first assistant to Professor W.H. Mayo in Frankfort, Kentucky's public colored schools from 1885 to 1888. Beginning with the 1888 school year Joyce accepted a position to teach at the State Normal School for Colored Persons in the same city. The State Normal School was under the direction of John H. Jackson of Lexington and on July 17, 1889, Ida Joyce and he married. Interested in club work, Jackson most likely formed the Normal Reading Circle which became one of the charter clubs of the Kentucky Association. As previously stated, Jackson was one of two women to represent Kentucky at the Atlanta Congress of Colored Women in 1895. At this Congress Jackson submitted a successfully resolution to make the Congress a permanent body. Jackson remained devoted to club work after she left Kentucky in 1898 and moved to Jefferson City, Missouri, where her husband became president of the Lincoln Institute. While in Missouri, Ida Jackson studied both French and sociology at the Institute from 1899 to 1900. Two years after moving to Missouri, Ida J. Jackson was among the charter members of the Missouri Association of Colored Women's Clubs where she was elected as the corresponding secretary on July 21, 1900. When the family moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado again she worked diligently among the local women and for the second time she became a charter member of a state federation with the founding of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Colorado in June 13, 1904. There she was elected as the first president of that Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Colorado Association.¹⁹²

¹⁹² *Who's Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent*, vol.1. (Chicago: Frank Lincoln Mather, 1915), 150.; John A. Hardin. *Onward and Upward: A Centennial History of Kentucky State University 1886-1986*. (Frankfort: Kentucky State University, 1987), 3. ; Davis. *Lifting as They Climb*, 25-26 ; Hardin, *Onward and Upward*, 5; Davis, *Lifting*, 345, 118-120.

Fannie Miller Williams' club devotion spanned multiple locales as well. She was born Fannie Belle Miller in Danville, Kentucky, in June 1864 to Susan Davis, an enslaved woman. Fannie later became the first black woman to graduate from Berea College, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree in Latin and Greek in 1888. After graduation and marriage to Frank Williams, the family moved to Louisville, where Fannie taught school and became the first president of Louisville's Woman Improvement Club when it was organized in 1896. This club established the first black kindergarten in Louisville. When Fannie's family moved to Covington, she organized the Children's Friend Club in the city in 1901 to assist children with clothing and medical needs to enable them to go to school. Both clubs which she helped organize and where she served as president focused on early childhood education, and both became charter clubs of the KACW in 1903.¹⁹³

In 1908 the family moved to St. Louis, Missouri where Fannie continued working for racial uplift through women's clubs and the community. She was a member of St. Louis's College Women's Club, the Booklovers Club, and later the League of Women Voters. Club women in St. Louis worked closely with the League of Women Voters to develop citizenship training programs for many communities throughout the state. They also worked to get all black women registered and out to vote in elections. Williams also worked toward the building of both the Pine Street YMCA for blacks and the Phillis Wheatley YWCA in St. Louis. Along with her husband they helped raise \$50,000 to take advantage of a Rosenwald Fund grant to build a local black YMCA. She was a tireless

¹⁹³ Berea College Archives, Record Group 8, Students; Burnside, Jacqueline, "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women" in *Appalachian Heritage*, 15, 3 (Summer, 1987), 14-15; Davis, *Lifting*, 299.

worker in the YWCA movement and voiced a deep concern for women and girls. In recognition of their dedication and determined effort on behalf of the black YWCAs, she and Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown became the first black women to serve on the national Board of the YWCA.¹⁹⁴

Nannie Helen Burroughs who enjoyed a national reputation among black women in both the religious and secular realms also established women's clubs in multiple states. Although she was a founding mother for the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and often attended National Association meetings, her work with the NACW did not begin until 1912 when she became head of the Young Women's Work Department. Dedicated to the ideas of the NACW, she has the distinction of being a founding mother of two club federations with the Washington, D.C. and Vicinity Federation of Women's Clubs being the second one. After organizing the D.C. group in 1920 she was elected to serve as the second vice president at their organizational meeting. She later served them as Regional President beginning in 1922, and served on various committees, often addressing the NACW body.¹⁹⁵

While some contend that all the club women were prominent, college educated women, in Kentucky that was not the case. While it is true that many of the club presidents and most of the state presidents were college educated, but many clubs included everyday laborers such as maids, cooks, seamstresses, and nursemaids among its membership. By its annual meeting in Danville in 1931 KACW had 2,000 members, 1,000 of whom were school teachers and another 20 who were school principals in black

¹⁹⁴ "From Slavery's Shadow to Leadership," *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 15, 1950, p. 37; "Mrs. Frank L. Williams Buried from her Home," *St. Louis Argus*, November 23, 1956, p. 1.; "The Educational World: An American Family VIII," *Headlines and Pictures*, August 1946, pp. 36-38; Wesley 347.

¹⁹⁵ Davis. *Lifting as They Climb*, 409.

schools, but the remaining clubwomen were engaged in a variety of other occupations. These included fifty dressmakers, ten caterers, thirty beauticians, twelve nurses, three florists, three in the arts, one attorney, and five hundred in “industry” which apparently meant they were not self-employed and worked in factories and other businesses. Other club women were everyday laborers like Gertrude Boulder, a domestic who wanted to advance the race. Another laboringwoman was “Mother” Clara Porter, founder of Louisville’s Charity Pity Literary Club, who was described as “a plain, modest woman both in spirit and in dress; a member of the Fifth Street Baptist Church; a domestic worker who delighted to share her meager earnings encouraging the discouraged, bestowing flowers, both real and those of spoken words, thus punching holes in the darkness.” Nannie Helen Burroughs also was not a college graduate unlike most of the KACW and NACW’s leadership. However, Eckstein-Norton University, in Cane Springs, Kentucky gave her an honorary A.M. degree in 1907. For her dedicated work educating black women the president of Shaw University, an historically black university in Raleigh, North Carolina, awarded her an honorary LL.D. degree in 1944.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Davis 299-300; The 1910 U.S. Census of Population reveals that of Kentucky’s black women, 37% were domestic servants, 37% were laundresses, 3% were farm employees, 2% or 1,006 black women were teachers leaving 21% unemployed, in private business or homemakers; “KACW 62nd Annual Session program, p. 23.; Davis 299-300; The *1910 U.S. Census of Population* reveals that of Kentucky’s black women, 37% were domestic servants, 37% were laundresses, 3% were farm employees, 2% or 1,006 black women were teachers leaving 21% unemployed, in private business or homemakers; “Public Investigation will be held into Circumstances Surrounding Death of Woman at Police Station.” *Lexington Herald*, April 7, 1925; Frank Lincoln Mather, ed. *Who’s Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent*. Chicago: Mather, 1915.p. 52. Mather also indicates that she took a business course in 1902. If this information is true, the course would have been taken in Louisville which may mean that she had an additional business course beyond the one in D.C.; Harrison, *Dream and the Dreamer*, p. 100; Marcia G. Synnott. “Burroughs, Nannie Helen”, <http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00132.html>; *American National Biography Online*. Feb 2000. Access Date Wed. Sep. 6 17:31:05 EDT 2006. Copyright 2000 American Council of Learned Societies. Published by Oxford University Press. This article states that the LL.D. was conferred upon Burroughs in 1944. However, the essay by Olivia Pearl Stokes gives the date as 1949. Olivia Pearl Stokes. “Burroughs, Nannie,” in Dorothy C. Salem, ed. *African American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993.

Although these were not all college educated women, they were probably all members of a local church. During the early decades of the 20th century many of them became members of sororities and professional groups, further expanding their networks of friendships. The club movement also reached a larger population of younger women through its work with the National Association of Colored Girls Clubs, thus establishing a future base for the continuation of their work. According to historian Charles Payne, whatever activities women participated in, they did so through extended relationships as well as organized groups, involving their neighbors, church associates, sorority sisters, W.C.T.U. members, political allies, lodge members, and family members.¹⁹⁷

Club work was also passed on from one generation to the next as can be seen through the labors of Emma Clement and Mamie Steward and their daughters, Abbie Clement Jackson and Carolyn Steward Blanton. This was also the case with Drs. Sarah Fitzbutler and her daughter Mary Fitzbutler Waring who were among Louisville's early club women. Still other women and their daughters were members of the same clubs. One example is the Allen family of Paris, Kentucky, all of whose female members were members of the Phyllis Wheatley Club. Anna Allen Edwards proclaimed that the club was "everything" and that she and her sister couldn't wait to become members like their mother." In fact, both her mother Ernestine Allen, age 76, and her sister Edwina Allen Smarr were active members of this club in 2000.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Charles M. Payne. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁸ Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as they Climb*, p. 297; Both Fitzbutlers are listed in this source as Kentucky club women in business.; Discussion with Anna Allen Edwards at the ninety-sixth annual session of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, held in Winchester Kentucky, October 6, 2000 where I was the keynote speaker; *The Kentucky Club Woman*, October 2000, p. 6.

Most Kentucky clubs enjoyed continuity through both a stable membership and an unwavering dedication among founding members. Such was the case for the Louisville's Charity Pity Literary Club, organized on Easter Sunday in 1915, whose stated purpose was "to help others." The Club contributed to the Red Cross Hospital, Y.W.C.A., Community Chest, NAACP, Old Folks Home, U.S.O., Tuberculosis Seals, Red Cross, Christmas Cheers and the Cancer Control Drive. Like many black clubs, Charity Pity enjoyed a stable membership. In fact, when it celebrated its thirtieth anniversary on April 15, 1945, the Charity Pity Literary Club had elected only two club presidents, Miss Alberta Barry, and its then-current president, Emma Clement. She was eventually elected as KACW parliamentarian for the 1943-45 term. Clement's "good deeds" eventually educated the nation about the character of black women and black mothers in 1946 when she was selected as the National Mother of the Year by the Golden Rule Society in New York. Numerous other clubs witnessed similar success maintaining its members and leaders.¹⁹⁹

The clubs of the Kentucky Association were as diverse as the black women who established them. Their activities encompassed all aspects of issues that challenged blacks in the state from educational, economic, religious, political, health, and social standpoints. Often the issues and solutions overlapped. The women of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women bonded over the shared experiences of racism, uplift ideology, community housekeeping, and political aspirations. They traveled together to national and central club meetings, sharing segregated accommodations, riding in separate and unequal train cars and coaches, experiencing the humiliation of Jim/Jane

¹⁹⁹ Lucy Harth Smith, ed. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women* (Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1946), 16, 57.

Crow back door entrances and second class service. They worked together through their local clubs and across the state through the KACW structure and successfully completed many campaigns and projects over the years. However, their relationships were not always harmonious. Invariably there was internal conflict and petty jealousies, and finding funding for local projects was always an uphill struggle. Many inherent differences created disagreements and conflicts. Despite the advice of the NACW, club work sometimes spawned social cliques rather than clubs committed to helping the underclasses. Class differences were to be expected as well as color prejudice which was experienced by many women including Nannie Helen Burroughs. Within various communities, clubs competed for financial support and local publicity. On the local level various women fostered fierce rivalries with one another within their clubs and their city, among them Lexington's Lucy Harth Smith and Lizzie Fouse. Still others were at odds with some of the national leaders with whom they worked such as Mary McLeod Bethune.²⁰⁰

However, the state-wide goal of racial uplift was ever present in the activities of these women as they worked to establish connections to make their plans a reality. The clubs connected the many educated women with people in all walks of life in the black community. Within the black community racial consciousness transcended racial classism allowing clubwomen to effectively coordinate their improvement efforts. The clubwomen had a positive image among local people, and the club leaders were respected for the overall work of the body.

²⁰⁰ Camie Smith oral interview.; Deborah Gray White, "The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism," in Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebock, eds. *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.), 263.; *NACW Records*, Reel 8, Frame 00270-71.

While the national club movement seemingly began as a defense strategy to dispel negative press about black womanhood and to protect black women nationwide from future defamatory attacks. But in reality the national movement was just the next step in their community building efforts. Shaw describes how this process was effectuated as black women migrated to other states and established clubs in their new communities expanding the club movement and thus making it a national process. Regarding their image, black women were their own best arguments against negative propaganda. To advance the ideas of the race and secure the liberties that their freedom promised, black women recognized the need to mirror some of the attributes of the larger white society to gain those rights without submitting to racist practices. They believed that educational achievement, church membership, modest dress, healthy family relationships, marriage, maintaining proper home, and working for worthwhile community causes were ways to achieve this acceptance. These standards were viewed as part of the politics of respectability and were generally accepted by black women from the major black church denominations, which included African Methodist Episcopal (AME), African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), Baptist, Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) and other smaller denominations. Just as black women defined the standards for respectability, they also collectively defined the issues to attack which limited progress in the black community and the methods to employ to achieve their community building and advancement efforts.²⁰¹

The considerable number of clubs they established and their clear understanding of the politics of being black, particularly in Kentucky, suggest that the women of the

²⁰¹ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

KACW undoubtedly understood the complexity tasks ahead of them and believed in their capacity to effectuate change in the state. To create some semblance of equality in the areas of health, education, politics and other arenas, Kentucky women approached their challenge collectively and individually, taking full advantage of friendships, kinships, relations with white liberals, and the many black organizations they had established, such as sororities, and benevolent societies. Through these multiple networks they were prepared to navigate the racial terrain to “uplift the women and the race” in Kentucky.

Chapter Five

Knowledge's Uplifting Power: Educating the Masses through KACW

“The Negro must learn to put first things first. The first things are: education; development of character traits; a trade and home ownership.”-- Nannie Helen Burroughs²⁰²

When Nannie Helen Burroughs spoke the above words about education around 1900, America's black people had already acknowledged the importance of education for their people. Across the country as black people seized their freedom before, during, and after the Civil War, generally the first thing they sought after locating various family members was educational opportunity. Through black churches, institutions of higher learning were formed which demonstrated a commitment to another major component of the racial uplift model, the attainment of higher education. Black female activists were instrumental in extending educational opportunities to women.

The first three historically black colleges had been founded in the North: Cheyney University (1837) and Lincoln University (1854) both in Pennsylvania, and Wilberforce University (1856) in Ohio, the first black denominational school of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; after the Civil War, other denominations followed the practice of the AMEs and launched colleges such as Virginia Union University and Shaw University (North Carolina), both established in 1865 by Baptists; Claflin State College (South Carolina), opened in 1869 by the United Methodist Church; Livingstone College (North Carolina), begun in 1879 by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church; and Oakwood College (Alabama), organized by the Seventh Day Adventists in

²⁰² Nannie Helen Burroughs. *12 Things The Negro Must Do For Himself*. (Circa Early 1900's)

1896. Still other black schools and colleges were established during the late nineteenth century by black churches across the country.²⁰³

Public black colleges were established primarily in the Southern and Border States through state-provided funds. Sixteen state-supported black colleges, including one in Kentucky, were designated 1890 land grant colleges and were thus partially funded under the Second Morrill Act, which supported higher education in the areas of domestic science, mechanical and agricultural sciences for black people. Since these schools were often the first opportunity for black school attendance, many of the schools offered both elementary and secondary courses of study. Although these “normal” schools offered teaching certificates, teacher training did not require a college degree at that time. By 1936 a total of one hundred thirty one black higher education institutions existed primarily in the South. These institutions which today are called the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, or HBCUs, evolved to postsecondary institutions and were no longer providing elementary and secondary education for blacks.²⁰⁴

Colleges were not the only schools organized by and for black populations during and after Reconstruction. During Reconstruction, some states provided black public schools through taxes collected from black people. West Virginia was the first state to include a separate-but-equal education clause in its constitution in 1863. None of the Southern states supported same school education for blacks and whites so separate schools were the norm. Many Southerners were opposed to providing any type of education for black children as it might provide them with employment opportunities

²⁰³ Susan T. Hill. *The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education, 1960-1982*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1984.

²⁰⁴ B.D. Mayberry. *A century of agriculture in the 1890 land-grant institutions and Tuskegee University, 1890-1990*. (New York: Vantage Press, 1991.)

other than the agricultural positions they previously held as slaves. Given these attitudes, many local Southern communities refused to provide satisfactory black public education. Beginning in 1913, rural black elementary schools were established through the generous resources of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, creating five thousand public black schools by 1932. Also, through the philanthropic efforts of both black and white citizens, some black colleges were established. Some private institutions were built with money from John D. Rockefeller, George Peabody, the Slater Fund, and other white philanthropists.²⁰⁵

Meanwhile, in Kentucky some blacks had learned to read and write as slaves while a few of them had attended small church schools or other learning groups. Having the largest concentrations of blacks, the cities of Louisville and Lexington took the lead in establishing black schools. One of the earliest black teachers in Louisville was Henry Adams, minister at the First Colored Baptist Church. Rev. Adams provided individual instruction for blacks as early as 1829 before opening a school on Woods Alley. As the school grew additional teachers, Mary Jones Richardson and Annie Lee, were hired to meet the teaching load. Another Louisville resident, Robert Lane, opened a school in the 1840s between Chestnut and Walnut Streets. With the permission of the local government, other black schools were also established in the city and conducted by various persons of color. In 1847 William Gibson Sr., of Baltimore, after working with Lane for a short while, opened a school in the Fourth Street Methodist Church which consumed most of the other schools' students. Both free and enslaved children attended Louisville's early black schools. The Gibson School, located on the corner of Green and Fourth Streets, also received students from other communities, including girls. Five other

²⁰⁵ James D. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Louisville churches had already established black schools before the end of the Civil War. They were St. Mark's Episcopal, Center Street Methodist, Green Street Baptist, Ninth Street Baptist, and Jackson Street Methodist churches. Lexington's most fruitful attempts at black education were through the efforts of London Ferrill's First African Baptist Church, which began teaching its member's children educational basics in the early 1830's. Overall, black communities in a total of sixteen counties provided schools for black children by 1850, (although, in some towns, such as Maysville, Bowling Green, and Richmond, the schools did not operate on a regular basis).²⁰⁶

In Madison County, abolitionist John Gregg Fee opened Berea Literary Institute, now Berea College, in 1855, intending to hold integrated classes for all who wished to attend, including females. Not everyone appreciated the idea of educating blacks, however, and black schools often received threats or hostile reactions from some whites, which resulted in closing some schools and burning others (as in Fee's case). Fee suffered many other significant incidents of mob violence during the 1850s because of his abolitionist and integrationist views, and consequently, his integrated school at Berea did not hold classes until after the Civil War ended. With his school temporarily closed Fee continued the work he began at Berea Literary Institute by spending the war years working with the American Missionary Association (AMA) at Camp Nelson, a Union military installation in Jessamine County, Kentucky where Fee was superintendent. During and after the war, blacks gathered at Camp Nelson for military protection and Fee was responsible for providing education to the African American men who arrived at the camp hoping to gain their freedom by enlisting in the army. Because thousands of

²⁰⁶ H.C. Weeden. *Weeden's History of the Colored People of Louisville* (Louisville: Weeden, 1897), 31; Lucas, 142-144.

black women and children had followed their husbands, fathers, and sons to Camp Nelson, Fee and the other missionaries also instructed the soldiers' family members which grew from 400 in 1864 to nearly 2000 by April 1865. In the beginning all of the American Missionary Association teachers were white, but Fee thought that an African American teacher would be a more suitable and relatable choice for the black soldiers and their families. After Fee met eighteen year old Eliza Belle Mitchell, he believed she was the perfect person for the job and asked her to teach at Camp Nelson.²⁰⁷

Eliza Belle Mitchell, affectionately known as "E. Belle" was born to Mary and Monroe Mitchell on December 31, 1848 in Danville, Kentucky. Although she was born during slavery her father worked as a carpenter and earned enough money to buy freedom from slavery for his family. As a child E. Belle attended private schools for African Americans in Danville, Kentucky. Later she was sent to Xenia, Ohio where her parents planned to enroll her in Wilberforce College, an AME school, but Mitchell was too young, so the family enrolled her in Xenia's local public school system. Although Mitchell most likely was well aware of the racial tension that Fee's offered teaching position might cause, she also recognized the opportunity and accepted the abolitionist preacher's offer in 1865. Racist behavior was exhibited by the missionaries only a few short days after Mitchell's arrival at the camp. Initially a petition contesting Mitchell's access to the same privileges available to the whites began to circulate, demanding Mitchell's discharge. That Mitchell was eating and rooming in the same building as the white women in the mission produced extensive disapproval and anger. Subsequently,

²⁰⁷ Shannon H. Wilson. *Berea College: An Illustrated History*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 26. ; Paul David Nelson. "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858-1908," *Journal of Negro History*. 59, no. 1 (Jan 1974): 13-27; Elizabeth S. Peck. *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955*. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1955); , Richard Sears. *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

during Fee's absence from camp, Mitchell was fired. The white missionaries responsible for Mitchell's dismissal indicated that they did not oppose her teaching at the camp, but refused to eat and live in the same area as a black woman. Forced to take action regarding the racism at Camp Nelson, the AMA made it mandatory for all teachers to sign a statement that skin color would not be an issue among AMA teachers. Mitchell's dismissal from Camp Nelson, the circumstances surrounding it, and the subsequent policy changes became known as the "Belle Mitchell Incident," which scored an early civil rights triumph for black Kentuckians. After her discharge from Camp Nelson, E. Belle Mitchell returned home to Danville refusing to let that experience deter her dedication to the betterment of the black community. It wasn't long after her arrival home that she was invited by the AMA to teach in Lexington at a free school for black children. In August 1865 the Missionary Free School of Color opened and by November Mitchell had over fifty students in her charge.²⁰⁸

Immediately following Emancipation, freed blacks were so eager to educate their people that by the time the Freedman's Bureau officials arrived in Kentucky, several newly opened black schools were already operating in black communities. Black schools were established in towns and cities, in churches and at military camps like Camp Nelson all across the state. T. K. Noble of the Bureau noted that, "The places of worship owned by the colored people are almost the only available schools in the state." Freedman's Bureau reports further acknowledged that by 1866, thirty five schools were operational and enrolled four thousand one hundred and twenty-two students with fifty eight

²⁰⁸ Jacqueline Burnside. "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women" in *Appalachian Heritage*, 15, 3 (Summer, 1987), 12-13; W.D. Johnson. *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky*. (Lexington, KY: The Standard Print, 1897), 68; Laurretta Flynn Byars. "E. Belle Mitchell Jackson," in Jessie Carney Smith, editor. *Notable Black American Women, II*. (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996), 317-320.

teachers. Most of the students paid tuition to attend these schools, established in the black communities around Kentucky, and over half the educators were black. Through community commitment and Bureau cooperation, black educational opportunities around the state steadily grew over the next few years, with blacks supporting their schools through tuition. By 1869 two hundred sixty-seven black schools existed in Kentucky with a total enrollment of approximately thirteen thousand students and two hundred forty-nine teachers. Of this number, eighty-seven schools were completely funded by black tuition payments. The American Missionary Association assisted in opening other schools and supplying teachers, most of whom were white.²⁰⁹

The Berea Literary Institute reopened in 1866 and offered the only school in Kentucky where black and white males and females could attend on an equal basis in Kentucky. Fee's philosophy of education was grounded in his belief that all people were equal and thus he hired black as well as white teachers for this integrated school. Additionally black and white leaders served on the school's board of trustees. Black and white students lived, studied, worked, ate, and dated with each other. Because both the black and white populations were in various states of literacy, Berea Literary Institute offered various levels of schooling from elementary to college coursework to meet all educational needs.²¹⁰

During the first years after freedom, Kentucky's black women were also among the citizens creating and petitioning for black schools in cities like Louisville and Lexington. Black Lexington women established the Ladies Education Association

²⁰⁹ Lucas, 234-267.; John W. Alvord. *Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, July 1, 1867*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868), 30.

²¹⁰ Shannon H. Wilson. *Berea College: An Illustrated History*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 26. During its early years Berea College had six educational divisions: Primary, Intermediate, Preparatory, Normal, Ladies' and College Departments.

around 1865 and purchased a building locally known as Ladies Hall, which housed a small black school. Additionally, other Lexington women and men held meetings developing strategies for creating a black public school system. In Louisville, black mothers initiated fund raising projects to fund black schools while other blacks petitioned the Kentucky legislature. Kentucky's black leaders held meetings such as the "Colored Educational Convention", which was held in Louisville in 1869, to seek ways to sustain and expand educational offerings. Also during the 1880's the Colored Citizens' Protective League of Lexington promoted educational reform issues. Groups such as these successfully pressured their local governments to establish city-wide school systems which included black schools supported through local taxes. School requests and activities were not just limited to Lexington and Louisville; however, because these communities had the largest black populations, their efforts were the most prominent across the state.²¹¹

Although most rural blacks had never experienced any educational training, they recognized how powerful education was as a means of advancement and were eager to become literate. Small black schools opened sporadically in rural areas but not in numbers sufficient to meet the increasing demand by blacks eager for literacy. For rural blacks, the educational process usually began by migrating to an urban setting where black schools were more available or acceptable. By 1874 the Kentucky legislature had established a separate, inadequately funded school system for its black population. The

²¹¹ Wright, *History of blacks*, 70; Lucas, 266-267.

“colored school” system precipitated requests for more equitable funding and for a training school for black teachers.²¹²

As Kentucky blacks worked toward a public school system, the state’s black Baptist ministers, who had begun discussing the need for college educational resources for black people in 1866, agreed to solicit five cents per month from their members toward a school that would prepare black ministers to preach. Women’s support was instrumental in this effort. By 1879, the General Association of Colored Baptists launched the Kentucky Normal Theological Institute by purchasing two buildings on two and a half acres in Louisville. According to the college catalog, the goals of the school were: to build character, to prepare attendees for service to God, country, and the race; to meet the demands for a higher level of education training for blacks than was available in Kentucky Common Schools, to train ministers to lead the people; to prepare women to care for the sick and helpless; and to develop the bodies as well minds of the students. The school’s mission was broad and included elementary, secondary education, a general college curriculum with specialized quasi-nursing training for females, and industrial education as well as its theological curriculum. The school’s name was later changed to State Colored Baptist University in 1884 and Simmons University in 1918 (now known as Simmons College of Kentucky). A key support group for the university was the women’s group, the Baptist Women’s Education Convention, organized in 1883 to help sustain the institution through fund-raising. The women’s support extended beyond that of most clubs, as the Women’s Education Convention paid for a woman’s dormitory and the salaries for women teachers, among other operational expenses. State Colored Baptist

²¹² *Proceedings of the First Convention of Colored Men of Kentucky: held in Lexington, March the 22d, 23d, 24th and 26th, 1866 with the Constitution of the Kentucky State Benevolent Association.* Louisville: Civill and Calvert Printing, 1866.) ; Lucas, 232.

University, often called State University, was the only black college in the state at the time and was only one of two schools, the other being Berea College, where black women as well as men could earn a college degree.²¹³

Some Northern philanthropic societies and groups felt that trade and industrial education curriculums such as those offered at Tuskegee and Hampton best served the needs of black people, keeping them in subservient occupations such as cooks, maids, and child care providers. But neither the administrators of State University nor its supporters at the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) were interested in providing alternatives to their curriculum. State University's administrators were not opposed to industrial courses like home economics, but they were determined to maintain their primary commitment to the classical liberal education curriculum which included such courses as Latin, Greek, and piano music. Also the ABHMS did not oppose industrial education on its face and accepted skilled trades courses such as carpentry and blacksmithing as "good for character development" and viable occupational options. However, the ABHMS leadership believed that black people needed an education for intellectual and leadership training. ABHMS executive secretary Thomas J. Morgan and other ABHMS leaders supported an educational program of higher education for executive and administrative positions. Morgan expressed his vision, "I feel very keenly the sense of responsibility for using what little influence I may have in developing our schools to a high grade, so that they may offer to the ambitious and competent young Negroes the best possible opportunities for self-culture, development, training and

²¹³ Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 127-129; John A. Hardin. *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 3-4; *State University Catalogue 1883-84* (Louisville: 1883) Simmons Bible College Records, 1869-1971, RG105, University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville.).

preparation for life's duties.” With the passage of the Day Law in 1904 mandating school segregation, State University became the only college-degree granting institution for black women and men. State University was also the only college to operate a law school and a medical school for black people.²¹⁴

In 1877 as the Baptists developed plans for a denominational educational institution, forty-five of Kentucky's growing population of black teachers formed the Colored Teachers State Association, which later became the Kentucky Negro Education Association (KNEA) in 1913. Among the Association's outspoken leaders were former Camp Nelson teacher E. Belle Mitchell Jackson, her husband Jordan, and his brother John Jackson. Kentucky's legislature, through the influence of the Colored Teachers State Association, established the State Normal School for Colored Persons (SNSCP) in 1886 to meet the growing demand for black teachers in public schools. SNSCP's mission grew in 1890 to include agriculture, domestic economy, industrial trades, and mechanical science in order to qualify for the land grant funding provided through the second Morrill Act. In 1893 President John Jackson reported that the SNSCP had introduced a Domestic Department for girls. While the purpose of SNSCP was to train teachers, in addition to their normal classes all female students were “required to be trained in household work, to receive practical training in sewing, dressmaking, crocheting, ... thus fitting them for domestic duties and responsibilities , and rendering

²¹⁴ C. H. Parrish, ed. *Golden Jubilee of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky: The Story of 50 Years' Work from 1865-1915*. (Louisville: Mayes Printing Co., 1915), 133.; Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 135.; Thomas J. Morgan letter to Wallace Buttrick of the General Education Board, 1 Feb. 1901, Box 717, General Education Board Papers as cited in Anderson.; John A. Hardin. *Onward and Upward: A Centennial History of Kentucky State University 1886-1986*. (Frankfort: Kentucky State University, 1987), 3, 17.; The State Normal School for Colored Persons, which is now Kentucky State University, did not offer college degrees until 1926 when it became a college. The first college degrees were conferred in 1929.

them much more useful as teachers, skilled laborers, sisters, wives and mothers.”

Numerous black women teachers graduated from the State Normal School for Colored Persons, (now known as Kentucky State University) with the dual normal and domestic science training. Other industrial education opportunities for Kentucky’s blacks included the Eckstein Norton Institute in Cane Springs (1890) and the West Kentucky Industrial College (1909).²¹⁵

The national debate over whether blacks should receive liberal arts training or industrial training was an important issue, particularly among Kentucky’s middle-class men and women. Many felt that the liberal arts education better served the needs of freed blacks and did not bind the people to the same or similar subservient manual opportunities as slavery. However, many black and white Kentuckians strongly believed that Booker T. Washington’s industrial education offered better employment options and was more practical. Still others like Nannie Helen Burroughs saw the validity of multiple occupational training programs and liberal arts colleges for blacks.²¹⁶

Nannie Burroughs, whose successful request for a separate Women’s Convention within the National Baptist Convention had propelled her into the national spotlight during the first decade of the twentieth century, envisioned separate educational training for young black women. The Woman’s Convention charge in September 1902 to develop an industrial department was exactly what Burroughs needed to lay the ground work for the National Training School. As previously stated in Chapter Three, sometime between 1900 and 1901 Burroughs established the Woman's Industrial Club, which

²¹⁵Atwood S. Wilson, *Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877- 1913*. Kentucky State University Archives.; Kentucky Department of Education. *Biennial Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*, (Frankfort, 1893),72. Microfilm. 1838-1991. Atlanta, Ga. : SOLINET, 2001.; Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation*, 26-29.

²¹⁶ Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation*, 24-31.

served many functions for Louisville's 50,000 black people. One of the projects of the club was to provide low-cost lunches for office workers in the downtown area. In the evenings, the club provided classes in domestic science and office skills. Burroughs strongly believed in self-help and taught the evening classes for the club. As its funds increased, Burroughs hired others to teach the classes, which freed her to serve as the school's director. The Louisville school offered courses in sewing, cooking, shorthand, bookkeeping, typing, handicrafts, and millinery to club members for ten cents per week. Burroughs appreciated the theory of the Talented Tenth but she was also practical. Her emphasis on the domestic and clerical trades for women reflects her understanding that not all black women were able to either afford a college education or were intellectually equipped to complete college level studies. Additionally she recognized that the primary positions open to black women were still tied to domestic and clerical service to white people. Therefore, Burroughs program offered a realistic approach to black female employment, which meant survival and economic empowerment for women.²¹⁷

In describing the club work that Burroughs managed in Louisville, one writer said, "The leading spirit of this very helpful organization is Miss Nannie Helen Burroughs who has no peer among her sex as a director of large affairs and for thoroughness in in [sic] handling the minutest details of the many departments entrusted

²¹⁷ Daniel, *Women Builders*, p. 110. Daniel's indicates that Burroughs Industrial Club existed for nine years through the funding of Burroughs before a wealthy white woman began assisting her. Since Burroughs was in Louisville for only ten years total, she had to have begun the club during the first twelve months after moving to Louisville; "Eyes on Africa", *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 17 # 33, Sept. 3, 1904, p.1, col.1. This article was one of the earliest references to the Women's Industrial Club however it does not state the actual date that the club was established. Burroughs was president of this club when the KACW was established in November 1903 making it in existence sometime before that date; Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green, eds. *Notable American Women, the Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Pickens, 16.; The term "Talented Tenth," coined initially by Henry Lyman Morehouse in 1896 and popularized by W.E.B. Du Bois referred to the top black scholars both male and female who would save black people.; W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," from *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-day* (New York, 1903).

to her care.” In fact at the time she was running the Industrial Club, she continued her employment with the Foreign Mission Board and served as the corresponding secretary of the Woman’s Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention. Burroughs also served as principal of William Simmons’s Business Institute. Commenting on Burroughs tireless efforts for her people through all the activities of the Industrial Club, the local newspaper stated, “Probably no woman’s club in Louisville, or, for that matter, elsewhere is doing as much practical, far-reaching good as the Association of Colored Women who have the Industrial Home at 726 West Walnut.” Continuing their praise, they stated, “It is doubtful if many of the white women in this city know of the existence of this band of workers, of their aims and ambitions; but if they did the chorus of appreciation would be unanimous.”²¹⁸

Burroughs continued to work for Baptist causes, and her reputation swelled in Kentucky and elsewhere. Although Burroughs was no longer residing in Washington, D.C., she understood the importance of connections and continued to maintain relationships which she had formed while attending school in the District, the site of her proposed school. These associations included high ranking NACW members, and thus Burroughs was instrumental in getting Mary Church Terrell to speak to Louisville’s black community at Quinn Chapel on June 19, 1905. Terrell also spoke at Bethel A.M.E.

²¹⁸ “Eyes on Africa”, *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 17 # 33, Sept. 3, 1904, p.1. I found no records of a Simmons Business Institute as this author suggests but it could refer to the Eckstein Norton Institute which Simmons founded shortly before his death. Burroughs was affiliated with this school for many years; Pickens, 16-17. In the text Pickens credits the Louisville Courier Journal with these comments about Burroughs, however he does not give the specific date of the Courier article. The quotation further states that the Industrial Club was in its fifth year but gives no indication of when it began. This same quotation appears in Sadie Iola Daniel’s 1931 book *Women Builders* on pages 110-111, again without a citation.

Church under the auspices of the Woman's Improvement Club, bringing her views on national "race" issues to Kentucky clubwomen face to face.²¹⁹

Burroughs brought the issues facing American blacks to an international audience as well. Serving as a representative and speaker at the First Baptist World Alliance in London, England's Hyde Park in July 1905, Burroughs "eloquently" addressed the assembly about "Women's Part in the World's Work." Burroughs, Fannie R. Givens, and other Kentucky residents returned to America from Liverpool on July 26, 1905 aboard the SS Oceanic and were later honored by the church community. In October Burroughs addressed the members of the Ninth Street Baptist on the topic "Glory in the Cross of Jesus," which was about her London trip. In this speech she proudly proclaimed that the conference was most beneficial, as it corrected the false impressions of blacks that America had promoted to the world by allowing thirty-eight blacks to be their own voice in an equal Christian arena. Her speech was "handled with much elegance and Christian spirit," and she also exhibited her sense of humor when she discussed "the curiosity and admiration the English people had for the darker members of the race."²²⁰

Within the WC, Burroughs had garnered support for the idea of the national school with promises from the WC's president Layten to propose the idea to the NBC leadership at the 1905 convention. Establishing a training home for girls and women was finally approved, but no other action was taken on its behalf until the following year, when the National Training School Committee of eighty members was established to

²¹⁹"Louisville, Ky." *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 18 # 26, July 1, 1905, p.2, col. 3.; "Mary Church Terrell." *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 18 # 26, July 1, 1905, p.4, col. 2.

²²⁰ *New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, 1905. National Archives Microfilm Publication M237. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36; National Archives, Washington, D.C. Microfilm roll T715_605 p. 105, line 22. (Ancestry.com); "Louisville, Ky." *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 18 # 34, August 26, 1905, p.3, col. 5; "About the Falls Cities: Social and Business Review of Louisville, Ky." *Indianapolis Freeman*, v. 18 # 40, October 7, 1905, p.1, col. 6.

develop the school. The committee, which was primarily female, was chaired by Kentucky's Mary V. Parrish. As plans developed for the school, many people wanted the school's site in their own state, but, consistent with Burroughs' early dreams, Washington D. C. was selected because it offered many job opportunities for women who would attend the school. Following up on her plans, Burroughs and two other committee members located a house with some acreage for sale for six thousand dollars in Southeast Washington, D.C., situated on a hill in an underdeveloped section called Lincoln Heights. Since neither the WC nor the NBC gave Burroughs any funds to secure the property for the school, she began a fundraising campaign in Louisville. Successful in her efforts, the house was dedicated on September 14, 1907, at the National Baptist Convention, but it would be two more years before the school actually opened. In 1908 the Baptist Woman's Auxiliary held its convention at the First Baptist Church in Lexington, Kentucky, where Burroughs presided over the devotional exercises and led the congregation in worship songs during the Wednesday night services. The following night she presented her annual address as secretary of the convention. Her speech was reported as the "feature," and she was referred to as the "female Booker T. Washington." The proposed curriculum for the D.C. female school mirrored her efforts in Louisville to a large degree and would offer women opportunities to study in the domestic sciences and office skills such as typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping. In addition to the initial offerings, she also proposed developing courses in barbering, shoe repair, printing, and gardening. Her goal was to assist women in becoming self-sufficient workers in society.²²¹

²²¹ "Help for Women." *Lexington Leader*. .September 17, 1908, p. 2, col. 3-4; "Women's Auxiliary." *Lexington Leader*, September 18, 1908, p. 2, col. 1-2.

Finally on October 19, 1909 the National Training School for Women and Girls (later named the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls), officially opened with an initial enrollment of seven girls, two from Texas, two from Ohio, one from Georgia, and two from South Africa. Through Burroughs' fund raising, the school opened debt free with the motto of "We specialize in the wholly impossible." Burroughs, who had long envisioned a school providing quality vocational training combined with traditional Christian values, through her determination and hard work had begun living her dream. Although her school was in D.C. she continued to live in Kentucky for several months following the October 1909 initial opening of the school, perhaps to guarantee the income that her employment provided. She also continued serving the Eckstein Norton Institute in Cane Spring, Kentucky, by remaining on their "Ladies Board of Care" and serving as an honorary member of the faculty.²²²

Nannie Burroughs' efforts to establish her school did not go unnoticed in her adopted home of Kentucky, and reports of her work to fulfill her lifelong dream of a school for women similar to the Tuskegee institution occasionally surfaced even in various papers including Lexington where they reported that she had "for nearly a year been formulating plans and gathering about her Negroes of kindred aspirations." One banker in Louisville praised Burroughs, calling her "our female Booker T. Washington" and lamenting her return to D.C. Burroughs sought support for her project from like-minded people nationwide, including but not limited to black people. Her initial support came from her fellow black women of the Women's Convention who finally recognized

²²² U.S. Census, Louisville, KY April 19, 1910 shows Burroughs still residing at West Walnut Street. The Eckstein Norton School Publication of that same year gives her address as Washington, D.C. which indicates that sometime during 1910 she did relocate to D.C.; "Circular of Information for the Twenty-first Annual Session Eckstein Norton Institute Incorporated, Cane Spring, Kentucky: For the season 1910-11." The institute Press: Cane Spring, KY, 1910. Records. Simmons Bible College, Box 4 Folder 9 University of Louisville Archives.

that the educational needs of black women should not be limited to college opportunities, as many of them had other needs and aspirations. Burroughs had proposed the Training School as early as 1900 at the initial meeting of the Woman's Convention and it had taken her six years to get her message accepted and funded by her colleagues. In fact she had been to Africa and back to make her point that foreign missionary work was laudable but the same type of missionary work was needed in the states as well. Her school which had no boundaries would serve women worldwide from high on a hill in Washington, D.C., where she had originally been humiliated by the "aristocratic" fair-skinned black women and prevented from teaching.²²³

As a charter member of the KACW, Burroughs often attended national meetings, speaking at the 1906 session and of course as a featured speaker at the 1910 national conference, hosted by the KACW in Louisville. At the 1910 session, Burroughs addressed those assembled on the topic of "The Opportunity and Duty of the Hour" on Thursday afternoon, July 14, 1910. As she guided the D.C. school, the biggest problem they encountered was having enough financial resources to meet their operational needs. Burroughs often refused to accept her salary, deferring to pay school expenses. Most times the reason for the financial problems was the land or building purchases Burroughs had executed to expand the school's program offerings and to make space for additional students.²²⁴

Everywhere Burroughs spoke, people were impressed with the content of her speeches and the passion with which she delivered them. Equally impressive were her

²²³ "Training School." *Lexington Leader*, February 18, 1906, Section 2, p.3, col. 4.

²²⁴ Charles Wesley, p. 64; Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as we Climb*, p. 49. This conference was actually the first conference where Burroughs's name is in the national minutes; NACW microfiche minutes (UK) reel 1, frame 00357. "Seventh Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women, July eleventh to fifteenth, 1910: Chestnut Street C.M.E. Church, Louisville, KY."

articles in magazines. Burroughs held strong views about many topics, as indicated by her articles on industrial education, racial pride, women's suffrage, lynching and other relevant topics of her time. While she wanted to establish an industrial training school for women, she openly stated that industrial education was not the cure all for black educational needs. She argued that blacks needed a variety of educational opportunities and felt that the same opportunities that were available for whites should also become available for the black population. She recognized that the country needed black teachers, lawyers, and doctors as well as cooks, maids, caregivers, and other laborers. She explained that a black person holds the same intellectual capacities as other people and should not be limited to a specific role in society because, "his capacity, his ability, his ambition is as varied as to quality and quantity as the capacity and the ability of each individual of any other race, and the educators of the Negro race must prepare to meet the demands of individual inclinations, feelings and tastes, as far as it is possible." Further she stated that it was time for blacks to begin publishing books, writing and producing their own music as well as thinking for themselves and their community. In concluding her paper, Burroughs relied on Biblical scriptures to make her point that all people came from God and were placed on the earth to dwell together with the same opportunities.²²⁵

By the time Burroughs left Kentucky in 1910 to focus her full energies on her new female training school in Washington, D.C., Kentucky's segregated elementary, secondary and normal school systems were making some progress toward providing the black masses educational opportunities albeit rudimentary. Black girls and women, self-motivated and politically self-conscious, were as eager and likely to attend the available

²²⁵ Nannie H. Burroughs. "Industrial Education: Will it Solve the Negro Problem," *The Colored American Magazine*. March 1904, v. 7 No. 3, p. 188, 190.

educational facilities, as were black boys and men. In fact black families were more likely to educate their daughters through college than their sons. Black parents seeking ways to protect their daughters' virtue encouraged their daughters to obtain as much education as possible. Parents did not want their daughters limited to the same kinds of domestic employment that had been the fate of prior generations of black women as domestic work placed them in sexually predatory white households. Historian Stephanie Shaw's has described the commitments of family, community, and black colleges, in their collective support of black women's quest for postsecondary education from the 1880s through the 1950s. The women in Shaw's study shared their aspirations and, despite the many hardships and life complications, they persevered until they achieved their goal. In Kentucky's clubwomen we witness the same tenacious spirit to obtain bachelors and master's degrees as in those women described by Shaw.²²⁶

Accordingly in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kentucky's black females were already established in all levels of the state's black educational system as students and or teachers. Many black women attended Berea Literary Institute, State Baptist University, and the State Normal School for Colored Persons to become teachers in their local segregated colored schools.

For example, in 1888 Fannie Miller Williams became the first black woman to receive a college degree from Berea College, where both Mary and Julia Britton had attended school a decade before. E. Belle Mitchell who knew John Fee while at Camp Nelson also attended the Berea school but left before graduating. Likewise, among the first graduating class from State Normal was Frankfort's Winnie A. Scott. Shortly after

²²⁶ Stephanie J. Shaw. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. (Chicago University Press, 1996).

losing her mother when she was ten years old, Winnie was sent to live with a local family where she attended school and worked for her room and board. She completed Anderson Female High School in Frankfort and continued her studies at the State Normal School for Colored Persons, (now Kentucky State University) and graduated in 1890. Scott became a teacher, first in the segregated school systems in Bagdad and Lawrenceburg before returning home to teach in Frankfort, where she later became the assistant principal of the black high school in Frankfort.

Some women attended more than one of these Kentucky institutions to earn various levels of degrees. Among the early graduates of State Baptist University was the KACW's seventh president Mary Cook Parrish, who completed the normal program in 1883 and the college degree in 1887. Elizabeth "Lizzie" Fouse attended State Colored Baptist University's Model Division in 1884 and beginning in 1890 the Eckstein-Norton University, from which she graduated in 1892. This was also the case of the Nugent sisters Georgia Anne, Alice Emma, and Ida Belle Nugent. The three sisters, the daughters of railroad express man George and his wife Anna Foster Nugent, grew up primarily on Sixth Street in Louisville, Kentucky. All three of the sisters graduated from Central High School and attended State Baptist University, later known as Simmons University. The 1900 census indicated that all three of the sisters were serving as teachers in the local public schools. Both Georgia and Alice later graduated from Kentucky State Industrial College in Frankfort in 1936 with A.B. degrees in social studies education and education, respectively. The two women were among the charter members of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, where Georgia became the first president and Alice composed the Association's song. Georgia and Alice

Nugent were likewise actively engaged in their local church and remained in Louisville until they retired after serving black students for forty-eight and fifty years respectively.²²⁷

Similarly, Lucy Harth Smith, Lexington school principal, obtained a teaching certificate from Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in 1908, and then continued to take college courses each summer, taking her young son with her until she graduated with honors from Kentucky State College (now Kentucky State University) in 1932. Subsequently she enrolled in a master's program at the University of Cincinnati where through extension and summer classes she eventually earned that degree in 1943. For black women the options for education had improved significantly since slavery although they were limited to black only institutions, which were by no means comparable to the educational opportunities available for whites. All of the aforementioned women became teachers in the local segregated school systems except for Mary V. Cook Parrish; she and other women including Mamie E. Steward, and Ida Joyce Jackson, taught at either State Colored Baptist University or the State Normal School for Colored Persons.²²⁸

²²⁷ "The Falls City," *The Appeal* (St. Paul, MN), November 16, 1889, p.1; "Points About People," *American Baptist*, December 18, 1903, p. 2; "Federation of Women's Clubs," *American Baptist*, January 8, 1904, p. 1; "Wilberforce Notes," *The Appeal* (St. Paul, MN), August 15, 1914; "Miss Georgia Nugent," *Louisville Times*, November 27, 1940, Section 2, p.8; "Area Deaths and Funerals," *Courier Journal*, December 1, 1971, p. B3; *Jefferson County Public Schools Records. Personnel Records*. Louisville, KY: Jefferson County Public Schools Archives and Records Center; Ruby Wilkins Doyle. *Recalling the Record: A Documentary History of the African American Experience within the Louisville Public School System of Kentucky (1870-1975)*. (Chapel Hill, NC: Professional Press, 2005), 114,141; *1930 U.S. Census of Population*, Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky; Thomas Yenser, ed. *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America*. (Brooklyn, NY: Thomas Yenser, 1933), 324.

²²⁸ *The Crisis* (October 1942), p.321; Berea College Archives, Record Group 8, Students; Burnside, Jacqueline, "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women" in *Appalachian Heritage*, 15, 3 (Summer, 1987), pp 14-15; Records. Fayette County Board of Education. (Lexington, KY) Personnel File, Lucy Harth Smith. (microfiche).

Because black teachers were committed to racial uplift they extended themselves to push their students as hard as they could. They challenged their charges on every level, encouraged and nurtured them as their own children. Their relationship with their pupils was that of the “other mother,” a recognized role in the black community which validated their authority to develop the community. Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins stresses that “other mothers” provided the foundation for black political activism by “stimulating an ethic of caring and personal accountability for all the black community’s children.” This caring/activism model is a tradition among black educated women, as demonstrated through the club movement, black sororities, and other black female groups. Stephanie Shaw corroborates this tradition, which she labels “socially responsible individualism” nurtured through schools, churches and the community. Thus “other mothers” within the arenas of school, church, and various organizations molded young people to accept the responsibility for uplifting their own neighborhoods and its people.²²⁹

Consequently the work of church groups such as the Women’s Educational Convention of the Baptist Church and a similar group, the Woman’s Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church fostered goals to educate youth through their support for denominational schools. Other women’s clubs supported and promoted other educational institutions, like the Phyllis Wheatley Club in Paris which recruited young black women to attend what is now Kentucky State University. The Scholarship Loan Program, established in 1913 by the KACW, was the brainchild of Elizabeth “Lizzie” Fouse. The Loan Program’s goal was to assist black students who wished to attend college but lacked the resources to do so. The loan fund was designed to not only

²²⁹ Patricia Hill Collins. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, 2nd Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

facilitate college educations but was to be self-sustaining through repayment of the loans. Students who received loans from the fund were not required to attend state schools and some of them attended schools such as Fisk and Knoxville College. At each annual convention KACW club representatives reported on the money they had collected for the fund. Most clubs solicited some money for the fund each year, but a few clubs made the scholarship fund a high priority and held fund raising activities for the fund.²³⁰

Club support for the scholarship fund was not the only way that KACW groups promoted schools and education. Individual clubs such as the Louisville's Young Women's Civic Circle supported and assisted worthy students to obtain college educations through their fund raising efforts. The Oak Leaf, Art, and Literary Club in Hopkinsville similarly were engaged in raising money for black college education. In Elizabethtown, the Jolly Matrons Improvement Club committed resources to the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) for black schools and also donated money to the school's "Playground Fund." Shelbyville's Woman's Improvement Club brought playground equipment, beautified the black school's grounds and donated to the school's domestic art department. Other women such as Mary Cook Parrish of Louisville organized the first black Parent Teachers Associations (PTA) in her city.²³¹

Likewise, Henderson, Kentucky, native Ora Kennedy Glass taught for several years in Henderson's colored public schools and organized the city's first PTA in 1910. Glass later served as president of the group from 1921 through 1932. The Parent-Teachers Association of Alves Street and Douglass High Schools under Glass's leadership worked to purchase equipment for the school's playground and established the

²³⁰ Records of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs housed at Kentucky State University, the Kentucky Historical Society, the University of Louisville, and the University of Kentucky.

²³¹ Smith, *Pictorial Directory*.

school library at the Alves Street School. Her work with PTA groups expanded beyond her city as she also founded and served as president of the Kentucky State PTA for six years. Nationally she was the second vice-president for the National Congress of Colored PTA. Through her efforts, by 1933 most Kentucky cities and towns had active black Parent-Teacher Associations' and were supported by KACW club women. In 1931, when the city decided to build a new Douglass High School, Glass spearheaded a fundraising campaign to purchase the old high school building for a black community center. Working through her networks as a member and secretary of the Peerless Club, (1904) and two other KACW member clubs, the Harmony Club, (1902), and the Community Betterment Club, (1923), Glass arranged to purchase from the City Board of Education the two thousand dollar lot for the new high school to be built and exchanged it for the old thirty five hundred dollar high school building. The old high school building was then transformed into the Martha Washington Community Center, which opened in 1932. The Henderson clubs also furnished clothing, shoes, books, playground equipment and dental services for black school children in their city. The Community Betterment Club also purchased the first "School Zone" signs for the black city schools. During this time, Ora Kennedy Glass served as the fourteenth president of the KACW for 1932-33.²³²

Most club women chose to work within women-only organizations for their educational advancement efforts. These groups included church missionary societies, women's suffrage organizations, black sororities, YWCA branches and other female established and female controlled groups. However, one club women, Lucy Harth Smith,

²³²G. James Fleming and Christian E. Burckel, eds. *Who's Who in Colored America*, 7th ed. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: Charles Burckel and Associates Publishers, 1950), 213; Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, 304.; Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, 307, 309-310,314; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 9.

felt equally comfortable in male dominated organizations as well and successfully negotiated the male-dominated realms of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History) and the leadership of the Kentucky Negro Education Association. Dedicated to improving the conditions of blacks in Kentucky, Lucy Harth Smith made her mark in many areas. Her chosen profession was education, but she also gained recognition as a national club leader for African American women, as a community organizer of support groups for underprivileged black youth, and as a strong voice for advocating the inclusion of black history in schools in Kentucky and across the nation.

Lucy Harth Smith was born January 24, 1888 to Daniel Washington and Rachel Emma (Brockington) Harth in the parsonage of the Saint Paul Methodist Church, Roanoke, Virginia. As a child, she attended the public elementary schools of Roanoke, Virginia before going to Lynchburg, Virginia to attend high school at the Morgan College Annex for one year because she was not old enough to attend Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. The following year in 1904 she was able to enroll at Hampton Institute, where she was a basketball player, cheerleader, member of the choir, and prize winning competitive speaker. After completing the four years of coursework in Hampton's Normal Department (high school equivalent work), she graduated with credentials to be a teacher. Following her graduation, she returned to her hometown and became a teacher in the Roanoke Public Elementary School from 1908 to 1910.

On June 1, 1910 she married Paul Vernon Smith, a school principal, and stopped teaching temporarily to start her family which would eventually include five children - Vernon Cornelius, Altha Lucille, Paul Vincent, Daniel Earl, and Edwin Milton - all of

whom attended college. Smith and her family relocated to Lexington, Kentucky in October 1916 where she became a substitute teacher at Booker T. Washington Elementary School in 1918. One year after that she began teaching first grade and serving as the assistant principal at the school at an annual salary of \$500. Although she had the required education to teach in the segregated school systems at that time, Smith continued her academic pursuits on a part-time basis, taking courses in the summer months and managing both familial responsibilities and educational ones by taking her youngest child Edwin with her to class at Kentucky State College (now Kentucky State University). In the summer of 1932, Lucy Harth Smith graduated magna cum laude from Kentucky State College and gave the commencement address during the ceremony. Taking extension and summer classes at the University of Cincinnati, she eventually completed her Master's degree in education in 1943. Her master's theses focused on the life and work of inventor George Washington Carver. She also took additional courses at the University of Kentucky.²³³

Smith served for nearly forty years as teacher, assistant principal and then, principal of Booker T. Washington Elementary School. As an educator, Smith sought various ways for improving the opportunities and personal experiences for African American students. One of the groups that Smith worked with was the Kentucky Negro Education Association (KNEA), which began in 1877 and continued its existence until

²³³ Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith. "The Paul Vernon and Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith Family". January 1954. Unpublished. 6 p. This document is in the possession of the Edwin Smith family in Louisville, Kentucky. The high school information included it is contradictory to the funeral program which states that Smith attended Princess Ann Academy in Lynchburg. Since Smith personally wrote the family history, I expect that it is more accurate than her obituary which was of course composed by someone else following her death who knew that she attended a high school affiliated with one of the historically black colleges. Princess Ann Academy did exist but it was in Princess Anne, Maryland and not Lynchburg, Virginia. "In Memoriam: Mrs. Lucy Harth Smith" Asbury Methodist Church, September 24, 1955 Cunningham Funeral Home. (Funeral Program); Records. Fayette County Board of Education. (Lexington, KY) Personnel File, Lucy Harth Smith. (microfiche).

1957. During the eighty year history of the KNEA, only two women were ever elected president of the group, one of whom was Smith. Although the majority of black teachers were women at the time Smith was campaigning for the KNEA presidency, it was a difficult election. The annual meeting was being held in Louisville, which had the largest black teacher population making it logistically situated to elect a Louisville teacher as the next KNEA president on home territory. Smith's opponent had a very large group of supporters and female leadership of the KNEA was extremely rare and almost impossible. Smith vigorously campaigned state-wide against the odds and the Louisville power base to capture the KNEA presidency. She held the presidency of the KNEA from 1944 through 1946. When outlining the issues that she would concentrate on as KNEA president, she stressed the importance of students obtaining their high school diploma, which she projected would be required for most positions after the war ended. Other focus areas for Smith were preventing juvenile delinquency and improving the health of black students. Smith also indicated that as President of the KNEA one of her recommendations would be to place black history in Kentucky's school curriculum. Regarding her recommendation, Smith said in 1944: "Our pupils need respect for themselves as well as for others. We believe that literature telling of the achievements of Negroes should consistently confront the child in the classroom."²³⁴

In this capacity she was instrumental in the adoption of two textbooks on African American life and history in the Kentucky public school system. These textbooks were *A Child's Story of the Negro* by Jane Shackelford for the fifth grade students and *Negro Makers of History* by Carter G. Woodson for the sixth grade classes. Her idea was that

²³⁴Harvey Russell, *The Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1946*. Norfolk, VA: Guide Quality Press, 1946, p. 36-37; Camie Smith interview, 1973.

teaching black history would not only raise the self-esteem of the black children but would also provide them with knowledge of the accomplishments of many who had gone before them. From her point of view as a teacher, there was no hope for black people if education was not infused with the ideas and hopes of its own people. Smith stressed the importance of providing opportunities for students to have personal contact with famous blacks to inspire them through their work. Schools, libraries, and other organizations could provide these encounters with academic programs that included distinguished blacks on the programs. Additionally, Smith felt that white students would benefit by knowing the accomplishments of American blacks and would have a greater appreciation of their worth and understanding of their experiences. While some historians wanted black history taught in colleges as supplemental texts, Smith wanted the infusion of black history to begin in the early grades and no later than high school, while students were still open to new ideas and were more willing to change their attitudes. She believed that the contributions of all people should be included in student textbooks. In addition to the KNEA, Smith was active in many other education associations during her lifetime, serving as president of the Lexington Teachers Association and a trustee and Regional Vice President of the American Teachers Association.²³⁵

Within black communities, school principals were held in high esteem and wielded much power inside and outside the school building. Although most principals

²³⁵“Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Pittsburgh, October 24, 25, and 26, 1927.” *Journal of Negro History*, vol 13, no.1 (Jan., 1928), 5. ; “Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Washington, D.C. , October 27-31, 1929.” *Journal of Negro History*, vol 15, no.1 (Jan., 1930), 8.; “Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held in Washington, D.C. from October 29 to November 1, 1933.” *Journal of Negro History*, vol 19, no.1 (Jan., 1934), 3; Lucy Harth Smith. “Steps Toward our Goal.” *The KNEA Journal*, vol 16, no. 2-3 (April May 1945), 4; “Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia October 25-28, 1936.” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 22, no.1 (Jan., 1937), 3; Harvey Russell, *The Kentucky Negro Education Association* , 1944.

tended to be males, Lexington's black community eagerly welcomed Smith's charisma, enthusiasm, knowledge, and good intentions thus allowing her influence to be impressed on many levels in Lexington's black community. As a principal having daily contact with hundreds of black school aged children, she was well aware of their needs and understood the discriminatory conditions they faced each day before and after leaving the elementary school. Her primary concern was their well-being, not just from the educational standards viewpoint but in all aspects of their lives, economically, socially, morally, physically, and psychologically. To meet her students' needs Smith was ever watchful of policies, programs and behaviors that oppressed her students, and she attacked the racist practices of Jim Crow from various angles utilizing whatever connections she might have and whoever she could sway her way to meet her goals.

In a time of segregated schools and public facilities, Smith seized every opportunity to instill racial pride and high self-esteem in her students. "Lift Every Voice and Sing," known as the Negro national anthem, was sung before every event at her school and students were expected to know the words and stand singing them with pride. Smith further fostered a personal articulation of racial pride through the black doll contests she held each year in her school after the Christmas holiday. Through this activity, she encouraged the girls at her school to ask for black dolls only for Christmas gifts. Following the holiday break, Smith's school would sponsor a "doll beauty contest" and only black dolls were allowed to participate. Enthusiasm for black dolls was supported by advertisements in various black magazines nationally. Smith believed that for young black girls to be caring for white dolls it pre-conditioned them to accept the roll of mammies and nurse maids as well as accept the white dolls as standards of beauty.

She refused to allow black children to feel ashamed and disgraced by their skin color and to lower their standards. She always attempted to instill a sense of racial pride and appreciation for racial beauty in her students both male and female.²³⁶

In keeping with her goals of racial pride and dignity, Smith challenged her school board when their remodeling plans for her school seemed, in her opinion, to demean her students. The School Board had purchased a grocery store and property surrounding the Booker T. Washington Elementary School on Georgetown Street for the purpose of enlarging and remodeling the school. The architectural plans for the school's reconstruction had designed a new school entrance on the side of the building facing an alley. The existing school entrance was on the main street. Principal Lucy Smith went to the Fayette County Board of Education and passionately argued that black children were already required to enter all public buildings from either side or back doors, and that it would be unfair to force them to accept the same humiliation on a daily basis by entering their own school through an alley. The new entrance was subsequently changed to the front of the building facing the main highway, as Smith requested.²³⁷

Smith was attuned to her students and recognized that many students lost weight during the summer months. To remedy this problem, Smith and others formed the Committee for Health Camp for Colored Children, a KACW club, which established a summer camp that focused on nutritional meals for identified students. Smith was at one

²³⁶“Negro dolls for Negro Children Should be the Motto of all the Parents of Negro Children.” *National Baptist Review*. December 25, 1909, v. 1., 13, 15.

²³⁷ Smith, Camie C. “Mrs. Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith.” 1973, rev. 1974, rev. 1975. Unpublished. Camie Smith is the daughter-in-law of Lucy Smith and wrote the three versions of Smith's biography for the Kentucky Human Rights Commission poster series in 1973, the Kentucky Education Association in 1974, and in 1975 for the Kentucky State Fair Board, which honored Smith as Woman of the Year. Each version of the biography contains additional information on Smith's life. None of these have been published and are available from Dr. Edwin and Camie Smith, Louisville, Kentucky.; *Minutes. Fayette County Board of Education*, Lexington, Kentucky. July 1951.

time a member and treasurer of the Woman's Improvement Club, which organized and operated a day nursery for children of working parents.²³⁸

On the national academic level, she was one of the early members of the National Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), as it was known then, where she worked closely with nationally recognized historians including Carter G. Woodson and Charles Wesley. Smith and Mary McLeod Bethune became the first women named to the association's executive board in 1935, a position Smith held for the remainder of her life. Her dedication to this organization included service as national parliamentarian and as state president over Kentucky's affiliate clubs. Although she was not a historian, she seems to have been genuinely accepted among this predominately male group and was included on the national conference programs each year in various capacities for thirty years. From the time she became a member, she attended every national conference with the exception of the one in 1954. She voiced her concerns about various aspects of the racial issue on many occasions. At times she spoke of the need for curriculum changes to include black history in schools, at others; she spoke of showing black support for the war or voiced disappointment over the limited local opportunities for black people. She argued that by being effective and efficient teachers and tireless employees, blacks could win public support and endorsement and make more contributions to the community and nation as a whole.²³⁹

Smith also supported the Association through her fund raising efforts in Lexington. The Association did not receive support from any philanthropic groups or

²³⁸ Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, p. 20, 27, 49. "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association Held in Washington, D.C., October 30- November 1, 1942." *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 28, no.1 (Jan., 1943), 5.

²³⁹"Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held in New York, November 11-13, 1938." *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 24, no.1 (Jan., 1939), 7-8.

agencies, relying totally on the generosity of its members and other black supporters nationally. Each year Smith solicited money on a local scale and annually presented the Association with at least one hundred dollars raised strictly through local donations. Smith was also among the top leaders in the ASNLH and often filled in to preside over sessions in the absence of Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune or, in later days, Charles Wesley. After Woodson's death, her loyalty and devotion to Woodson and the Association were highly praised.²⁴⁰

Kentucky's black women whether enslaved or free born fully understood the uplifting effects that educational fulfillment supplied those who achieved it and through whatever means necessary, sought it and made it available to other blacks. They encouraged young people to stay in school and graduate, to pursue higher education, advanced degrees and to support others seeking similar educational opportunities. The female teachers served as role models of educational achievement and like, American Mother of the Year Emma Clement, they stressed the need for postsecondary education for black people on a national level. Many of these women also recognized the importance of educated black role models and fought for the inclusion of black history courses in schools nationwide to foster racial pride and high academic achievement among school aged children. Still other club leaders recognized that college attainment was not possible or desirable for all black Americans and supported additional institutions which catered to industrial education programs for blacks especially black women.

²⁴⁰ "The Branch in Lexington, Kentucky." *The Negro History Bulletin*. Vol. 2, no. 8, May 1939, 71; "Historical News." *The Negro History Bulletin*. vol. 7 no. 7, April 1944. pp. 165-166.; The index to the Association's publications and the annual Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History detail her addresses to the body, the sessions she moderated and the committees to which she was assigned.

Through their group interactions and networking for sustainability of their educational institutions and programs, black women forged new highways and developed new avenues for advancing black people academically. They identified many needs of Kentucky's black school children and set out to find solutions to address those perceived weaknesses. They improved the overall quality of life for many children creating enhancements in their schools, raising the children's self-esteem, getting black history textbooks adopted in Kentucky schools, and supporting programs they established like the Colored Health Camp and the National Training School for Women and Girls.

Chapter Six

We too are Kentucky: Club Women Transforming Public Policy

“No movement of any great importance has ever taken place in the world, in which woman has not taken a prominent part as a worker.” — Mary E. Britton²⁴¹

Black women continuously expanded their spheres of influence beyond home and hearth to include church, schools, health facilities, legislation, and other public policies that attempted to limit black progress and citizenship economically, academically, socially, and politically. In Kentucky their task was made more difficult because many of the state’s whites adopted an unexpectedly Southern political stance toward blacks.

Following the end of the Civil War, black expectations of equality had been high in Kentucky. They expected that once black people were legally free, they would receive all the promises of the U.S. Constitution. They expected an equal opportunity to achieve their dreams and make a decent living for their families. The freed people knew the people they had worked with throughout the course of their enslavement and for the most part expected fair treatment from them. They had cared for the land, the animals, and the white families and believed that their former masters were fair people for the most part. However, that was not the reality for most recently freed black Kentuckians. Many white Kentuckians wanted to maintain the old traditions of racial superiority, to maintain racial purity and to continue controlling black labor, black economic development, and black political activity, and they were willing to use violent means to maintain their power over black people. The racist policies in Kentucky were as harsh as those in the Deep South;

²⁰⁰ Mary E. Britton. “Woman’s Suffrage: A Potent Agency in Public Reform”, *American Catholic Tribune* (Cincinnati), July 22, 1887, p.1, col. 5. Britton’s published paper on suffrage was originally read before the State Association of Colored Teachers in Danville, Ky on July 7, 1887.

Kentucky whites were not interested in improving race relations and adopted an ideology of white supremacy which justified racial segregation.²⁴²

Accordingly black disfranchisement, racial violence, and segregation were the reality for Kentucky's freed people. They found barriers being constructed to limit their freedom in every course of their lives. They had no money, no property, no home, no food, no education, limited clothing and little opportunity to acquire any of those amenities. They found doors closed to them at every turn. The Freedman's Bureau offered some hope, access to education, medical care, the opportunity to legalize their marriages, and assistance negotiating contracts with their former masters. However, blacks had no rights in Kentucky except freedom from slavery. They could not vote or testify against white people in court and all blacks were perceived as criminals. They were not allowed to go where white people assembled in schools, theaters, on street cars, in meeting halls, or libraries. Black women were concerned about the overall denial of rights to black people and their disparaging treatment by whites. For black women one of the most disturbing racist ideas was that black women were not virtuous and were not worthy of the protections that other women enjoyed.²⁴³

In response to these racist attitudes and violent acts, this period saw the rise of organized benevolent work of black women's clubs which lead the charge for social reform in their communities through political activism. In their family relations, community and church involvement, and higher education institutions, black women had

²⁴² Wright, *History of Blacks in Kentucky*.

²⁴³ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 11.; Neil R. McMillen. *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 2005-206.

learned that it was their responsibility to work on their people's behalf making positive contributions to improve their people by following Victorian ideas of morality and decorum.²⁴⁴

Unlike white women, black women were never protected from attack or rape or beatings except at their own hands and given the opportunity they took responsibility for their own welfare and the welfare of their children and community. Enslaved black women had unwillingly been breeders of the generations of racially mixed Americans and were chastised and vilified as predators when in reality they were slavery's victims. Their virtue was constantly in danger as all black women were viewed as wanton sexual predators. Baptist women's adoption of hegemonic values and behavior "did not constitute supine deference to white power." The black Baptist women's concern for proper behavior "served to reinforce their sense of moral superiority over whites." One Baptist's Woman's Convention publication alleged that white behavior on streetcars was rude and reminded blacks that, "Here is an opportunity for us to show our superiority. . . . Let us at all times and on all occasions, remember that the quiet, dignified individual who is respectful to others is after all the superior individual, be he black or white."²⁴⁵

Similar values were promoted through the philosophy of racial uplift. The racial uplift framework included obtaining higher education, adopting Victorian ethical and moral practices, maintaining a stable home and family, fostering the majority population's cultural ways, and becoming more charitable. Through the politics of respectability and racial uplift ideology, black women forged opportunities to control the

²⁴⁴ Stephanie J. Shaw. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²⁴⁵ Higginbotham, pp. 192-93.

economic growth of their community, the health of the race, the moral training of their youth, and the education of their people.²⁴⁶

African American women reinvented themselves through self-determination and the aid of extended families of kinships and friendships who's mutually agreed upon goals promoted the upward evolvement of the black community. They acquired self-defining agency as they transformed their lives and communities by taking control of their working conditions, social structures, church activities and personal spheres while attempting to uplift their entire race through benevolent programs. Darlene Clark Hine sums their self-definition in this way, "It was through 'making community' that Black women were able to redefine themselves, project sexual respectability, reshape morality, and define a new aesthetic." These self-defined ideologies permeated the benevolent clubs, secret societies, church organizations and all public and private spheres. Uplifters expected individuals with education, wealth or social position to be involved in social welfare activities for the elderly, orphans, the poor, the uneducated, children and other needy persons. The philosophies of the "politics of respectability" and "racial uplift" validated women's role in the black community.²⁴⁷

However, they also recognized that all black women were the same in the eyes of the dominant class and were motivated to change the negative stereotypes that plagued black women. Elsa Barkley Brown reminds us that black women were most often described as sexual predators. Brown states, "Throughout U.S. history black women have been sexually stereotyped as immoral, insatiable, perverse; the initiators in all sexual contacts -- abusive or otherwise." Attitudes of blacks as other than human and

²⁴⁶ Gaines.

²⁴⁷ Hine, Introduction,. xxii.

their sexuality as other than normal not only served to support slavery and sanction the sexual exploitation of black women, but also created a definition of black women as carnal, savage, deviant, and promiscuous. Furthermore, club women were undoubtedly familiar with the infamous March 19, 1895 letter in which John W. Jacks, President of the Missouri Press Association alleged that all black women as “were prostitutes and all are natural liars and thieves.”²⁴⁸

Black women, who as slaves had worked in the fields and barns on the farms next to black men doing as much work as the men, felt equal to black men and freely spoke out on their own behalf about negative stereotypes of black women, women’s rights, suffrage issues, segregation, civil rights, race leadership, and civil liberties. Kentucky’s black women launched a pro-active response to social, political and economic problems in their community through their grass roots efforts to improve and control their environment. They did not wait for the club movement to voice their dissatisfaction with the status of blacks; they spoke out loudly against unjust social policies at every opportunity. And contrary to some historians’ accounts, racial solidarity and race pride were not a new response to exclusionary practices; most black people always worked together for their own improvement and community uplift, whether enslaved or free.

²⁴⁸Tullia K. Brown Hamilton, “*The National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1920*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1978, p.13; Elsa Barkley Brown, “What Has Happened Here: The Politics of Difference in Women’s History and Feminist Politics,” in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women’s History*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 47; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., “*We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible*”: *A Reader in Black Women’s History*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 11; NACW records, *A History of the Club Movement Among the Colored Women of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1902, (microfilm Reel 1, frame 6-8).

The state-wide anti-separate coach protest was one of the earliest organized resistance efforts in Kentucky's black community. Several vocal Kentucky black women, among them Mrs. L.B. Sneed, Miss Lizzie Green, Miss Lena Tibbs, Miss Mary V. Cook (Parrish), and Miss Mary E. Britton, articulately addressed the state General Assembly on the unfairness of the proposed anti-separate coach legislation on April 15, 1892. Concerned citizens, they realized the negative implications of segregation and also the racial assumptions of the practice. They as ladies also knew the impact of segregated coaches on black women and the crude accommodations they would be forced to endure should the bill be passed. Although their voices were heard, the bill passed, notwithstanding their petitions for equality. Some of the participating women were later members and out-spoken leaders of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women.²⁴⁹

In a progressive move black women nationally formed the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) in 1896, advocating among its policy goals educational provisions for women and children, and protecting, securing and enforcing civil and political rights for the race while promoting interracial understanding. Many of Kentucky's black women engaged in securing these goals even before participating in the organized efforts of the NACW. One such woman who spoke before the Kentucky General Assembly in 1892 was Mary E. Britton. In 1903 the KACW served to bring together existing clubs in the state's black community to identify and attack the common policy issues affecting the black community. Both Mary Britton and Elizabeth "Lizzie" Fouse, born twenty years apart, were among the outspoken Lexington club women constantly challenging public policies that limited black freedoms. Their work through

²⁴⁹ S.E. Smith, editor. *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*. (Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Co., 1895).

organizations and community networks demonstrates the continuous activism of Kentucky's black women and the efforts to establish organizational infrastructures from one generation to the next, thus setting the stage for the activism known as the modern Civil Rights Movement which used direct action to dismantle the segregated structures of inequality.

Mary Ellen Britton was born free in Lexington, Kentucky, on April 16, 1855, the third of ten children of Laura Marshall and Henry Britton. Her father, who was of Spanish/Native American heritage, was a carpenter and barber while her mother, the daughter of a white slave owner had been taught to read and write unlike most slaves and was freed by her mistress in 1848. Laura was also a talented singer and while passing as white went on musical tours around the country.²⁵⁰

Given their mother's educational background, the Britton children were all encouraged to pursue educational opportunities. As a child Mary's parents recognized her love of books and learning and sought educational opportunities for developing her intellectual capacity. Initially she attended local schools run by the American Missionary Association. Both Mary and an older sister Julia also attended the William Gibson School on the corner of Green and Fourth Streets in Louisville, Kentucky. The Gibson School, established in 1847 in the Colored Methodist Church, operated with the approval of the

²⁵⁰ Laura often traveled with her daughter Julia, a musical child prodigy who accompanied her mother on the piano. Because Laura was biracial she was able to pass for white but because Julia was much darker in complexion, she posed as her mother's servant so they could stay together in hotel rooms while traveling; The names and birth years of Henry and Laura Britton's children was retrieved through the 1860 Census of the United States for Fayette County, 3rd Ward of Lexington which listed six children initially. In the 1870 Census for Glade, Madison County, Kentucky with Berea as the post office, the record for Henry and Laura Brittain [sic] again lists six children, two new children William age three and Hattie age one with Joseph and Martha no longer listed among the family members. Lexington newspaper articles about Mary Britton further revealed brother Tom, a well known jockey, and sister Lucy who were born between 1870 and 1874 since both parents died in 1874. Lucy is listed on the 1880 Fayette County census as age 7 on June 4, 1880 and was born in either 1873 if she had already had her birthday that year or in 1872 if her birthday in 1880 was after June 4. Tom is listed in newspaper articles as being born in 1873.

city's white authorities, as did several other black schools. These schools served not only the free black population but also many slaves whose owners were progressive enough to seek an education for their servants. Prior to the onset of the Civil War, the sisters returned to their Frankfort home where Julia assisted her mother in teaching slaves to read and write, which was never illegal in Kentucky. In 1860, the Brittons lived in Lexington where Henry was a barber and in addition to her musical endeavors Laura worked as a seamstress. After the war the Britton family moved to Berea, where Mary and her sister Julia, a musical child prodigy, enrolled in the interracial program at Berea College. Mary attended the school from 1871 to 1874, during which time Julia also taught classes while attending the school.²⁵¹

The death of her parents in 1874 brought changes in Mary's financial situation that forced her to leave Berea College without graduating and to seek employment as a teacher. She first secured a teaching position in Chilesburg, Kentucky, before finding a similar job in Lexington, her hometown, in 1876. Britton initially rented a room on Mill Street, then later moved to Lexington Avenue before sharing living quarters with her older sister Susan and brother-in-law Benjamin Franklin at 328 North Limestone. Franklin, who ran a barber shop also on North Limestone, was a well-known

²⁵¹ W.D. Johnson. *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: The Standard Print, 1897, p. 18; H.C. Weeden. *Weeden's History of the Colored People of Louisville* (Louisville: Weeden, 1897), 31; 1860 United States Federal Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, p. 422; Richard Sears. "Early Berea History: Berea's First Black Teacher." *The Pinnacle*, February 20, 1988. Berea College Archives. Julia Britton Hooks student file. Julia Britton is listed among the Berea College faculty teaching instrumental music from 1870-1872. As such she was not only one of the first black women to attend college but also the first black to teach white students in Kentucky.

businessman in Lexington maintaining his shop in the same location for thirty two years before moving to a more spacious and handsomely decorated shop on Short Street.²⁵²

Mary Britton was among the first members of the State Association of Colored Teachers, established in 1877. From the Association's beginnings, she was actively engaged in the group's work, presenting an essay entitled "Literary Culture of the Teacher" at the initial meeting in Danville on August 7, 1878. As the state association concluded its business meeting and the election of officers, Britton was named to the Program Committee. At the Eight Annual Convention, which convened in Louisville at the Fifth Street Church on July 5, 1886, Britton served as the Association's secretary. When the Association met the following year in Danville's St. James Methodist Church, Mary Britton was visibly occupied in association business, delivering a speech after the president's annual address on the first day's evening session and a speech the following evening on woman's suffrage. The speech on woman's suffrage was so well received that it was subsequently published on the front page of a Cincinnati, Ohio newspaper, the *American Catholic Tribune*.²⁵³

Britton began her speech on suffrage by acknowledging that Kentucky was not a state that supported women's voting rights and thus her initial feelings and comments on the subject had been formulated from hearing only one side of the issue. She said, "From my early youth I was a strong advocate of human rights...not woman's rights...I wish to retract so much as was said to deprive them of the liberty to follow freely their own natural gifts, and the reluctant recognition of the right to do whatever they can do well."

²⁵²1880 U.S. Census of Population Fayette County, Lexington, Kentucky p. 272 ; *Lexington City Directory*, 1890; *Prather's Lexington City Directory*, 1895.; "Ben Franklin: Pioneer Barber Removes Shop From Place He Occupied For 32 Years." *Lexington Leader*, December 12, 1905, p. 8, col. 5.

²⁵³Harvey C. Russell. *The Kentucky Negro Education Association 1877-1946*. (Norfolk, VA:Guide Quality Press, 1946), 39; Atwood S. Wilson. *Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1913*. Kentucky State University Archives. p.3,4,29.

She insisted that people who strive to keep women oppressed often rely on Paul's teachings while ignoring those of Jesus Christ, who applied equal justice to both sexes and thus inaugurated the process to remove laws "made in the sole interests of men, and denying to wives and mothers their just rights." Britton argued that woman's suffrage was based on the premise that everyone had a right to define their own fate within the laws of society and that those laws should be equally applied to women as well as men. She not only believed that the vote would give women a voice but also insisted that women deserved representation, invoking the Revolutionary claim that "taxation without representation is tyranny." She argued, "If woman is the same as man then she has the same rights, if she is distinct from man then she has a right to the ballot to help make laws for her government." She encouraged those opposed to suffrage to examine Christ's golden rule and "come down from your high perches of superiority and give to women what is justly hers." Throughout her discourse Britton defined the qualities that women possess that make their voice in government necessary. Stating that "No one is better for being ignorant, no one is a better companion for being weak and helpless," Britton argued that women decide issues based on morals, which works well when combined with men's decision-making which comes from the "physical and passionate [sic] standpoint." In her plea she pointed to successful men who publicly relied on their wives' intelligence in combination with their own to achieve success. Britton professed that "as woman is made to be worth more to society at large, and in public interests, she becomes richer at home and is capable of building it better" without losing her tenderness and love. Britton proclaimed that men are not the "true fruit of the human race" and that men and women are expected to work together to govern, with each bringing different traits to the mixture

for the betterment of human kind. Women, she argued, had consistently progressed and learned not only the alphabet but science, technology, law, medicine and other disciplines and trades and were then discriminated against by receiving lower wages although they had excelled in these endeavors. Britton maintained that granting suffrage for women would protect young men and boys from ruin, because women would help elect moral leaders and enact better laws including temperance legislation. To gain the approval of the male audience, she offered quotations from nationally recognized men including Henry Ward Beecher and Frederick Douglass, who both supported women's suffrage. Miss Britton concluded her remarks by saying, "No movement of any great importance has ever taken place in the world, in which woman has not taken a prominent part as a worker, -- most assuredly is Woman Suffrage a Potent Agency in Public Reforms." Kentucky had granted school suffrage to women in 1838, but Britton's plea was for full suffrage rights for women. The suffrage speech was one of the earliest records of her activism on public issues confronting women and blacks. Although Kentucky's black women were more often focused on national racial issues than gendered concerns, some of them participated in suffrage organizations. Mary Britton remained politically active throughout her lifetime and used her writing skills as well as her verbal abilities to voice her opinion on many issues challenging women and blacks in Kentucky like the proposed separate coach legislation in 1892.²⁵⁴

On the topic of the Separate Coach Movement, which prevented people of different races from occupying seats on the same coach on passenger trains, Britton's eloquent and organized speech to the joint railroad Committee of the Kentucky Senate

²⁵⁴ Mary E. Britton. "Woman's Suffrage: A Potent Agency in Public Reforms." *The American Catholic Tribune*, July 22, 1887, p.1, cols. 3-5.

and House of Representatives on April 15, 1892, as part of the delegation of black women was so well executed that numerous persons both black and white requested that it be printed in the local newspaper where it appeared in its entirety four days after she spoke.

Britton was one of more than five black women who appealed to the General Assembly to reject the Separate Coach Law. Among the other women were Mrs. L. B. Sneed, Misses Lena B. Tibbs, Mary Elizabeth Green, and Mary V. Cook, who was discussed in an earlier chapter. In her speech, Britton called for bipartisan vote to refuse the passage of the separate coach legislation by invoking the words from the Constitution and everyone's rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. She elucidated black progress toward social respectability and socially progressive efforts toward a new way of life and upward mobility. She questioned white privilege and the assumption that whiteness is "virtuous, intelligent, and aesthetic in taste" by reminding the Assembly of the horrors of slavery and the atrocities that were perpetrated against blacks during enslavement, calling for "reparation for the wrongs done the ancestors" and fairness. Britton talked about the injustice of punishing all blacks for the disgraceful behavior of one black man toward a white woman (the ostensible reason for the proposed law). She explained that generally an offending person is punished for his crime and not the whole race. Britton argued that, had a similar incident occurred against a black woman, the entire incident would have been ignored altogether. She maintained that she understood the law was designed to protect "ladies from ruffians" and surmised that if a black man was "sober, clean, and intelligent," his rights as a citizen should not be arbitrarily denied. Britton argued that a law based solely on race was not only unjust but also un-American.

In conclusion, she reminded the Assembly that the people gave them their power and as such the people were opposed to the bill. She said, “The 272,981 Afro-Americans of the state together with the friends of right and liberty of other nationalities, most strenuously revolt against the passage of a measure so unjust as the Separate Coach Bill.”²⁵⁵

As a teacher and later as a physician, Mary E. Britton became one of the city’s most respected women, and her opinion on political issues was sought over the years and often highly publicized. Her first speech was delivered in 1876 at the end of her school and published in the *American Citizen*, an early Lexington weekly newspaper. The speech explained the relationship between teacher, student, and parents. Subsequent publications appeared in *The Cincinnati Commercial* in 1877, *The Daily Transcript*, which was another Lexington paper and *The Lexington Herald*, where Mary wrote a woman’s column. Britton contributed articles to several other publications, among them *The Ivy* in Baltimore, Maryland; *The Courant* in Louisville, Kentucky; *The Indianapolis World* in Indiana ; *The Cleveland Gazette* in Ohio and *Our Women and Children*, a publication of the Baptist Church. Spokespersons for the Lexington Herald found her compositions to be “equal to any of her sex, white or black” From her articulation of issues of fairness, education and morality in the changing racial climate, the journalists compared her public speaking abilities to those of Hallie Q. Brown, the well-known founder of the Colored Women’s League of Washington and President of the National Association of Colored Women in the 1920s. Ideas supported by Britton in the *Lexington Herald* included “reformation in society, total abstinence from alcoholic liquors and

²⁵⁵ S.E. Smith, editor. *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*. (Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Co., 1895), 35, 41; Mary E. Britton. “A Woman’s Appeal: To Members of the Kentucky General Assembly.” *Lexington Leader*, April 19, 1892, p.3, cols. 3-4.

tobacco, and the importance of active work and the influence of example upon the part of teachers and preachers.” When writing for the *Lexington Herald* her noms de plume were “Meb” and “Aunt Peggy” for *The Ivy*. Britton was well-regarded not only in Lexington and central Kentucky but also in larger cities of Louisville, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati. One employee of the *Cincinnati Commercial* commented, “She has an excellent talent for comparing, explaining, expounding and criticizing, and has made no small stir among the city officials and others for their unjust discriminations against worthy citizens.”²⁵⁶

Two weeks after her speech before the legislature, Mary Britton and nineteen other black Lexington women met in the Chapel of the St. Paul A.M.E. Church and established the Ladies Orphans’ Home Society. The Society’s goals were to establish a home and educational training for orphans and needy elderly women. The Orphan’s home was of particular interest to Britton as she understood the needs of orphans, having been orphaned at the age of nineteen. She undoubtedly remembered the trauma of losing her parents and having to fend for herself and seek assistance to insure the care of her five younger siblings, who were eventually raised by her sisters, an aunt, and other relatives. Britton, a charter member of the Society, served as secretary of the Home’s Board of Managers and worked with the orphanage until she retired in 1923.²⁵⁷

The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 provided Britton the opportunity to challenge other racist practices, this time practiced by the Exposition organizers themselves. Chicago served as the host city and had spared no expense to make the event grand and expose the city’s economic eminence. The Exposition was Dubbed as “White

²⁵⁶ I. Garland Penn, *Afro-American Press, and its Editors*. (Springfield, MA: Willery & Co. Publishers, 1891), 415-418. All of these papers with the exception of the *Lexington Herald* are no longer available.

²⁵⁷ Lauretta Flynn Byars. *Lexington’s Colored Orphan Industrial Home: Building for the Future*. (Lexington: I.B. Bold Publications, 1995), 54-55, 79.

City,” not only because all the buildings were painted white but also because organizers had severely limited black participation in the exhibits, which resulted in a major controversy in the black community. Curious as to whether the Kentucky building was open to blacks, and whether she would be treated differently at the Fair by Kentuckians than at home, Britton attempted to enter the facility and was publicly refused entrance. One reporter witnessed the “humiliation, indignation and other strains she experienced” and reported it. Britton responded to his query about her motivation for her action, and stated that she wanted to see how she would be treated. Prior knowledge of the racially negative climate at the Chicago Exposition suggests that Britton knew how she would be treated but wanted to challenge her home state publicly. Mary Britton’s ill-treatment is the only reported incident of public accommodation discrimination at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition.²⁵⁸

In 1902, after studying medicine for several years in Illinois and Michigan, Mary Britton became a doctor and returned to Kentucky where she opened a medical practice in her Lexington home. In addition to her medical practice in Lexington, Dr. Britton traveled to Georgetown, Kentucky twice weekly for professional business. She involved herself in the local black professional association, the Kentucky Medical Association of Colored Physicians, Dentists, and Pharmacists, and often spoke or presided at the annual state meeting. Dr. Britton was also actively involved in national medical organizations and attended their annual meetings. Britton’s professional colleagues valued her expertise and leadership skills and in February 1911 the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Medical Association of Negro Physicians, Dentists, and

²⁵⁸ *Indianapolis Freeman*. August 12, 1893, Page 1, col 1-2.; Elliott M Rudwick and August Meier, “Black Man in the ‘White City’: Negroes and the Columbian Exposition, 1893,”*26(4) Phylon* (1965):357.

Pharmacists appointed her State Vice President representing Kentucky to the Association. Dr. Britton not only attended the three day annual sessions of the National Association at Hampton, Virginia but was also on the program presenting a paper on the subject of autointoxication. Often Britton was asked to provide her medical expertise at various lay organizational club meetings such as the Colored Woman's Club or mothers' groups on such topics as hygiene.²⁵⁹

Mary Britton's medical practice represented an intervention in a major issue affecting blacks nationwide – the lack of medical care. When Mary E. Britton opened her medical practice in 1902, she was one of a small number of black physicians in the state and nationwide. In fact data for 1890 indicates that nationwide only 909 black physicians were practicing in America of which only ninety were women. After emancipation, black doctors did not have access to white hospitals and most white hospitals did not treat black patients either. Nationally few black hospitals with black doctors existed except in larger cities. Blacks were, for the most part, not allowed in hospitals unless the hospital provided separate wards and rooms for them. Many seriously ill blacks were simply denied access to hospitals and left to die at home often suffering gravely from illnesses

²⁵⁹ W.D. Johnson. *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women in Kentucky*. (Lexington: Standard Printing, 1897). 19; Joseph J. Boris, ed. *Who' Who in Colored American*. (New York: Who' Who in Colored American Corp., 1927), 236. Many sources on Dr. Britton's medical education list it as the American Missionary College but this edition gives the name as American Maternity Missionary College. The American Missionary College of Medicine merged with the University of Illinois in 1910; "Resolutions." *Lexington Leader*, August 30, 1925, p. 7, col. 5; "Colored Circles." *Lexington Leader*, August 26, 1902, p. 2, col.6.; "Colored Female Doctor." *Lexington Herald*, November 12, 1902, p. 8, col. 5. "Colored Circles." *Lexington Leader*, July 19, 1903, sec. 1, p.2, col. 5; "Colored People: Personal Notes." *Lexington Leader*, July 26, 1903, sec. 1, p. 2, col5; *Lexington City Directory*. R. L. Polk and Company, 1906-07, viii, UK Spec. Collections; "Lexington Doctors on Program of Paris Meeting." *Lexington Leader*, May 3, 1905, p.3, col.7;"General Notes." *Lexington Leader*, May 17, 1908, sec. 2, p. 6, col. 4.; "Blue Grass Medical Society." *Lexington Leader*, January 9, 1910, p.5, col. 5; "Colored Notes." *Lexington Leader*. August 21, 1910, p. 6, col. 4.; "Colored Notes." *Lexington Leader*, February 22, 1911, p. 9, col. 6-7.; "Colored Notes." *Lexington Leader*, August 20, 1911, p.3, col. 6-7; "Colored Notes." *Lexington Leader*, August 20, 1911, p.3, col. 6-7. "Colored Womans Club." *Lexington Leader*, May 23, 1905, p. 4, col. 6; "Mothers' Meeting." *Lexington Leader*, December 9, 1906, sec. 1, p. 2, col. 5; "

that could be cured. In cities where blacks could be admitted to hospitals they were attended by white physicians who were willing to treat them in the substandard wards set aside for blacks. Often black women's groups supplied bed linens for black patients in these hospitals to compensate for the lack of adequate accommodations in segregated wards. Later chapters of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority often equipped entire hospital rooms for black patients' comfort. Another sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, provided health services to rural Mississippians through one of their service projects.²⁶⁰

Nationally, separate nurses' training schools, medical schools, and dental schools for black students existed in extremely small numbers and many were founded during the course of the Civil War. The Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum was first established in 1862 at Camp Barker in Washington, D.C. by the Freedmen's Bureau to treat and cared for free blacks. Although still under federal control, it later served as the teaching hospital for Howard University Medical School, which opened in 1868. It was moved to Howard University's campus in 1869 and expanded in 1908 to include 278 beds. The hospital officially transferred to Howard University in 1967. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams founded the Provident Hospital and Training Institute in Chicago in 1891. This was the first black managed hospital in the country. In the late 19th century other black hospitals opened in Philadelphia and South Carolina. By 1890, only 909 black physicians were practicing in America, serving a growing black population of seven and a half million black people. Because they were banned from membership in the American Medical Association, in 1895 blacks organized the National Association of Physicians, Dentists, and Pharmacists in Atlanta. In 1915 Booker T. Washington instituted National Negro

²⁶⁰ Mary E. Vroman. *Shaped to its Purpose: Delta Sigma Theta, the First Fifty Years*. (New York: Random House, 1965) 34.; Susan Lynn Smith. *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890-1950*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

Health Week, which created a national dialogue about the dearth of medical training opportunities for blacks, the need for black medical professionals and facilities and the federal government's responsibility to facilitate these concerns. Through these activities and organizations black medical professionals were able to advance the number of blacks in their fields, establish better facilities for black people and raise standards of health practices in their communities. By 1920 the number of black medical doctors had increased to 3,885 and the number of black graduate nurses in the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN) had risen to 500, but as late as 1939 there were only 200 black hospitals nationwide, many of which were not accredited. At the National Negro Health Week Conference in 1929, the program was expanded to focus on black health problems on a year around basis. Later in 1932 the United States Public Health Service opened the Office of Negro Health Work which served as the headquarters for the year-round movement and provided publications including the *National Negro Health News*, for national distribution. Howard University administrators offered the cooperation of their School of Medicine and its Department of Bacteriology, Preventative Medicine and Public Health also. Thus Negro Health Week expanded to become the National Negro Health Movement, which like the weekly observance was incorporated in black communities across the country including Kentucky towns and cities where KACW members encouraged participation.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ Darlene Clark Hine. *Speak Truth to Power: Black Professional Class in United States History*. (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1996)174-175. ; B.F. Lee, "Negro Organizations." In *Church and Community among Black Southerners, 1865-1900*, edited by Donald G. Neiman. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 387-395. ; Carter G. Woodson and Charles Wesley. *The Negro in Our History*. (Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1966), 570-589.; Darlene Clark Hine. *Speak Truth to Power: Black Professional Class in United States History*. (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1996)174-175. ; Roscoe C. Brown, "The National Negro Health Week Movement." *Journal of Negro Education* 6(July 1937), 553-564.

Within Kentucky various clubwomen recognized the need for improving the health of black communities and acknowledged the lack of public support and policies to provide this much-needed service. Among these women was Mary Merritt, another former Berea College student, who like Britton, focused on the medical needs of the black community but, unlike Britton, chose nursing for her profession. Most towns and cities in Kentucky did not have black doctors or hospitals. The first black doctor to open a practice in Kentucky, Henry Fitzbutler, did so in Louisville in 1872. His wife, Sarah McCurdy Fitzbutler, became the state's first black woman to earn a medical degree and began practicing medicine in Louisville in 1892. She also became the nursing instructor at the hospital as well as the superintendent of the hospital's educational program. Sarah Fitzbutler excelled in the areas of obstetrics and pediatrics. After her husband died in 1901, she maintained her Louisville practice for many years before moving to Chicago where her physician daughter Mary Fitzbutler Waring had migrated. In Chicago, Mary continued the family business of addressing health issues in black America.²⁶²

Although Lexington had a number of excellent black doctors who operated small black clinics, they never established a black hospital in the city. For serious ailments, Lexington's black citizens often traveled to Louisville for treatment at Red Cross Hospital, the state's major black hospital. Among Lexington's doctors was the aforementioned Mary E. Britton, the city's first female doctor who opened her practice in

²⁶² Elizabeth Lindsay Davis. *Lifting As They Climb*. (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933), 293, 297; Leslie L. Hanawalt. "Henry Fitzbutler: Detroit's First Black Medical Student," *Detroit in Perspective: A Journal of Regional History* 1(Winter 1973): 126-40; John Kleber, ed. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 294; *1900 United States Federal Census* [Database online]. Louisville Ward 10, Jefferson, Kentucky: RollT623 531, 10B; H.F. Kletzing and W. H. Crogman. *Progress of a race; or, the remarkable advancement of the American Negro; from the bondage of slavery, ignorance, and poverty, to the freedom of citizenship, intelligence, affluence, honor, and trust*. (Atlanta: J.L. Nichols & Co., 1898), 554, 556.

1902. Most black doctors, however, were male; Mary Britton and Sarah Fitzbutler were pioneers. Other Kentucky cities with sizable black populations had black doctors among their populations as well and a few of them had small black hospitals. Included among those were Covington's Red Cross Sanitarium Hospital; Somerset's Anderson Sanitarium; Middlesboro's Booker T. Washington Hospital; Hopkinsville's Moore Clinic; Frankfort's Winnie A. Scott Hospital; Shelbyville's Daisy M. Saffell Hospital; and Paris' Colored Annex at Mercy Hospital.

Louisville's black citizens, on the other hand, enjoyed the services of several black doctors and hospitals, beginning in the late nineteenth century. Their hospitals included the Red Cross Hospital (1899-1975), the Kings Daughter Hospital and the Citizens National Hospital (1905-1912), Fraternal Hospital (1922-), Waverly Hills Tuberculosis Hospital (1911-1961), and Louisville City Hospital. Both Waverly Hills and Louisville City Hospitals were open to black and white patients but in separate wings. Louisville's most enduring hospital was the Red Cross Hospital and Nurses Training Department, generally referred to as the Red Cross Hospital. The Louisville National Medical College (1888), established by Henry Fitzbutler as part of Simmons University, was primarily established for teaching and was not suitably equipped to accommodate any serious emergencies. The remaining black people in the state generally had no access to hospital care except in life and death situations and many died who were denied care. Some were admitted to white hospitals but in segregated wards only.²⁶³

²⁶³Rice, 119. John Kleber, ed. *Louisville Encyclopedia*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 402, 751, 927-28; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 141; *Negro Year Book : an Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro*. (Tuskegee Institute, AL: Negro Year Book Publ. Co., 1919, 1926, 1932, 1938, 1946, 1947, 1952).

Kentucky's black clubwomen, some of whom were doctors, created health institutions in their local communities. Familiar with chauvinistic expectations regarding women's pre-defined realms of influence and control, black club women again rejected the limited boundaries open to them and self-defined their arenas of operation to include not only nursing but other medical areas as well, including the role of physicians. They organized recreational outlets for youth, created playgrounds, developed first aid training courses, supported health agencies through fund raising, furnished equipment for black hospitals or segregated wards in white hospitals, produced health advocacy programs and pageants, supported their local black physicians and facilities, and even established hospitals. At least three black hospitals were established through the tenacious efforts of black club women. Black clubwomen in Louisville and Lexington also established YWCA's which supported healthy as well as Christian bodies through youth activities. Some women in Lexington established health camps for malnourished children while in Louisville, Mary Merritt, the state's first graduate trained nurse, almost single-handedly transformed a black hospital to an accredited hospital and nurses training school.

Outside the training facilities of Simmons University's Medical School, black Louisville lacked hospital facilities until 1899. At that time early efforts to provide a health infrastructure for Louisville's blacks began through the establishment of the segregated Red Cross Hospital by several black physicians in Louisville. Although it was named Red Cross Hospital, it was not allied with the American Red Cross. Red Cross Hospital was initially supported entirely through money from the black community's

The list of hospitals in cities other than Louisville was compiled in part from these issues of the *Negro Year Book*; Leslie L. Hanawalt, "Henry Fitzbutler: Detroit's First Black Medical Student." *Detroit in Perspective: A Journal of Regional History* 1(Winter 1973), 126-140; Lucas, 317-320.

fund raising efforts. However, at some point during its early years, generous white citizens recognized its community value and also made contributions. The early beginnings of the hospital were in a two story frame building before it moved to a permanent brick building on South Shelby Street in 1907. Recognizing the financial limits of its clientele, Red Cross Hospital's doctors charged only a percentage of the amount charged at other hospitals and provided free preventive care workshops for the community.²⁶⁴

Red Cross Hospital in Louisville served as the major black hospital in the state, and after Mary Merritt joined the staff it began offering nurses' training. At the turn of the twentieth century, nursing schools proliferated nationally, although only a few accepted black students. Chauvinistic attitudes dictated that men would be doctors and that women who were viewed as natural nurturers, with more gentle touch, patience and caring spirits should be nurses, as the Biblical 'helpmate' to man. In 1892 Booker T. Washington introduced a nurses training course at Tuskegee Institute as an option in the women's industrial program. His chauvinistic view of women clearly was articulated in the school's 1896 catalogue description of the program: "Many of our young women who take the course will never become professional nurses, but take it with a view to being better prepared for the responsibilities of family life". In other words black women were expected to be the mother-nurturers whether professionally trained or not for their communities and families. Consequently black nurses were not viewed as professional positions but were seen merely in the prescribed role of care-giver primarily in the

²⁶⁴ Bertha J. Whedbee, "History of Red Cross Hospital and Sanatorium" (April 1, 1948). The handwritten Red Cross history can be found in Houston and Viola Baker's scrapbook, 1945-1952 at the Department of Archives and Records, Eckstrom Library, University of Louisville; Waverly B. Johnson. "Red Cross Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 57(4) (July 1965):332-334; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 141-43.

approved home arena. However, women who became nurses did not see themselves as merely doctors' helpers or co-partners as one doctor called them but as medical professionals trained to provide better health care for their people. Regardless of state standards for black nurses, they pushed themselves to attain graduate education in their field.²⁶⁵

In 1908, fifty five black nurses established the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN) to fight against discriminatory practices. Among the founders of the NACGN was Kentuckian Mary Eliza Merritt who made a lifetime commitment to nursing services in the black community, particularly Louisville, Kentucky. Merritt who was born to truck farmers in the small community of Possum Kingdom in Madison County, Kentucky, where she attended the Berea Academy and worked in the home of the college president and his wife, William and Eleanor Frost. After graduating from the Berea Academy, Merritt enrolled in Berea College. To earn enough money to continue college, Merritt taught in both the Berea Colored School and the Manchester Colored School, approximately sixty miles away in Clay County. She was one of three black women to complete the Berea College nursing program in 1902. Merritt continued teaching after her graduation for two additional years. In 1904 she decided that she needed additional nursing training in a larger arena and on September 20, 1904, she enrolled in Washington, D.C.'s Freedmen's Hospital Training School for Nurses. Merritt graduated from Freedmen's Hospital in 1906 and returned to Kentucky as the state's first graduate nurse. During 1906-1907 she worked as a private duty nurse for abolitionist and Berea College founder Cassius M. Clay. Merritt's next two years

²⁶⁵ Darlene Clark Hine. *Black Women in White : Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession 1890-1950*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 13-16; Shaw, 142-143, 146-147.

were spent in Leavenworth, Kansas, where she served as superintendent of the Protective Home and Mitchell Hospital, whose patients were elderly women and orphaned children. During her time in Kansas, she had taught the only graduating class of nurses in the hospital's history. Also while in Kansas she became a charter member of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and was elected to serve as secretary of that body for two years.²⁶⁶

It is not known why Merritt returned to Berea in 1909 to work for the Frost family as their "housekeeper and commissioned matron," but her relationship with Eleanor Frost would lead to her final career move. While Merritt was vacationing with the Frost family at Chautauqua, New York, she met Miss Lucy Belknap, one of the trustees of the Red Cross Hospital in Louisville. Through the encouragement of both Belknap and Eleanor Frost, Merritt agreed to accept a position as superintendent at the hospital in September 1911. However, after accepting the job and touring the hospital, Merritt was extremely disheartened and declared, "After the first trip through the building, my heart sank. This couldn't be the place—the flooring wasn't covered, the kitchen stove was warped, the operating room was upstairs, everything was so discouraging." Fearing that people would think she didn't want to help her own people, she decided to take the position for one

²⁶⁶Jacqueline G. Burnside. "Berea's First Generation of Black Women, 1866-1904." in *Women in Berea's History: A Symposium for Women's History Week*, . Berea, KY: Berea College, 1985, pp. 18-19; Alice Allison Dunnigan, , *The Fascinating Story of Black Kentuckians: Their Heritage and Traditions*. (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1982.), 455-456.; Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, ed. *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing 1854-1984*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co, 1984), 157-159.; Elizabeth S. Peck. *Nurses in Time: Developments in Nursing Education, 1898-1963*. (Berea, KY: Berea College Appalachian Fund, 1964.), 10.

year only. She later explained that she forgot when that year was up, and it was thirty-four years before she left the hospital.²⁶⁷

For those thirty-four years, Mary Merritt was the Red Cross Hospital's salvation. When she first joined the hospital staff, it was a small two story frame structure which accommodated only 10 patients and contained limited equipment but through Merritt's persistence and hard work, it became a "magnificent brick building with a well-equipped training school registered in the state of Kentucky, sending out graduates each year to minister to the sick." As superintendent, Merritt required strict adherence to nursing and sanitary standards, which facilitated the certification of the Nurses Training School. She found encouragement from the hospital's advisory board which was eager to assist her in securing electricity and gas as well as installing linoleum on the floors. The Belknap family provided financial support to the hospital for many years. Additionally community groups became involved in funding the hospital with charity balls and other fund-raising efforts. Several of Louisville's KACW clubs contributed to the Red Cross Hospital, including the Charity Pity Club, the Chrysanthemum Embroidery Club, and the White Carnation Charity Club, which raised \$500 for the Red Cross Hospital through its city wide Tag- Day program. One writer who praised Merritt's service to the Hospital, described her as "superintendent, mother, guiding spirit, cook, and chief inspiration." In 1948, Red Cross Hospital became the first private black hospital sanctioned by the American Cancer Society to manage a small cancer clinic. Because it was the only

²⁶⁷ "National Negro Nurses' Association Will Present Award to Louisvillian." *Courier Journal*, August 14, 1949.

hospital in Kentucky providing nurses' training to blacks, practically all black nurses in Kentucky were trained there through the first half of the twentieth century.²⁶⁸

In Kentucky, Merritt organized both the State Association of Colored Nurses and the Alpha Society of Graduate Nurses of Louisville. In 1949 Mary Merritt was awarded the Mary Mahoney Award for distinguished service in nursing from the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN), for her role in desegregating the American Nurses Association. As a charter member of the NACGN, she appreciated the significance of the award she received from her peers for her significant contributions in her field and in the area of civil rights. On August 22, 1949, one can imagine the anticipation and pride that Mary Eliza Merritt felt as she watched the procession of over four hundred nursing delegates, each carrying a banner representing their home state, enter Louisville's Quinn Chapel AME Church for a five day National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses convention, which culminated in a program honoring her. Merritt received a congratulatory letter from her alma mater, Berea College, which expressed the college's congratulations and appreciation for "the pioneering work you have done in providing in Kentucky a more adequate nursing service for the people of your race, who prior to your time had practically no resources whatever in this field." Merritt also received a certificate of merit from President Woodrow Wilson for her Red Cross camp work in World War II. Through Merritt's efforts, many nurses of color

²⁶⁸ Fletcher Martin. "National Negro Nurses' Association will Present Award to Louisvillian" *Courier-Journal*. August 14, 1949; A. B. Thomas. *Pathfinders: The Progress of Colored Graduate Nurses*. (New York: Kay Printing House, 1929), 46; Lucy Harth Smith. *Pictorial Directort of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. (Lexington: The Association, 1945), 16, 24, 47; Waverly B. Johnson. "Red Cross Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 57(4) (July 1965):332-334; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 141-43.

received numerous opportunities in the health professions throughout the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the nation.²⁶⁹

While Red Cross Hospital was the state's largest black-operated hospital, other smaller facilities were established through the efforts of black women's groups. Covington's Red Cross Hospital and Sanitarium was the result of the Mother's Club and its President Effie Slaughter's labors to rally ministers, doctors, and other community members to support the cause. Recognizing the need for appropriate health care facilities, two other women's clubs established the Winnie A. Scott Hospital and the Daisy M. Saffell Hospital in Frankfort and Shelbyville, respectively.²⁷⁰

The Frankfort hospital had its beginnings when several women established the Women's Hospital Club in 1910 under the leadership of Miss Winnie A. Scott. Winnie Scott was born in Frankfort Kentucky and when Scott was ten years old her mother died. Scott's father felt unable to care for his daughter and train her appropriately and sent her to live with a family where she worked to earn her room and board. Scott performed well in the Anderson Female High School in Frankfort. She enrolled in the State Normal School for Colored Persons, now Kentucky State University, and was among the members of the first graduating class in 1890. She became a teacher first in the segregated school systems in Bagdad and Lawrenceburg. Scott was an excellent teacher and returned home to teach in Frankfort, where she initially taught the eighth grade. She

²⁶⁹ Mabel Keaton Staupers, *No Time for Prejudice*. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1961.), 188. ;Biography file. Mary Merritt. Berea College Archives. Record Group 8. Students. Copy of letter sent to Merritt by Dr. Louis Smith, Dean of College. President Hutchins who was not on campus at the time.

²⁷⁰ "Covington News." *The Kentucky Club Woman* 10(1) (Feb. 1928), 3. Both the white and black club women of Kentucky used the same name for their publication. The sub-title for this publication is "Official Organ of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs." This issue is in the Danville "Domestic Economy Club History" scrapbook in the possession of Mrs. Helen Fisher Frye, Danville.

later became the assistant principal of the black high school in Frankfort. Through Scott's leadership, the Hospital Club raised enough money to purchase a building which was transformed into a hospital to serve blacks in Frankfort. After Scott's death, the club women continued fundraising until in 1915 they were able to construct a modern hospital which they named the Winnie A. Scott Hospital in their club leader's honor. That hospital was the only hospital in Frankfort which served blacks until 1959 when the other hospital desegregated. The Winnie A. Scott Hospital was generously supported by Frankfort's City Federation of Women's Clubs as well as individual club efforts such as the Woman's Progressive Club, the Domestic Economy Club.²⁷¹

The Daisy M. Saffell Memorial Hospital was also named after the club woman who founded it. Saffell was born to Lizzie Travis in Louisville in 1875. Saffell completed elementary and secondary school in Louisville before going to college at Roger Williams university in Nashville. She served as a teacher in the Frankfort and Lawrenceburg school systems for several years before being named principal of Lawrenceburg's colored school system. After three years in that position, she moved to Shelbyville where she continued to teach school until she resigned to go into the embalming business with her husband. Saffell was a very successful businesswoman. During her career, she was the only black woman with a Kentucky embalming license. At the 13th Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, Saffell was honored to be the spokesperson for the National Funeral Directors Association. Within Kentucky, she served as the secretary of the State Colored Undertakers Association. Her alma mater later awarded her the

²⁷¹ *Fourth Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School for Colored Persons for 1890-91 and Annual Announcement for 1891-92, Frankfort, Ky.* (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson Public Printer, 1891), 51; Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, 239-40; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 18, 26, 52.

Master of Science degree for her professional success. Within the KACW member clubs, she was state secretary of the Household of Ruth and editor of the *Kentucky Club Woman*, the KACW official publication. The Daisy M. Saffell Circle of Kings Daughters was also named in her honor. Saffell died in 1918, but the hospital remained in existence at least through 1945 and was one of the beneficiaries of Shelbyville's Woman's Improvement Club which furnished and maintained a private room in the hospital.²⁷²

Club women across the state provided various levels of support for the Red Cross Hospital and other black hospitals and health programs. Louisville's White Carnation Charity Club raised over five hundred dollars for the hospital; the Charity Pity Club; the Baptist Minister's Wives Council; the Chrysanthemum Embroidery Club supported both the Red Cross Hospital and the Waverly Hills Sanatorium. In addition to the various hospitals the clubs supported, many contributed to the standard health charities of the day including Red Cross Drive, Cancer Control Drive, Tuberculosis Fund Drive and the Infantile Paralysis Fund. Many clubs also supported local orphan's homes, old folk's homes and the state Feeble-Minded Institute. A few clubs provided unique medical assistance such as Lexington's Tip Top Tippers who provided free glasses to the needy and Winchester's Our Night Together Club assisted families who were victims of fire.²⁷³

Through a variety of programs such as Phillis Wheatley YWCAs and local YMCAs across the state, black Kentuckians supported Booker T. Washington's Negro

²⁷² C.H. Parrish. *Golden Jubilee of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky; The Story of 50 Years Work from 1865-1915*. Louisville,: Mayes Printing Co., 1915) , 291-292 ; *Records of the National Negro Business League, Part 1 Annual Conference Proceedings and Organizational Records, 1900-1919*, 13th Annual Convention, Chicago, Illinois, August 21-23, 1912, reel 2, frames 575-576; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 51. I deduced that the Saffell Hospital existed through 1945 as the Directory was published in 1946 or 1947 and the club's information included this support.

²⁷³ Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*. 13,16, 24, 47.

Health Week, begun in 1915. During the Health Week, black doctors gave lectures at factories, schools, churches and meetings of various groups including black club women. In 1927 some Kentucky Negro Health Week activities were sponsored through the Commission on Interracial Cooperation at the black YMCAs across the state. Louisville and Jefferson County also worked through the commission and the Health Council of the Louisville Community Chest to promote numerous events. Louisville organizers began its weeklong celebration by sending black ministers a copy of a sermon prepared at the National Health Week Headquarters. Club women and other Negro Health organizers recruited many prominent community dignitaries, including Louisville's mayor, to give speeches about combating health problems on radio programs. Across Jefferson County essay and poster contests, demonstrations, health and disease prevention clinics were held. Medical examinations were conducted in some of the black schools. Countless brochures and pamphlets on tuberculosis and other diseases were distributed at work sites, libraries, theaters, schools and to various insurance policy holders. One year the black clubwomen sponsored a home improvement contest to support Negro Health Week. Within the school system, health films were shown as well as more fun filled activities such as swimming exhibitions, acrobatic stunt performances, and games.²⁷⁴

Some Kentucky club women whose husbands were doctors and dentists worked to advance black public health through support groups of the national professional associations. For example, beginning in 1950, Ora Kennedy Glass of Henderson was the 1st Vice President of the Women's Auxiliary of the National Medical Association

²⁷⁴ Susan Lynn Smith, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890-1950*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. pp. 50-51, 63. The records on Negro Health Week are located in the Booker T. Washington papers, Box 132, Moton Papers at Hollis Burke Frissell Library, Tuskegee University; *Works Projects Administration in Kentucky*. Jefferson County. 1935-1941, Box 59.

(NMA), which promoted the interests of black doctors. She was also President of the Bluegrass Auxiliary of the N.M.A. Still others who were doctors themselves like Mary E. Britton and Mary Fitzbutler Waring, worked through the National Medical Association and other bodies to bring equity to the health care professions and the public at large.

Thousands of Kentucky club women provided many years of support for local hospitals, health support systems, and related charities. As a body, the KACW selected its second state-wide project to be that of cancer control. KACW cancer control chairman Alice B. Crutcher successfully organized one of the first Colored Divisions of the American Cancer Society in the country. While serving as the Vice-Commander from 1939 to 1946 she effectively organized fifty eight Kentucky units. She was later named Chairman of the Kentucky Field Army of the American Cancer Society. Other club women, such as Lucy Harth Smith supported health initiatives through their own personal advocacy for various health causes within their locales. Former KACW daughter and doctor Mary Fitzbutler Waring took black health care issues to the national level as she moved upward through the NACW ranks.²⁷⁵

Educators, too, made black public health a special concern. Lucy Harth Smith, principal of Lexington's Booker T. Washington Elementary School, devoted compassion and dedication to the overall well-being of her students, a time consuming labor of love which kept Smith pushing for solutions to apparent problems. Noticing that many of her students lost weight during the summer months away from school because of inadequate meals at home, Smith decided to pursue a summer health camp. The idea had been tried previously in 1929 through the Public Health Nursing Service, but Lexington's black

²⁷⁵ *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992*. Microfilm. Reel 21, frame 733.

community had been unable to raise the necessary funds to make the idea a reality. On May 5, 1944, Lucy Smith accepted this challenge by assembling several influential community women at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA and charging each of the women attending the meeting to raise thirty dollars for the summer camp. Together the women raised over two thousand dollars, exceeding their initial goal by five hundred dollars. Smith was made chairperson of the committee to execute the plans for the Colored Health Camp with the assistance of the city and school nurse as well as numerous other women working together towards the implementation of the project.

Other members of the black community soon joined Smith and her committee of women to bring the project to fruition. Mr. Onnie Jewett, a black man who owned a farm on the outskirts of Lexington, offered a place on his property as the site for the camp. Smith solicited lumber and other building materials from various Lexington hardware and lumber businesses to build a screened space for a kitchen and dining room to accommodate thirty children. With the building supplies and lumber that Smith and her committee had solicited from lumber companies, her husband and their youngest son, Edwin, volunteered their skills and together constructed a 14x36-foot facility, which provided the planned kitchen and dining facility for thirty children. Student needs included cots, pajamas, camp uniforms, towels and bed linens, so other committee women solicited businesses for tents, linens and the other necessary items. The committee also found and trained persons to serve as camp counselors, hired a dietician, established a list of daily activities including daily devotionals and exercise schedules.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ "We Went to Camp this Summer" *Negro History Bulletin*, 9 (1)(Oct., 1945), 5-6. Karen McDaniel. Oral Interview with Camie C. Smith, 1973.

In July 1944, the first group of under-weight black children went to the camp for two weeks of recreation, exploration, and nourishment, both physical and spiritual. The director of the Public Health Nursing Association, Mrs. Virginia Martin, and two of her nurses weighed, x-rayed and examined all the children participants. The daily program provided many opportunities to strengthen the frail children with exercises, games, nap and rest periods, religious devotionals and of course three healthy delicious meals. During the camp's first year in operation, twenty girls attended the first two weeks and twenty boys attended the next two weeks, all without cost to their families.²⁷⁷

At the end of 1944, the committee submitted its results to the Lexington Community Chest, and the Chest agreed to assume financial responsibility for the camp thereafter. With this new funding source, eighty-three children were helped the second year, when the camp expanded to four two-week sessions; during the third year, funding was increased, allowing one hundred and twenty youngsters to attend the camp. The summer camp was indeed a most effective method for assisting with health problems suffered by some of Lexington's black youth, as evidenced by the weight gain of the children. Over the course of the years, the largest weight gain during one two-week sessions was eight pounds by one especially mal-nourished child. With funding no longer an issue, the remaining responsibilities for running the camp still rested on Smith and her committee of dedicated women. The Committee for Health Camp for Colored Children, as it was called, became a member of the KACW and held regular monthly meetings in preparation for the annual summer activities of the camp. It continued to receive support not only from the Community Chest but also from the black community through offers

²⁷⁷ Ibid.; Lucy Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 20.

for use of other properties and other resources. During its existence the health camp served thousands of malnourished black children in Kentucky. In 1952, eight year later with approximately 950 children having completed the camp, Smith expressed a bigger dream for the camp which would include a permanent location and stationary facilities in the future.²⁷⁸

Lucy Harth Smith was one of the seventy black and white community leaders who formed the Kentucky State Interracial Council which looked at the educational and economic conditions in the black community and made recommendations for eliminating discriminatory practices. Smith was selected to serve on the group's executive committee. Additionally she received an appointment to the Governor's Committee on Youth and Children because of her expertise and dedication to children and community needs. The Governor's named her to represent Kentucky in the Los Angeles Achievement Celebration and the Liberian African Exposition. Unfortunately she was unable to attend the African Exposition because of political conditions abroad at the time she was scheduled to travel.²⁷⁹

In addition to issues related to her students and children in general, Smith challenged local discriminatory policies regarding black people. Smith defined herself as a role model, always meticulously attired and coiffured with hair curled and combed to the left and an enormous stylish hat secured on the right side of her head. Lexington and Louisville's department stores enforced a policy which prevented black women from trying on clothing on including dresses, lingerie, shoes, and hats. Since Lucy Harth

²⁷⁸ Marilyn Kilgus, "Health Camps, Supported by Community Chest, Leave Child Free from Worry, Free to Gain" *Lexington Herald-Leader*. October 12, 1952.p. 46, col. 3-; *Minutes. Fayette County Board of Education*, Lexington, Kentucky. February 8, 1952.

²⁷⁹ Camie C. Smith, "Mrs. Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith." 1973, rev. 1974, rev. 1975. (Unpublished).

Smith had a penchant for nice clothing and especially large hats, she found this policy to be particularly problematic. She refused to acquiesce to this Jim Crow policy which denied her these privileges. After becoming a regular customer at the finer stores and making several purchases of hats in particular, she insisted that could not make any additional purchases without first trying on the merchandise. Lexington's merchants valued their profits more than their racist policies and surrendered to Smith's demands allowing her try on the merchandise in the store. In fact, several merchants routinely telephoned Smith to notify her when a new shipment of hats had arrived. Her privilege weakened their Jim Crow policies and opened the possibility for elimination of the restriction in the future.²⁸⁰

While Lucy Harth Smith looked after the health needs of the students at her school, some women focused on broader policy areas of black people's health. Among these women was Mary Fitzbutler Waring, who grew up in Louisville under the guidance of her parents Sarah and Henry Fitzbutler, both medical doctors. Even during her youth Mary often assisted her parents who worked in the same hospital, which undoubtedly influenced Mary to become a doctor as well. Mary Fitzbutler's early life in Kentucky consisted of education in the colored schools of the city and attending the local normal school. Following in her mother's footsteps, she also graduated from the National Medical College of Louisville and joined local women's clubs. Initially she taught high school in the Louisville colored school system beginning around 1898 until 1901, when

²⁸⁰ Oral interview with Camie C. Smith, 1997.; *Louisville Leader*, January 17, May 9, 1925, May 14, 1927. These *Louisville Leader* editions report the problems of discriminatory policies in department stores and lunch counters.

she married Frank B. Waring and migrated to Chicago. While never practicing medicine, Waring remained committed to pressing medical issues as a club woman²⁸¹

During her early years in Chicago, Waring continued her commitment to the women's groups, including the Phyllis Wheatley Club and the Emanuel Settlement Day Nursery, which assisted young black women migrants. Through these and other Chicago groups in she took a leadership role advocating the needs of working women, especially their health needs, and raised awareness of their need for extended health care services. In 1913 she became the corresponding secretary for the Illinois Federation of Colored Women. She also was appointed not only chair of the NACW Department of Health and Hygiene as well as editor of the *National Notes*, the official NACW newsletter. As editor, she regularly addressed health concerns in *National Notes* columns.²⁸²

When America entered World War I, Waring continued to focus on health topics on the national level. At the NACW Convention in 1918, she submitted a proposal to get black Red Cross nurses more involved in the war effort. She worked with the Colored

²⁸¹ Leslie L. Hanawalt. "Henry Fitzbutler: Detroit's First Black Medical Student," *Detroit in Perspective: A Journal of Regional History* 1(Winter 1973): pp. 130-1. Although she is often listed as being born in Mary Fitzbutler Waring Louisville, was born in Amherstburg, Ontario, Canada on November 1, 1869. According to this source, the Fitzbutlers were living in Canada when at least two of their six children were born. Since Mary later gets naturalized it is obvious that she was not native born as most sources of information on her have indicated. Also the 1950 supplement to the Who's Who in Colored America finally lists her birthplace as Amherstburg, Canada after erroneously listing it as Louisville in its directories from 1927 through the 1944 editions.;Most sources also give her birth year as around 1870 while the 1900U.S. Census lists it as 1869; *1900 United States Federal Census* [Database online]. Louisville Ward 10, Jefferson, Kentucky: RollT623 531; Page 10B; "Race Gleanings: Louisville" *Indianapolis Freeman*, March 25, 1905, v. 18 no. 12, p. 7, col. 4; Records of the Kentucky Board of Medical Licensure "Application to Practice Medicine in Kentucky" (states Mary Fitzbutler graduated 1898, License #4693. License was reissued Dec. 9, 1902 because she married and had a name change.; In 1923 she received an additional M.D. from the Chicago Medical College. This could possibly be related to changes in standards or perhaps the degree from Kentucky was not recognized.

²⁸² *The Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., Part I.* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994); *Part II.* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995.) *National Notes.*; Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women Book II*, (Detroit: Gale Research Publ.,1996), 680-683.

American Red Cross Canteen War Workers Auxiliary. Under her leadership the Auxiliary knitted over 260 pairs of socks, 400 sweaters and over 100 hats for victims devastated by the European war. Additionally as captain of the twenty-four black canteen workers, Waring and her auxiliary, dressed in full Red Cross regulation uniforms, met all black troop trains that went through Chicago to and from the war's front. She also organized training classes for nurses in Chicago through the National Nurse Training Service. Continuing to seek measures to supplement health care among blacks, she introduced Red Cross home care training and classes in St. Louis, Missouri.²⁸³

At an NACW convention Waring presented a symposium on "Health, Hygiene, and War Foods," where she distributed leaflets on both tuberculosis and venereal disease. When Waring was elected as president of the NACW in 1933, she emphasized issues affecting child welfare, health and safety concerns, family and home life, and the needs of working women. Through her messages in *National Notes* she also spoke out against discriminatory practices and violence against black citizens.²⁸⁴

Lynching and other lawless acts of violence were a reality for Kentucky's black people, and leaders like Ida B. Wells Barnett expanded the definition of lynching to include any violent act against blacks. Lynching could also be interpreted as failing to provide protection and or allowing a black person to die when they would live if given proper care, hence lynching and health care were intersecting issues.

²⁸³Elizabeth Lindsay Davis. *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs*. (1922), 62-63; Emmett J. Scott. *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*. (Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919), between 400 and 401;

²⁸⁴Mary Waring, "Health, Hygiene, and War Foods," in National Association of Colored Women, 11th Biennial Convention Minutes, July 1918, NACW Papers, 37.; Rima Lumin Schultz and Adele Hast, eds. *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990: a Biographical Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 936-9.

Census data verifies that Lexington had the second largest black population in Kentucky during the early years of the twentieth century. Furthermore the largest concentration of blacks in the state resided in central Kentucky in the counties surrounding Lexington. The black population resided in neighborhoods in the city's east side and black hamlets, such as Davistown, Cadentown, Bracktown, and Pricetown surrounding the city. Overall, black life in Lexington during the period 1890 through 1930 was characterized by Jim Crow racial segregation. Some blacks also lived on the same streets as white Americans within the city limits and integration existed in some restaurants, parks, theaters and other amusement areas. But most accommodations were via Jim and Jane Crow sections, separate entrances or other demeaning practices. Lexington's seemingly fluid integration patterns have been attributed to economic issues. It was economically viable to allow blacks service in these arenas considering the size of the population and consequently financial resources they represented.²⁸⁵

However, Lexington's blacks were prohibited from public libraries, schools and hospitals. The two local newspapers, the *Lexington Herald* and the *Lexington Leader* provided a separate columns in the back section of their newspapers entitled "Colored Notes" for news about the black community.²⁸⁶

Lexington blacks were rarely appointed to local boards designed to remedy problems in the black community. Failure of the white community leaders to work with blacks in stopping the spread of vice and crime in the black community lead blacks to

²⁸⁵ Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920-32*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935); George C. Wright. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: In Pursuit of Equality, 1890-1980*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992), 63. In Wright's discussion on race relations in Kentucky, he refers to Lexington and Louisville in this manner. See pages 43-102 for a complete discussion of the state's racial climate during this period and pp. 58-63 regarding accommodations practices.

²⁸⁶ Wright, *History of Blacks*, 59.

establish the Good Citizen's League in 1905. The Colored Citizens Protective League of Lexington, which had been formed in the 1880s, also served to advocate social change, promote education reform, and fight for political and civil rights. Although Lexington had several black professionals and businesses, the majority of black employment was in service to whites. These service positions also provided the lowest wages. Blacks found employment in numerous other occupations but in limited numbers. Unlike most Southern cities, some black women were employed as clerks in department stores.²⁸⁷

In Lexington, racial relations were not as strained as in many rural areas but racially motivated violence and brutality did occur in the city as well as in surrounding communities. Lynchings, beatings, torture and other violent acts were levied on black people, who forgot "their place". From 1890 through 1940, one hundred and six persons were lynched within fifty miles of Lexington. The Ku Klux Klan was responsible for many of the racially motivated atrocities. Amidst this violence were local police brutality and other harsh conduct sanctioned by the authorities. The customary police opinion defined all blacks as criminals, perhaps with the exception of a few good "colored" citizens.²⁸⁸

Under these circumstances and prevailing racist attitudes, black persons in the most innocent situations often suffered tragic and untimely deaths, as was the case with Gertrude Boulder, a black woman who fell unconscious on the streets of Lexington on March 31, 1925. Boulder was returning to her home after leaving the white family's home where she worked as a maid. She had felt ill while at work and although her

²⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-27.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 79-92; George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings."* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1990), p. 294.

employer offered to provide her with a taxi cab she chose to walk home. Although she was “neatly dressed” respectable black woman, police assumed her unconscious state was the result of drunkenness and incarcerated her. Considering police indifference to black’s humanity and their well-being, it is not surprising that Gertrude Boulder was denied medical assistance and subsequently died in her jail cell. In Boulder’s case, racial prejudice motivated white police officers to ignore her medical needs, and she died unnecessarily from a severe case of indigestion.²⁸⁹

Gertrude Boulder did not die in vain or without public notice that police indifference to ill black prisoners would not be accepted by Lexington’s black citizens. Club woman Elizabeth “Lizzie” Fouse stepped forward and directly challenged the white power structure. At the time of the incident, Fouse served as the chair of the City Federation of Women’s Clubs, through which she led an organized protest against the police department and called for an investigation into Boulder’s death. Lizzie Fouse did not fear the retaliatory responses that might be levied against her because of her actions; she was not concerned about possibilities of violence or police harassment against her because of her challenge of the white establishment. She personally knew Gertrude Boulder, and she saw the attack on Boulder’s good name and honor as an attack on all the good black women of the community. Fouse utilized her many networks of club women, church women, sorority sisters, YWCA workers and others to raise public awareness about race and gender issues that negatively impacted the black women in Lexington. Fouse’s personal friendships, community interactions, and civil rights initiatives revealed

²⁸⁹ “Complain of Police Action :Negro Organizations of City Send Open Letter to Mayor Yancey and Commissioner Gentry.” *Lexington Herald*, April 5, 1925.; “Public Investigation will be held into Circumstances Surrounding Death of Woman at Police Station.” *Lexington Herald*, April 7, 1925.

the values that structured her life, defined her character, and mandated her militant stance in the Gertrude Boulder incident. Darlene Clark Hine has maintained that black women like Lizzie Fouse played a significant role in establishing the local black communal infrastructures, “religious, educational, health care, philanthropic, political, familial institutions and professional organizations that enabled our people to survive.” Hine labels this process of building and shaping the black neighborhoods as “making community.”²⁹⁰

Fouse and other local club women fully embraced the ideas of the NACW which encouraged all black women’s groups to participate and to not look down on working class women’s efforts. Of particular concern to the NACW were the prevailing negative stereotypes of black women held by the majority population. Boulder’s tragic death was evidence of how engrained those negative stereotypes were in America.²⁹¹

Through their church roles, Lizzie Fouse and other black women acquired their leadership, financial planning, and organizational skills. Likewise, the charitable activities of black women throughout Kentucky served to develop their black community’s infrastructure. The minutes of the KACW and the NACW reveal that many benevolent clubs and societies emerged in Kentucky cities like Hopkinsville, Middlesboro, Richmond, Henderson, Paducah, as well as Lexington and Louisville. Lexington’s black women were involved in numerous philanthropic activities. When the KACW was founded in 1903 it had only thirteen clubs with one hundred eighty members

²⁹⁰ Darlene Clark Hine, “Introduction” in *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), xxii.

²⁹¹ Stephanie J. Shaw, “Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women”, in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women’s History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 433-447.

under its umbrella. But by 1925 its membership statewide exceeded one hundred fifty clubs with more than fifteen hundred members. Small towns such as Erlanger, Mount Sterling, Paris, and even Lexington hamlets such as Bracktown could boast of having “federated clubs.”²⁹²

Consistent with NACW ideology, the programs of KACW incorporated uplift aspirations for educational attainment, the adoption of Victorian ethical and moral practices, the maintenance of stable homes and families and the many policy issues affecting black families and neighborhoods. Some Kentucky club members were very actively involved in the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and held prominent national positions. Lexington’s Lizzie Fouse was among the leaders of the local, the state, and the national women’s club movement.²⁹³

Elizabeth Beatrice “Lizzie” Cook, a Lancaster, Kentucky, native grew up in the religious tradition of the Baptist Church, attending both Louisville’s State University and Eckstein-Norton University in Cane Springs, Bullitt County, Kentucky. She initially worked as a teacher in the Lexington colored school system until August 10, 1898, when she married William Henry Fouse. Lizzie Fouse served as the secretary to the Kentucky Negro Education Association (1898-1899) just as Mary Britton had done twelve years prior. The Fouses moved to Corydon, Indiana, where she taught in the Colored High School. She quit teaching in 1904 when her husband was appointed principal of the Lincoln High School in Gallipolis, Ohio. Although she was an educator by profession,

²⁹² “Reports from State Clubs” *National Association Notes* 18 (3) (December 1915), 1; A listing, compiled by me from the NACW and KACW minutes of one hundred fifty KACW clubs is in Appendix A of this paper but may not include all clubs that ever affiliated with the KACW.

²⁹³ Lucy Harth Smith, ed. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. (Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1946.); Davis, *Lifting as they climb*, 299-314.

holding a lifetime membership in the American Teacher Association, Lizzie quit teaching on a full-time basis that year to become more engaged in civic activities.²⁹⁴

In 1908, Fouse moved to Covington, Kentucky, where she focused her attention on the problems of the black community. There she became involved with the black women's clubs. During Fouse's residence in Covington, the city's Federation of Colored Women's Clubs sent a letter to the Covington Board of Council requesting a playground for black children stating, "Play in the streets is dangerous to life and limb." While in Covington, she also was elected to serve as the President of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women (KACW).²⁹⁵

In 1913, Fouse moved back to Lexington, where her husband had accepted the position as supervisor of Lexington's colored schools, a very respected and important position in the city's black community. She knew that she was returning to a community with a long history of black female activism that had been meeting some of their community's needs since 1865 by establishing schools, supporting the poor, and caring for the aged. Having lived in that community at the beginning of her teaching career, she was probably attuned to many of the specific unfulfilled community needs. Fouse also

²⁹⁴ James G. Fleming and Christian E. Burckel, eds. "Lizzie Beatrice Fouse" in *Who's Who in Colored America: An Illustrated Biographical Directory of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in the United States*. (Yonkers, NY: Burckel & Assoc., 1950), 193; *The Crisis* (October 1942), 321. The General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky established the Normal and Theological Institution in 1873 in Louisville, Kentucky. The name was changed to State University in 1884 and finally in 1918 the name was changed to Simmons University in honor of Dr. William J. Simmons. Ingram, J. H. *Religious Training in Education for Negroes in Kentucky*. (Frankfort: Kentucky State College, 1940), 8. Eckstein Norton founded by Dr. Simmons was also a product of the black Baptists. It was initially opened in 1890 in Cane Springs, Kentucky (Bullitt County) twenty-nine miles from Louisville. G. F. Richings, *Evidence of Progress Among Colored People*, (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Co., 1896), 218-221; *Fouse Family Papers*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, 1998), Reel 11 (Box 2 Folder 11). Microfilm Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort. "After 45 years of service to Negro education, Prof. W. H. Fouse, Pioneer, Will Retire in Spring", *Lexington Herald*, February 6, 1938. (Hereafter cited as FFP).

²⁹⁵ "Colored Women Ask for 'Jim-Crow Playground.'" *The Post* (Covington), May 11, 1909, p. 2; Smith, *Pictorial Directory*, 9.

was knowledgeable of the existence of specific benevolent and church clubs through her association with the KACW. Undoubtedly, Lexington's club women were familiar with the ideas and work of Lizzie Fouse upon her return to the city because of her position as President of the KACW for the 1912-1913 term. Still other local community women affiliated with the Baptist Church knew Fouse from her regular attendance at the Baptist Women's Education Convention's annual meetings. Additionally, Fouse's mother, Mary P. Burnside had lived in Lexington for many years and had probably revealed information about her daughter's career to fellow club members and church associates. Therefore, when Elizabeth Fouse returned to Lexington, her reputation as a respectable, religious, educated, woman and club leader preceded her. This reputation, coupled with her husband's prestigious position over the city's black schools, predetermined a prominent position for Lizzie Fouse in Lexington's black community.²⁹⁶

During the next twelve years preceding the Gertrude Boulder incident, Elizabeth Fouse continued to work in the secular and religious groups that helped define her life. As an active member of the First Baptist Church, Fouse served on numerous church committees and gave generously of her time and financial resources. In 1920 Fouse established the Lexington Phyllis Wheatley YWCA. Motivated by a sense of racial self-definition and identification, Fouse never accepted the larger society's interpretation of a

²⁹⁶ George C. Wright, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1985) and *History of Blacks in Kentucky: In Pursuit of Equality, 1890-1980* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992); The club activities included establishing schools, health camps, supporting the poor, paying for funerals for the poor, furnishing clothing for the needy, supporting the missionary cause in Africa, fund raising for the black orphanage, old folks home and even a local college. In 1865 Lexington's black women established "Ladies Hall" on Church Street which served as a school for black children. By 1892 Lexington's black women had established an orphans home and in 1903 a day nursery, which supported black working class needs; Lucy Harth Smith, ed. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. (Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1946.).

black woman's place and took a leadership role in nurturing and maintaining the black community. Fouse always encouraged black women to not adopt an inferior posture: and "Don't look up and don't look down, look them straight in the eye." Through her philanthropic works she espoused Baptist church values through the "politics of respectability" which supported temperance, sexual repression, modest dress, cleanliness, hard work, thrift, and politeness.²⁹⁷

As a black woman in America, where black women's virtue was traditionally questioned, Fouse epitomized the "politics of respectability" model through her self-help, social reform, and respectable behavior lifestyle. But for Fouse, politics went beyond respectability. Fouse always encouraged black women to work for political causes through her involvement in the Colored Women's League of Voters. She worked with many local black women in establishing the Lexington Phillis Wheatley YWCA in 1920. Along with Mary Britton and others, she also served as a member of the Woman's Improvement Club to establish a nursery for black infants, meeting an important community need.²⁹⁸

Because of Jim Crow policies, most blacks, regardless of socioeconomic station, were confined to certain communities in Lexington. The Fouses lived on North Upper Street, one of Lexington's black neighborhoods, and were much involved in black community activities. Fouse was fortunate to be able to employ a housekeeper and

²⁹⁷ Jennifer L. Pettit. *Consuming, Organizing, and Uplifting: Elizabeth B. Fouse and the Production of Class Identity*. (M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1998). Pettit's thesis provides a detailed description and analysis of the Fouse's consumerism, monetary donations, and middle-class life style; Karen C. McDaniel interview with Margaret Steward Cunningham, March 28, 1999, Lexington, KY. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

²⁹⁸ "Colored Woman's Club." *Lexington Leader*, October 22, 1905, Section 2, p.5. col. 3-4; Lucy Harth Smith, editor. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*, (Lexington: the Association, ca. 1947), 49.

handyman/chauffer, which kept her in daily contact with working class blacks. Also she attended church weekly and again interacted with all classes of black citizens. The close proximity of middle class blacks to working class blacks provided opportunities for interaction and for Fouse to better understand and view the plight of working class black people.²⁹⁹

Members of both races knew Fouse and respected her contributions to the city, state, and the country. Internationally Fouse represented the United States in England and Ireland at Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) meetings. Her international activities with the WCTU further garnered local attention as few blacks in Kentucky were involved in this association. Fouse also served as president of Kentucky's eight WCTU Sojourner Truth Unions, the black WCTU chapters.³⁰⁰

Many of her organizational commitments were with interracial groups: the United Council of Church Women, the Southern Regional Council, the YWCA, and the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, which was appointed by the governor Simon Willis. Participation in these groups provided opportunities for whites to interact with and recognize the commitment, dedication and value of Lizzie Fouse from a first-hand perspective. Fouse also convinced other local white leaders to assist in funding the Colored Day Nursery and the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA through the Community Chest. Whites as well as blacks understood that "if there was a worthy cause, Lizzie Fouse

²⁹⁹ Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002., Census Place: *Lexington, Fayette, Kentucky*; Roll: *743*; Page: *5A*; Enumeration District: *10*; Image: *328.0*.

³⁰⁰ *The Kentucky White Ribbon: We Fight Alcoholic Drink* (newsletter of the Kentucky chapter of the WCTU) found in Fouse Family Papers Box 3 Folder 21 "National Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1945: August 31-1951: April 20;" Fouse Family Papers Box 3 Folder 21.

would be in the middle of it.”³⁰¹

In the Fouse family scrapbook in Lizzie’s hand writing is a note that says, “Whoever engages in that which contributes to the welfare of society is engaged in business.” This note further articulated her understanding of her role in influencing social policy with regard to the black community. She was to serve as a catalyst for social change by mobilizing black women. Fouse was willing to risk her personal livelihood to publicly confront the white power structure and assert her claim for fair equitable rights and treatment for all citizens, especially those of color. Lizzie Fouse’s main business as a self- defined “race woman” was to serve as an agent for change through the direct contestation of sexist attitudes and discriminatory racist policies that limited black people, especially black women. Gertrude Boulder could not have found a more highly respected and politically sagacious person than Lizzie Fouse to defend her life.³⁰²

The basic circumstances of Boulder’s death were revealed in an article in the *Lexington Leader*, Lexington’s evening newspaper, on April 2, 1925. In that same issue, in the “Colored Notes” column appeared a notice from L. B. Fouse, chairman of the City Federation of Women’s Clubs, calling a meeting “to consider a very important matter relative to the death of Gertie Boulder”. The notice also requested “civic and charity organizations” to send a representative to the scheduled meeting. A similar message from Fouse appeared in the next morning’s edition of the *Lexington Herald* but Boulder’s

³⁰¹ FFP Box 3, folder 23 (Reel 23) in *Indianapolis Freeman* May 10, 1913; “The Report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, November 1, 1945.”; “Tributes to the Late Prof. W.H. Fouse” in *KNEA Journal* vol. 16 # 1, January/ February 1945, p. 7. ; *Lexington Leader*, “Heart Attack Proves Fatal to Mrs. Fouse.” October 22, 1952. *Cunningham interview*, Oral History Collection, KSU.

³⁰² Scrapbook, FFP, Reel 23 (Box 3, Folder 23).

name was not mentioned. In the *Herald* notice, people were merely invited “to consider a very important matter.”³⁰³

The meeting took place at the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. on Friday evening at 8:00 p.m. The Boulder funeral was held at 1:00 p.m. of the same day. A few hours later, approximately 100 black women convened a meeting to discuss appropriate action to the injustice. They decided an investigation into the death of Boulder was warranted.³⁰⁴

Saturday morning following Gertrude Boulder’s funeral, Lexington Mayor Hogan L. Yancey, Commissioner of Public Safety J. Morgan Gentry and Acting Chief of Police Ernest Thompson were each presented with a signed petition from Lizzie Fouse and other black women. In the petition the women extolled Gertrude Boulder’s reputation as a “highly respectable, member of the Evergreen Baptist Church, a member of the Y.W.C.A., active in the Woman’s Council, community service and several fraternal organizations.” The signed petition further expressed the concern and disappointment of Lexington’s best Negro women who “wish here to enter our protest, disgust and indignation against such treatment toward our law abiding citizens.” The entreaty also sought an investigation into Boulder’s death, chastised the police, and requested an amendment to local laws “so that the respectable women of our race would not have to die in a cell in the police station if found in an unconscious state on the street.” After a full description of Boulder’s appearance, conduct, and attire, the petitioners presented a scenario that the police should have followed to assist Boulder. Finally the activists offered police their assistance in preventing similar incidents with

³⁰³ “Colored Notes” *Lexington Leader*, April 2, 1925; “Colored Notes” *Lexington Herald*, April 3, 1925.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

black citizens.³⁰⁵

In response to the appeal of Lizzie Fouse, more than eighty black female club leaders and their representatives signed the petition which was printed in both Lexington newspapers. Following the name of each signer was the name of the organization that she represented along with the number of its members. The first name on the letter was “Mrs. L. B. Fouse, City Federation, 40 clubs.” The total number of members listed in these organizations was over nine hundred in addition to the forty clubs that Lizzie Fouse’s signature represented. However, the actual number of persons represented on the petition is unknown because many of these women were involved in more than one club. The representation was from a variety of organizations, including civic, religious clubs, parent-teacher organizations, secret societies, and social groups. All signatures on the petition were those of women.³⁰⁶

Black women were compelled to stand up for this cause not just in defense of Boulder but in defense of their own moral values. It was through these morals that the race was being judged -- a race whose women had been raped as a practice and then blamed and castigated as immoral and unworthy. As Mary Church Terrell said “the world will always judge the womanhood of the race.” Consequently, the fate of all black women, middle and lower class, were forever intertwined requiring the cooperative efforts of all to erase the negative stereotypes. This idea was articulated in the NCNW constitution’s goals of “hoping to furnish evidence of moral, mental, and material

³⁰⁵ "Complain of Police Action: Negro Organizations of City Send Open Letter to Mayor Yancey and Commissioner Gentry." in *Lexington Herald*, April 5, 1925.; "Colored Women Make Protest: Delegation Appears Before Mayor Yancey with Petition Asking Investigation into the Death of Gertie Boulder." *Lexington Leader*, April 5, 1925.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., The full text of the petition with names of the signers appears in both the *Lexington Leader* and the *Lexington Herald* articles.

progress . . . [and] to secure moral and civic harmony of action and co-operation among all women in raising to the highest plane home, moral and civil life.” Fouse and some of her followers were members of NCNW affiliated groups, which supported and valued black women’s personal reputations and civil rights among their causes.³⁰⁷

Female solidarity in this situation also emanated from the long standing relationships among women through kinship and friendship networks. These networks based on personal associations within the black community extended through family and friends and other communal associations, and they served to unite black women. It was also through the process described by historian Darlene Clark Hine as “making community” that black women networked and aligned with other women who shared common goals and interests to gain control over their own lives and communities. Black women learned that by pooling their physical energies and fiscal resources, they had increased power and could accomplish much more as a collective body than they could as individuals. The definition of “making community” also included the contestation of unequal treatment and facilities and occurred where black women found themselves victimized by Jim Crow politics.³⁰⁸

Lexington’s black women had a vested interest in redeeming Gertrude Boulder’s reputation, thereby disputing the stereotypical opinion that many whites held of black women. Boulder represented them – indeed, all black women – as morally principled, community minded women. Black women identified with Boulder and realized that if her

³⁰⁷ National Association of Colored Women. *Constitution of the National Association of Colored Women*. (Louisville: W. H. Steward Printer, 1904), 3.

³⁰⁸ Darlene Clark Hine, “Introduction” in *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. xxii.

treatment was left unchallenged, the white authorities could treat them in the same disrespectful manner and this motivated their condemnation of the officials' actions. Allowing police officials to disrespect one of the community's honorable black women would serve to devalue the life of all its black women. Mobilized politically, recognizing their shared needs, limited resources and alternatives, black women united in the struggle for social equality in a city determined to exclude, demean, exploit, or ignore them. In the process, Fouse and her followers were making community through political intervention to eliminate Jim Crow. Lexington's black women were not strangers to civil rights protest activities in the state, and they eagerly followed Lizzie Fouse's lead.³⁰⁹

To the white establishment, an organized protest from over nine hundred respectable, law-abiding black women, bold enough to sign their names publicly protesting the actions of Lexington's police officers, must have been alarming. It was not a normal occurrence for the community's black women to take such a publicly militant stance. Not only were the women militant, but their concerns were politically empowered. Included in the petition was mention of Boulder's work at the polls during the previous year, which placed their concerns in a political context of voting power. The elected officials receiving the complaint probably realized that Boulder's colleagues and their many family members were politically active as well. Therefore the mayor could neither ignore nor discount the issues presented by such a large number of credible voters.³¹⁰

Within a few days of the petition's appearance in the local papers, the activists

³⁰⁹ S. E. Smith, ed. *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky*. (Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory Publishing Co., ca.1895).

³¹⁰ *The Lexington Herald* and the *Lexington Leader* offer full coverage of the Gertrude Boulder ordeal from April 1, through April 17, 1925.

also received support from others in the community. These additional voices came from the white community. Although some of Lexington's leading white establishments often supported black causes, they were careful in choosing what efforts to support. Both of Lexington's white newspapers supported the call for an inquiry into the death of Gertrude Boulder. On April 6, the editors of the *Lexington Leader* validated the Fouse group's grievance calling it "a very proper request from leading Negro women" and indicated the investigation be "thoro [sic] and conclusive, this not only in justice to the dead woman, but to the end that such an occurrence may never again be repeated." The *Leader's* editors also criticized the police for failing to follow common humanity laws "regardless of race, sex or station in life." *Lexington Herald* management complimented the women on their communication which they concluded was "in spirit and in terms exceedingly restrained in view of the facts stated most moderate." They agreed that an investigation be forthcoming and that it "should be most rigorous and the full facts ascertained." Acting Police Chief Thompson and members of the police force also submitted a letter to the Board of Commissioners waiving their rights to notice and requesting a "public investigation of the recent death of Gertrude Boulder."³¹¹

The mayor agreed to an immediate public investigation. City officials, the press, petitioners and other black citizens attended the public examination of the circumstances surrounding Boulder's incarceration and death in the city jail. Testimony was heard from a number of police officers, medical personnel, and a black woman who served meals to the prisoners. At the conclusion of the inquiry, the City Commissioners issued an apology to the Boulder family, and a public acknowledgment that Gertrude Boulder was

³¹¹ *The Lexington Herald* and the *Lexington Leader* April 1, through April 17, 1925.

a person of “unimpeachable character” and they implemented a policy change for handling all prisoners perceived to be ill including treatment at hospitals.³¹²

Twenty-one years after the unfortunate death of Gertrude Boulder, black women received national validation and acknowledgement through the recognition of the model life of one black Kentuckian. In the twelfth year of the Golden Rule Foundation of New York’s American Mother Program, they selected the first African American woman, Emma Clarissa Clement, for the national honor. Clement’s life reveals the centrality of church – the site of respectability – in every aspect of her life beginning as a child growing up in Providence, Rhode Island, under the guidance of her parents John and Abby Early Williams. Born in 1874 to poor parents, young Emma likely assisted her mother doing the laundry for white people, along with learning many useful homemaking and other marketable skills during her “fireside training.” Growing up in a Christian atmosphere, where she and both parents were actively involved in the programs of the church, she recognized the importance of religion to the black family during her formative years.³¹³

³¹² “Official Report Made in Death of Gertrude Boulder.” *Lexington Leader*, April 17, 1925. ; “Prisoners to have Medical Examination: New Orders are Issued to Police Department after Investigation of Woman’s Death.” *Lexington Herald*, April 18, 1925.

³¹³ Elizabeth Clark-Lewis. *Living In, Living Out: African American Domesticity and the Great Migration* (New York: Kodansha America, 1994)., Clark- Lewis has described girls’ “fireside training” at home that included practical life skills such as laundry, cooking, cleaning, gardening, social skills and handicrafts like sewing and embroidery. ; “Louisville Negro is Chosen American Mother of 1946”, *Courier Journal*, May 2, 1946. Else McKean, *Up Hill* (New York: Shady Hill Press, 1947), 56. McKean’s work provides specific details of the early and more private lives of six black Americans through biographical essays. Emma C. Clement was the only female included. It was inferred in Else McKean’s work that Abbie Williams worked for others. She states “At first the Williamses were very poor and little Emma used to help her mother with the washing and ironing.” McKean could have separated these two facts if they were not related situations. She further says that “she lingered many hours over the ironing board.” A poor family would not have had enough clothing, linens, etc. to justify long hours of ironing.; Tera W. Hunter, *To ‘Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Emma Williams attended public school in Providence and was the only black in the 1894 high school graduating class. Indoctrinated from childhood regarding family and community expectations to honor her religious training, maintain high morals, manage her financial resources, obtain an education, dress respectably, and prove herself worthy of respect, she enrolled in the AMEZ's Livingstone College in North Carolina. Livingstone promoted "self-reliance and individual initiative," expected graduates to develop public welfare programs, and serve their community.³¹⁴

At Livingstone Emma met George Clinton Clement, a minister whom she married on their college commencement day in 1898. During their first year of marriage, Emma worked as an assistant teacher at Livingstone College. However, family responsibilities for their seven children replaced her full time teaching career. She supplemented her husband's salary by teaching music, raising vegetables, and keeping livestock. In 1900 the Clement family moved to Louisville, Kentucky where George accepted the position first as pastor and later as a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. As a minister's wife Emma accepted many church responsibilities including directing and singing with church choirs, coordinating church cantatas, serving as organist, teaching Sunday School, coordinating missionary work, hosting all special church functions, conventions, among other duties. Attending as many as four church services plus Sunday

³¹⁴ McKean, 56-59; Stephanie Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). "Livingstone College: the Gateway to a Christian Education", *The Crisis* 47(August 1940), 246.; Dorothy Sharpe Johnson and Lula Goolsby Williams, *Pioneering Women of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (Charlotte, NC: A.M.E.Zion Publishing House, 1996), 34.

school on any given Sunday was not uncommon for Clement. Close friends described her as the "most church-going, charitable woman ever."³¹⁵

Within the home, Emma emphasized trusting in Christ, the value of education and acquiring numerous domestic skills to her children. She characterized herself as an old-fashioned mother: very strict, yet affectionate, supportive, and kind. Her parenting philosophy included concentrating her time on her children, providing an interesting and attractive home, and discipline. She insisted that her children share with each other and with other black people, and respect the rights and property of everyone. The family always held a family prayer service each morning and a family conference each evening at dinner. Over the years she and her husband managed to have all seven children graduate from Livingstone College.³¹⁶

In 1918, both Clement and her husband, the Bishop, were selected as charter members of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), an interracial group which stressed improving race relations and uplifting blacks. In addition to the CIC, Clement was involved in a variety of women's clubs, community groups, civil rights initiatives, benevolent societies, and church organizations. Her memberships were also split between both black and interracial groups. Among these organizational

³¹⁵ Thomas Yenser, ed. *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America*, (Brooklyn, NY: Thomas Yenser, 1933), 97. ; G. James Fleming and Christian E. Burckel, eds. *Who's Who in Colored America: An Illustrated Biographical Directory of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in the United States* (Yonkers, NY: Burckel & Assoc., 1950). Possibly through her personal connections, Clement was hired to teach at the college level. The absence of a graduate degree probably determined her academic title, assistant teacher.; McKean, 59-62.; . Karen C. McDaniel telephone interview with ECC's daughter Ruth Clement Bond on October 29, 1994.; Louisville Negro is Chosen American Mother of 1946", *Courier Journal* May 2, 1946.; Mrs. S. D. Ross, *The Minister's Wife* (Detroit, MI: Arbora Publishing Co., 1946).

³¹⁶ "Never Spared Rod, Asserts Mrs. Clement," *Afro American*, May 11, 1946.; Louisville's Mother of Year Named on 1946 Race Relations Honor Roll," *Courier Journal*, February 10, 1947.; Ruth Clement Bond interview, 1994.; "Proud Welcome Given 1946 American Mother," *Louisville Times*, May 2, 1946.

commitments were the Tuberculosis and the Heart Associations, the American Red Cross, and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority. She served as the secretary-treasurer of the Order of Eastern Star, as parliamentarian for the KACW, and as secretary of the Kentucky (Negro) Division of the American Field Army Cancer Society. Clement gained national prominence through her church work as a member of the Council of Churchwomen and as National President of the Women's Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church. Except for the brief stint as an assistant teacher at Livingstone College in 1899, Clement's entire life was devoted to supporting her husband's ministry, raising her family, and involvement in numerous religious groups, benevolent societies, civic and women's clubs, in service to others.³¹⁷

The American Mothers Committee of the Golden Rule Foundation recognized Clement for her "great personal qualities as a mother of children who are devotedly serving their country and their people, as a partner in her husband's ministry in his life time, as a social and community worker in her own right." They added that she embodied "the great spirit of America." Clement's recognition marked the twelfth year of the award. On May 12, 1946 in New York City's Central Park before a crowd of two thousand, seventy-one year old Emma Clement gave her acceptance speech, which was broadcast nationwide by radio. First she accepted the award in the name of the millions of African Americans in the United States and in the name of all mothers. She further stated, "In other years Mother's Day has been largely a day of sentiment, eulogizing

³¹⁷ Gerald L. Smith, "Commission on Interracial Cooperation" in Charles Lowery and John Marszalek, eds., *Encyclopedia of African-American Civil Rights* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 121.; Wright, *Life Behind a Veil*, 267-281.; *The Claude A. Barnett Papers: The Associated Negro Press, 1918-1967*, Part 3 : Subject Files on Black Americans, 1918-1967, Series I: Race Relations 1923-1965. Chicago Historical Society.; *Mary McLeod Bethune Papers. The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part 3: Subject Files, 1939-1955.*, *Golden Rule Foundation*. Daytona Beach, Florida.

mothers, giving them gifts and flowers. This year, and in years to follow, let us make it also a day of sharing - sharing with those of other countries. The best investment in world peace at this juncture is sacrificial gifts from America to other lands of food, clothing, medicines, and life's necessities." Thus, Clement's initial speech to thousands of Americans over the radio called on them to sacrifice and share life sustaining items with poorer nations.³¹⁸

While naming Emma Clement as the American Mother did not immediately change any policies in America, the fact that she had been selected undoubtedly served to change the view many white people held of black women in a positive way. In particular, one white Kentucky woman, a member of the American Mothers Committee declared, "I never in my life dreamed I would ever vote for a Negro, but when I saw her record I couldn't be fair and serve on the committee without recognizing it. I'm a rebel of rebels – or I thought I was until this afternoon." Thus the American Mothers Committee unanimously selected a black woman who epitomized the good mother criteria they had established.³¹⁹

After receiving the award, Clement was inundated with bids to speak at various churches, luncheons, civic meetings, and other functions nationwide. Unlike most American Mothers of the Year, she did not make presentations that focused on her role as a mother as prescribed. Instead, Emma Clement's speaking engagements focused on the

³¹⁸ "Nomination Blank for the American Mother," Golden Rule Foundation. American Mothers' Committee. Denver Chapter. Papers. Colorado Historical Society, Denver.; *Newsweek*, May 13, 1946; "Louisville Negro is Chosen American Mother of 1946", *Courier Journal* May 2, 1946.; "American Mothers: 1935-1947." *Better Homes and Gardens* 25 (June 1947):45-46.; Greenbaum, Lucy. "Mothers Extolled in Day of Tributes," *New York Times*, May 13, 1946.

³¹⁹ "People: The Mother." *Newsweek* 27(May 13, 1946): 28.

topic of racial equality and issues relating to equitable funding for black higher education and black health care facilities.³²⁰

The selection of Emma Clarissa Clement as Mother of the Year for 1946, not only honored African Americans and the state of Kentucky, but was another inroad in opening opportunities for all African Americans and in countering stereotypes of black women as bad mothers. The recognition of Emma Clarissa Clement for motherhood validated black women across the nation as it acknowledged what they knew all along—black women are good mothers, too.

All of these club women used their “politics of respectability” to carve out a space, a personal platform through which they worked to influence social policy on behalf of the black community. Black women recognized that the black community was a fluid entity constantly evolving, calling on its ancestral family for historical perspective while seeking solutions for its present and future generations. Gender relations in the black community recognized women’s right to speak and organize on behalf of the community. Both the NACW and the KACW simply provided a “new voice through which black club women could continue the struggle to improve their personal lives and the general standard of life in the ever broadening communities of which they were a part.” Their voices resonated through their club work within the community and created positive, respectable images of black women which countered the controlling stereotypical racial images perpetuated by the dominate culture. As whites remained oblivious to the women’s work within the black community, the women systematically

³²⁰ “‘Mother of 1946’ Urges Sacrifice to Help Hungry,” *Providence Journal-Evening Bulletin*, June 13, 1946.

attacked majority policies that oppressed the black community. These issues included equal educational opportunities, full citizenship rights including voting, quality health care facilities, access to public accommodations, respect as people, and equitable treatment.³²¹

³²¹ Stephanie J. Shaw. "The Creation of the National Association of Colored Women" in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 442.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

“The old, subjective, stagnant, indolent and wretched life for woman has gone. She has as many resources as men, as many activities beckon her on, as large possibilities swell and inspire her heart.”---Anna Julia Cooper³²²

As Kentucky’s black women transitioned from enslavement to freedom they came together in their churches to form groups focused on assisting other people of color with basic needs of clothing, lodging, schools, and health services. The sisterhood among the women was a continuation of the bonds they shared during their enslavement initially begun when they were captured and strengthened during their voyage to America. Immediately after Emancipation, they began organizing projects to move their people to a better station in life as they tried to forget the past atrocities they had endured. They supported and comforted one another as adopted family all focused on freedom and the promises it offered. The dominant culture, which sexually exploited black women’s bodies and children during the enslavement, defined them in generally negative, sexually deviant, non-productive, stereotypical terms. However, black women did not view themselves in this negative, devalued light. Rather, they saw themselves, not as helpless victims, but as warriors in a battle for dignity, liberation, and control of their people’s destiny. Black women disputed these and other erroneous images, defined their own identity, and determined their place in society despite second class citizenry and racial and gender imposed expectations.³²³

³²² Anna Julia Cooper. *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. (Xenia, OH;The Aldine Printing House, 1892) 70.

³²³ Stephanie E. Smallwood. *Saltwater Slavery : A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

However, in the last years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, systemic racism and segregation permeated all aspects of Kentucky black women's lives and the only freedom they had was freedom from enslavement and freedom of religion. Thus the black church became the mechanism through which black women worked systematically creating small groups to support community building endeavors. With the church serving multiple functions in the early years during and following slavery, including providing opportunities for education, political advocacy, and social opportunities, it offered an opportunity for black women to come together around shared issues in the community. Through their casual conversations, women openly expressed concerns for voting rights, educational aspirations, health care needs, or their desires for day nurseries, orphanages, and elder care facilities. These seemingly informal interactions often resulted in focused action to alleviate community problems by black women establishing clubs and organizations.

The black church provided the training ground for leadership and advocacy among black women, and armed with these skills, they moved their community-building ideas outside the church, where they established secular organizations such as orphanages, schools, old folk's homes, and day nurseries. Their community vision began long before the establishment of the national club movement, and their work also came into existence long before that time. The work these women engaged in for their communities was the same type of activism they exhibited both before and after the major club movement thrust. There was no difference in the work except it was more concentrated, more widely publicized through the community and nation and more structurally organized. Their activism was for the betterment of their collective

communities, for the survival of the black nation, and its future generations.³²⁴

The largest community-building organization established by black women, including Kentucky's black women, was the national black women's club movement, with affiliated local and state clubs in every state black women inhabited. The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) was the first black national self-help organization, predating the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) by thirteen years. Through the Kentucky Association of Colored women's Clubs (KACW), an NACW affiliate, black women sought to move the masses forward through racial uplift programs. The racial uplift model incorporated aspirations for educational attainment, the adoption of Victorian ethical and moral practices, and the maintenance of stable homes and families, fostering the majority population's cultural ways and contributing to charitable causes.

The major focus of club activism was the advancement of the black community politically, economically, socially, and educationally. Thus the seminal women's organizations in the black church and the black women's club movement laid the foundation for other black focused groups such as sororities and elite social groups, professional groups, fraternal and benevolent societies, political groups, civil rights and nationalist organizations all of which provided sustained efforts toward social justice activism.

Through the lives of KACW women we witness individual challenges to the racial status quo such as Mary Britton's experience at the Columbian Exhibition or Lucy's Smith's testing department store policies. Group contestations to the white

³²⁴ Stephanie J. Shaw. "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women", in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 433-447.

chauvinistic patriarchal systems that oppressed black women are impressive if only because of the sheer numbers of women involved. The power of the mobilized efforts of hundreds of black women was vividly demonstrated by Lexington club women in defense of Gertrude Boulder's honor in 1925. The women's activism further documents black club women's commitment to fight for the civil rights of blacks, especially black women. The facts that Gertrude Boulder lived the prescribed respectable married life, attended church regularly, donated to benevolent and worthwhile organizations and dressed modestly, did not protect her from the blatant disregard for her life. To white officials she was just a black woman and as such was deemed criminal and undeserving of humane treatment. In this case, Lexington's black club women collectively contested the city officials' racist treatment of a woman of color and insisted that black women deserved the same level of respect and humanity as other citizens.

The club women's response to Boulder's situation and other unjust practices came from a long held tradition within African and black communities which gives women the right to speak for the whole community. Women who accept the responsibility for the welfare of all the children in the community and thus command the respect of the entire community are viewed as "other mothers." Local club leaders and state presidents were power positions in the community, a role they saw as being responsible for the community's well-being. Their position required planning, communicating, supporting, and mentoring others for a long term attack on the powers that served to oppress their people. Through their relations with their leadership, black women effectively found their voices, voices that refuted majority denigrating images of black women, voices that valued blackness in general and black womanhood in particular. Interdependence among

black women strengthened the broader black community by providing a shared consciousness through a common effort. KACW reform movement politics refused to support maintaining status quo repression and pushed for changes that would impact women and children positively. Had black women reformers accepted the patriarchal definition of a woman's place, they would not have reinvented, redefined, and expanded those concepts to include all public spheres.³²⁵

Kentucky's black club women wanted to make substantial changes in their world, not just on the local community level but statewide and nationally. They were progressive in their ideas of racial equality in all arenas of American life. They sought every opportunity to push, pull or drag black Kentuckians forward. They did not wait until the club movement was popular before joining; they were in attendance at the onset of black women's organizing in 1895. The official club movement served to recruit and stimulate new workers to the programs and ideas that Kentucky's black pioneering club women had for their communities. Less than twenty years after the KACW began, its membership increased from less than two hundred members statewide to approximately two thousand members.

This study gives voice to countless black Kentucky women who have not been explored in the historical narrative. It provides opportunity for further examination of the determination of seemingly ordinary black women, and shows that, although these women were virtually invisible to local whites, they were viewed as heroines and champions in their black communities, which to this day recognize their names and acknowledge their accomplishments on behalf of the local community. The writings and

³²⁵Patricia Hill Collins. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. (New York: Routledge, 1991), 117-137.

speeches of Mary Cook Parrish and Mary E. Britton reveal the 19th century gender discourse of Kentucky's black women, while the initial participation of Ida Joyce Jackson and Parrish at the beginning of the club movement attests to how early black female activism began within the state.

The number of Kentucky women serving in national elective and appointed offices in the seminal years of the NACW places them in decision making roles. They were not just the recipients of national ideas passed down by women in more progressive states. Thus Kentucky voices helped shape national association initiatives such as the scholarship loan program; develop financial infrastructures to support specific legislation like the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill; and craft strategies for attacking unjust practices.

The make-up of the membership of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs counters the commonly held idea that the club movement was made up of elite college-educated women. In fact, it was more diverse, encompassing women in various stations in life from elite women to domestic workers. It is true, however, that the leaders, primarily the presidents, of the association generally were college-educated women. As such, they ran the risk of imposing their goals on others in the community; but they recognized that their obligation was to speak for the masses that had no voices; otherwise, they knew their silence would be construed as contentment and agreement with their present situation and conditions. Kentucky's black women were an oppressed group, invisible to all power structures which had already eliminated them from having a voice. Some club members around the state who were not college educated were consequently uncomfortable voicing their concerns except through the KACW. Unlike black communities in larger cities outside Kentucky, educated black women were

confined to the same communities as many of the working class and lower classes, which provided opportunities for communication across class lines. State club leadership provided many opportunities for dialogue between black women, to lessen the possibility of misrepresentations, to empower different classes of women, and to eliminate the imperialistic speaking ritual. These opportunities came through community connections in political groups, in schools where some of these women taught, in church groups, many of which also affiliated with the KACW, and daily in the black neighborhoods, making KACW leadership accessible to most of its black community constituents.

Kentucky's black club women played a significant role in maintaining and further developing the local black community infra-structure through self-help institutions, including local schools and colleges, orphanages, day nurseries, playgrounds, libraries, health clinics and hospitals, YWCAs, and other organizations. They recruited young mothers, teachers, nurses, domestic workers, and other church women to carry the torch forward for the sake of the community and in the name of black female respectability. Their legacy to their communities, the state, and the nation was a new generation of female advocates for the under-represented, the un-empowered, the voiceless, and the unprotected within the many arenas that black women traversed. They continually expanded women's sphere of control from "home and hearth" to other public arenas.

The club women's assertive stance is significant because they were black women in a white patriarchal world which did not acknowledge or respect them. They had only their inner strength and faith in a higher power to lean on and guide them, and through it all they persevered and conquered a world that once had condemned them and would later praise them for their efforts at mobilizing and saving their own people by building

one daycare, one library, one nursing home, one missionary society, one hospital, one school at a time, arm in arm with their neighbors in one community after the other across the bluegrass of Kentucky. These women fought for civil rights for women and blacks throughout their lives in various public arenas of contestation, supporting, trusting, and guiding each other as they challenged patriarchal and hierarchical policies and practices which limited their freedom or compromised their equality as they forged a new black community in Kentucky. KACW club women recognized the many layers of their communities' population and its oppression and sought audiences in the public arenas of church, education, health, and public policy. One of their greatest strengths lay in the wealth of their personal networks and association with one another through established social, fraternal, secular and religious clubs, and organizations. These resources of family and friends existed not only locally but nationally as well through the socio-political structures of black America's racial uplift ideology.

This research begins to fill the gap in black women's history in Kentucky between the Civil War and the modern Civil Rights Movement and supports the notion of the long civil rights movement as a continuum from freedom to the organized direct action challenges of the 1950s and 1960s. It touches on various black women's clubs and how they were connected to one another, thus forming a nationwide black women's network of clubs and institutions which would serve to undergird and sustain the direct action defiance of legal segregation. The modern civil rights movement could not have achieved its successes without these countless, nameless black club women before them who created a stalwart foundation of activist engagement and grass roots organizations, which stabilized the black community and supported the common goals and strategies of

organized resistance. As self-defined “race women,” they were community role models and problem solvers, navigating the many Jim and Jane Crow policies and practices that white Kentuckians initiated in an attempt to degrade and limit them and their people in various public arenas. During the imposition of all the white imposed restrictions and segregated spaces, Kentucky’s black club women anchored the black community and challenged its black citizens to consider the needs of others in their shared space and shared struggle for equality and attack the systems of oppression. Through ownership of community problems and needs, organized communities of black club women successfully challenged Kentucky’s oppressive laws and policies first in their local towns, then through the state legislature, and finally on the national level.

The study of the lives of Kentucky’s black clubwomen contributes to the historical record on African American history by demonstrating the extent to which black women were involved in shaping their communities; the agency of women in controlling their own destiny; the methods and patterns of resistance employed by community women; and the collective memory of black culture. Their lives dispute the dominant historical narrative which has marginalized or ignored the contributions of black women in the development of America. Motivated by a sense of racial self-definition and identification, black women rejected the white interpretation of black women’s place and took the leadership role in nurturing and maintaining black communities. Their experiences also document the learned coping strategies, organizing traditions, group collective, and leadership training of generations of black women. It was through their combined efforts, in church groups, fraternal organizations, and the women’s club movement coupled with the understanding and awareness of their power, and political

savvy that they defined themselves and impacted black life in the state. Most club women's lives encompassed numerous interests and commitments all focused on community betterment and racial pride. Through the numerous actions of these "other mothers," future members of NAACP Youth Councils across the state would become involved in protest activities. Thus the Gertrude Boulder incident and other black women's contestation educated and coached the future would-be boycotters, sit-in participants, non-violent marchers, and militant organizers in the coming decades as each strategy built upon the prior experience.

The sustained efforts of the club women established a firm foundation for continued black women's activism through direct action in the 1950s, often identified as the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement, and after.

Appendix A

Charter Clubs

of the

Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs

This list presents the names of the original 13 clubs and the club presidents at the time they established the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Kentucky. The association's name was later changed to the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Incorporated. These clubs reflect a collective membership of 180 women in 1903.

CHARTER CLUBS³²⁶

Covington

Club Name	Year Established	President
Children's Friend Club	1903	Fannie B. (Miller)Williams

Danville

Club Name	Year Established	President
Ladies Domestic Economy Club	1898	Lillian A. Fisher

Frankfort

Club Name	Year Established	President
Normal Reading Circle	ca. 1889	Fannie R. Givens

Louisville

Club Name	Year Established	President
Baptist Women's Education Convention, Board of Managers	1883	Lucy Flint
Economical Club		Ella Steele
King's Daughters of Calvary Baptist Church	1887	Mary V. (Cook) Parrish
Ladies Sewing Circle	1877	Mamie E. (Lee) Steward
Music and Literary Club		Mary L. Mead
Music and Literary Club, No. 2		C. Marshall
Sunshine Club		Bessie Jones
Woman's Improvement Club	1896	Georgia A. Nugent
Women's Industrial Club	ca. 1900	Nannie Helen Burroughs
Y.M.C.A. Auxiliary		L. M. Gibson

³²⁶ Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting As They Climb*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933, p. 299.

Appendix B

Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs

List of Clubs by Location

This list represents a total of 293 local clubs, 8 city federations, and 2 statewide clubs which are identified in the records of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs and the official microfilmed records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.

KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION of COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS*

AUGUSTA

School Improvement League

BEREA

Rodgers' Aid Club

BECKNERVILLE

Parent Teachers Association

BLOOMFIELD

Lily White Club

BOWLING GREEN

Ladies Art Club

BRACKTOWN

Church Aid Improvement

District Worker

Missionary and Education Club, First Baptist Church

Violet Club

CAMP NELSON

Industrial Sewing Club

CANE SPRINGS

Echstein Daisy Club (ca. 1896)

COLUMBUS

Mothers' Club

COVINGTON

Blooming Rose Club

+Children's Friend Club (1901)

Golden Link Club

Ladies' Improvement Club

Ladies' Union Club

Mothers' Club

St. James Mite Missionary Society

CYNTHIANA

Ladies Art

Ladies Progressive Club

DANVILLE

Bate School Canning Club
Busy Sunshine Club (1912)
+Ladies Domestic Economy Club (1898)
Excelsior Club
Mary B. Talbert Club
Memorial Club
Pond Lilly Embroidery Club
Red Cross Club
Young Girl's Industrial Club
T.C.E. Club
20th Century Club

DRY RIDGE

Parent Teachers Association

DUNHAM

Dunham PTA

EBENEZER

Ladies' Improvement Club

ELKHORN FORKS

Earnest Workers

ELIZABETHTOWN

Better Homes Club (1939)
Jolly Matrons Improvement Club (1930)

ERLANGER

Woman's Improvement Club

FLEMMINGSBURG

Women's Improvement Club

FORD

Parent Teachers Association

FRANKFORT

A.M.E. Church Aid Club

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

GEORGETOWN

Sunshine Club

GOOSE CREEK

Parent Teachers Association

GREENVILLE

East End Mothers' Club

West End Mothers' Club

HARRODSBURG

Silver Leaf Social Art Club

Simmons Club

Thrifty Set Club

HENDERSON

Community Betterment Club (1923)

Harmony Club (1902)

Henderson Club
Junior Club (ca. 1930)
Peerless Club (1904)
Peerless Improvement Club
PTA-Alves Street & Douglass High Schools (1910)

HOPKINSVILLE

Oak Leaf Art and Literary Club (1914)

HOWARD'S CREEK

Parent Teachers Association

HUBBLE

Ladies Embroidery Club
Working Band

JEFFERSONTOWN

Parent Teachers Association

LANCASTER

A.M.E. Working Band
Earnest Workers Club (1914)
School Improvement Club
Willing Workers Club

LAWRENCEBURG

Women's Improvement Club

LEBANON

Silver Leaf Club

LEVEE

Mothers' Improvement Club

LEXINGTON

Acme Art and Culture Club (1919)
Blue Grass Patriotic League
Charitable Club
Church Aid and Improvement Club
Colored Orphan Industrial Home Board of Managers (1892)
Committee for Health Camp for Colored Children (1944)
Dorie Miller Chapter of American War Mothers (1942)
(Lexington Clubs continued)
Douglass High Little Mothers' Club
Educational Club
Flower and Garden Club

Galeda Club, First Baptist Church
Gideon Band
Girls Reserves Y.W.C.A.
King's Daughters, Main St. Baptist Church
La Vogue Club (1920)
Lone Star Club, Main St. Baptist
Parent Teachers Association, Dunbar School
Parent Teachers Association, George Washington Carver
Parent Teachers Association, Patterson School
Parent Teachers Association, Russell School
Pastor's Aid Club, First Baptist Church
Rose Bud Sewing Circle of First Baptist Church
Senior Galeda Class of First Baptist Church
St. Paul A.M.E. Sewing Circle
Stitch and Chatter Club
Teachers' Reading Circle
Tip Top Tippers Club (1935)
Walker's Hair Dressers
Woman's Improvement Club (1903)
Phillis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. (1920)

LITTLE GEORGETOWN

Charitable Club

LITTLE ROCK

Home Mission Club

LOUISVILLE

Baptist Ministers Wives Council (1925)
Beargrass Church College Society
Beargrass Sewing Circle
Booker T. Washington Community Center Board
The Browsers! "Have You Read It?" Club (1948)
Cecelia Dunlap Grand Chapter, Order of Eastern Star
Charity-Pity-Literary Club (1915)
Cheer-All Club (1920)
Children's Band Society
Children's Band, Lampton Baptist Church
Children's Band, Fifth Street Baptist Church
Chrysanthemum Embroidery Club (1906)
East End Day Nursery
(Louisville Clubs continued)
Elizabeth C. Carter Neighborhood Club
Etiquette Junior Club
+Georgia A. Nugent Improvement Club (1896) (Woman's Improvement Club originally)
Golden Rod Literary and Art Club (1917)

Home Beautiful Arts Club
 Horace Crutcher Missionary Unit
 King Catchwell Club
 +Kings' Daughters of Calvary Baptist Church(Kings Daughters Burden Bearers) (1887)
 Ladies Aid, Lampton Baptist Church
 Ladies Guild
 +Ladies Sewing Circle (1877)
 Little Wonder
 Louisville Normal Literary Club
 Loyalty Charity Club
 Mamie E. Steward Friendly Group (1929)
 +Music and Literary Club
 +Music and Literary Club, No. 2
 Naomi Circle
 National Historical Art League
 News Boys' Union
 Oak and Ivy Embroidery Club (1898)
 Pink Rose Club
 Sorosis Girls Club
 +Sunshine Club
 Sunshine Improvement Club
 Tawanka Camp Fire Girls
 True Link Society
 Twilight Club
 White Carnation Charity Club (1939)
 Woman's Baptist Mission Board
 +Women's Economical Club
 +Women's Industrial Club (ca 1900-01)
 Ye Art Club
 +YMCA Auxiliary Club
 YWCA of Louisville
 Young Women's Civic Club (1946)

MADISONVILLE

Ladies Art and Utility Club
 Ladies Economy Club
 Mothers' Club

MAYSVILLE

Benjamin Tribe Club
 (*Maysville Clubs continued*)
 Bethel Baptist Sewing Circle
 Choral Club
 Civic Improvement Club
 Joy Band Junior Club
 Ladies' Industrial

Parent Teachers Association
Rising Star
School Improvement Club

MIDDLESBORO

Bible & Community Club (1929)
Civic Club (1924)
Lucky Twenty Club (ca. 1931)
Missionary Kentucky Conference
Missionary Society of the Mt. Mariah Baptist Church
Parent-Teacher Association
Phyllis Wheatley Loyalty Club (1925)
Woman's Improvement Club (1912)

MIDWAY

Artistic Ten
Neighbors Traveling Club #1
Willing Workers Club
Woman's Art, Literary, and Social Club #1
Woman's Art, Literary, and Social Club #2

MILLSBORO

Women's Improvement Club

MORTONSVILLE

Woman's Improvement Club

MT. STERLING

Adams Club
Artistic Ten Club
Betsy Ross Club
Buds of Hope Club
Busy Bee
Christian Women's Missionary Club
Community Uplift
Parent Teachers Association
Pastor's Relief Board
Progressive Culture Club
Stewardess Board, CME Church
(Mt. Sterling Clubs continued)
Sunbeams Club
Sunlight Club
Union Club
Willing Workers
Woman's Improvement Club (1907)
Young Women's Circle

NEWPORT

Ladies Aid Club
Ladies Union Club
Missionary Guiding Star Club
Strawder Charitable Club
Young Girls' Auxiliary and Golden Eagle Missionary Club
Young People's Club

NICHOLASVILLE

A.M.E. Mite Missionary
Community Club
Embroidery Club
Galeda Club
Sunday School Choral Club
Young People's Sunday Afternoon Club (1919)

OWENSBORO

Married Ladies Industrial Club (1904)
Sorosis Club
Tresart Club
Women's Christian Service Club
Women's Improvement Club

PADUCAH

Charity Workers Club
Chummy Club (1920)
Citizens Savings Club
Civ-Mu-So-Lit Club (1926)
Eighth District Association of Women (1943)
Golden Rule Club
Las Amegas Club
Macedonia Club

PAINT LICK

Missionary Society

PARIS

Church Aid Club
Domestic Improvement Circle
Ladies Improvement Club
Ladies Industrial Club
Phyllis Wheatley Charity Club
Phyllis Wheatley Junior Club
School Improvement Club

PEWEE VALLEY

Willing Workers Club

PORTLAND

White Rose Club

RICHMOND

College Aid Society
Colored Women's Hospital Club
Junior Art Club
Ladies Art Club
Ladies' Embroidery Club
Ladies' Improvement Club
Ladies' Literary Club
Modern Priscilla Club
Monday Evening Musical Club
Parent Teachers' Association
Woman's Literary Club

RUSSELLVILLE

Booker T. Washington Club
Mothers' Congress
Progressive Sewing Club

SHELBYVILLE

Amanda Smith Hospital Club
Daisy M. Saffell Circle of Kings Daughters
Woman's Improvement Club (1903)
Teachers Reading Club

SOMERSET

F.M.M. Convention
Joshua Club
Women's Civic Club (1959)
Women's Mite Mission Society, A.M.E. Church

SPRINGFIELD

Junior Loyal Hearts Club
Loyal Hearts Club (1924)
Good Will Club

STANFORD

Citizen's Committee
Ladies Art Club
Ladies' Improvement Club

Pansy Social Club
Woman's Improvement Club

SWALLOWFORD
Woman's Improvement

UTICA
Unnamed Utica Club (8/1918 minutes)

VERSAILLES
Tender Plant Club
Woman's Improvement Club

WINCHESTER
Ladies Culture Club
Mary McLeod Bethune Art Club
Annie Simms Banks Auxiliary of Clark County Hospital
George Washington Carver Art Club
Ladies' Culture Club
Ladies' Hospital Club
Our Night Together Club
Swastika Art Club

CITY FEDERATIONS
City Association of Owensboro
City Federation of Covington
City Federation of Mt. Sterling
City Federation of Richmond
Frankfort City Federation of Women's Clubs
Danville Federated Clubs
Lexington Federated Clubs ***
Louisville City Federation of Clubs

STATEWIDE CLUBS
+Board of Managers, Baptist Women's Education Convention (1883)
Kentucky Conference Branch Woman's Missionary Society, AME Church (1914)

+Charter Club

*When known the date a club was founded is in parentheses following the club name.

**Did not count this club in the total number as it may be the same as the Normal Reading Circle.

Bibliography

Local Women: The Public Lives of Black Middle Class Women in Kentucky Before the "Modern Civil Rights Movement"

Primary Sources

Archival Collections

Albert Shaw Papers. Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, New York.

Berea College - Student Record, ca. 1900-1987. Special Collections and Archives, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

Black Club Women Papers. Kentucky State University Special Collections

Charles Henry Parrish Papers, 1931-1983, University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville.

Community (Red Cross) Hospital Records, 1902-1976, RG110, University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville.

Dr. T. T. (Thomas Tyler) Wendell Collection, 1894-1947, 97sc206, Library Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort.

Fayette County Board of Education Records. Personnel Files. Lexington, Ky. (microfiche).

Fouse Family Papers, 1854, 1897-1952, 53M58, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Golden Rule Foundation. American Mothers' Committee. Denver Chapter. Papers. Colorado Historical Society, Denver, CO.

Gross, Carl Russell. Collection. Moorland-Springarn Research Center Library, Howard University, Washington: D.C.

Jefferson County Public Schools Records. Personnel Records. Louisville, KY: Jefferson County Public Schools Archives and Records Center.

Fayette County Board of Education. Personnel Files. Lexington, Kentucky.

- The Papers of Mary Church Terrell.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress.
- The Papers of Nannie Helen Burroughs.* Washington: D.C.: Library of Congress. Manuscripts Division.
- Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1916-1929.* Paul G. Blazer Library Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.
- Records Minutes, Green Street Baptist Church,* University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville.
- Records of the Kentucky Board of Medical Licensure.* Kentucky State Archives, Frankfort.
- Records of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs.* Housed at various institutions including Kentucky Historical Society, Kentucky State University, University of Kentucky, and the University of Louisville.
- Records of the National Negro Business League, Part 1 Annual Conference Proceedings and Organizational Records, 1900-1919,* 13th Annual Convention, Chicago, Illinois, August 21-23, 1912.
- The Rufus B. Atwood Papers, ca. 1929-1965,* 75A19, Library Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.
- Simmons Bible College Records, 1869-1971,* RG105, University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville.
- Wade Hall Collection, 99M01,* Library Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort.
- Works Projects Administration in Kentucky Records. Jefferson County, 1935-1941.* Box 59. Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives.
- Young Women's Christian Association of Louisville Records.* University of Louisville Archives and Records Center. Louisville, Ky.

Microfilm Collections

- Commission on Interracial Cooperation papers, 1919-1944* [microform]. [Sanford, N.C.]: Microfilming Corporation of America; Ann Arbor, MI University Microfilms International, 1984.

Kentucky Department of Education. *Biennial Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*. Microfilm. 1838-1991. Atlanta, Ga.: SOLINET, 2001. Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives.

Meier, August and John H. Bracey, eds. *Papers of the NAACP*. [microform] Frederick, MD : University Publications of America, c1990.

Williams, Lillian Serece, and Randolph Boehm, eds. *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992*. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993.

Tuskegee Institute Clipping Files, 1899-1966. Tuskegee Institute, Ala.:Tuskegee Institute, c1978.

KACW Club Records

Busy Sunshine Club. Records. Danville, Kentucky.

Charity Pity Literary Club. Records. Louisville, Kentucky.

Children's Friend Club (1901-). Records. Covington, Kentucky. From the personal collection of Rosa Watkins, Anna Mae Snowden-Jones, Alberta Cain and Samuel A. Cain of Atlanta Georgia.

Domestic Economy Club. Records. Danville, Kentucky. Club scrapbook in the possession of Helen Fisher Frye.

Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Records. Winchester, Kentucky.

Mary Bethune Club. Records. Winchester, Kentucky.

Pansy Social Club. Records. Stanford, Kentucky.

Phyllis Wheatley Charity Club. Records. Paris, Kentucky.

Women's Progressive Club. Records. Frankfort, Kentucky.

Interviews

McDaniel, Karen C. *Interview with Archie Surratt, December 10, 1997*. Frankfort, Ky. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Interview with Brooks and Gloria Giles, December 7, 1997*. Frankfort, Ky. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Interview with Margaret Steward Cunningham, March 28, 1999*, Lexington, KY. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Interview Mary Ann Hanley, December 12, 1997*. Frankfort, Ky. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Oral Interview with Camie C. Smith, 1997.*, Louisville, Ky. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Oral Interview with Edwin Smith, 1997*. Louisville, Ky. Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Paul G. Blazer Library, Kentucky State University, Frankfort.

_____. *Telephone interview with Emma Clement Walker. October 29, 1994.*

_____. *Telephone interview with Ruth Clement Bond. October 29, 1994.*

Smith, Gerald L. *Interview with Helen Holmes, June 27, 1988*, Frankfort, Ky.

Wallace, James. *Interview with Helen Holmes, July 25, 1991*. Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky.

Newspapers

Afro-American

American Catholic Tribune (Cincinnati)

The Appeal (St. Paul, MN),

Berea Citizen

Courier Journal

Decatur Daily Republican

Enterprise (Omaha, Nebraska)

Home Mission Echo

Indianapolis Freeman

The Kentucky Club Woman, 1916-2000 (Kentucky Association of Colored Women's Clubs)

Kentucky Thoroughbred (Kentucky State University)

Lexington Herald

Lexington Leader

Louisville Defender

Louisville Leader

Louisville Times

The National Notes (National Association of Colored Women's Clubs)

The New York Times

The Pinnacle (Berea, KY)

Pittsburgh Courier

The Post (Covington, KY)

Providence Journal-Evening Bulletin

St. Louis Argus

St. Louis Star-Times.

The Woman's Era

Cases & Legal Documents

Berea College v. Commonwealth, 123 Ky. 209 (Kentucky Court of Appeals, June 12, 1906).

Bowlin v. Commonwealth. (Kentucky Court of Appeals, 1867).

Gray v. Cincinnati Southern Railroad Company, 11 Fed. 683 (1882).

Kentucky Constitution, 1792.

Kentucky Constitution, 1799.

Kentucky Constitution 1850.

Kitty v. Commonwealth, 57 Ky. 522 (1857).

The Revised Statutes of Kentucky, 1852.

Smoot v. Kentucky Central Railroad Company, 13 Fed. 337 (C.C. Ky. 1882).

State of Kentucky. *Fayette County Clerk. Will Book 13, Type W.* (1925).

Dissertations and Theses

Dickson, Lynda Faye. *The Early Club Movement Among Black Women in Denver.*
Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1982.

Hamilton, Tullia K. Brown. *The National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1920.*
Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1978.

Jenkins, Maude Thomas. *Black Woman's Club Movement in America*, Ed.D.
dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1984.

Pettit, Jennifer L. *Consuming, Organizing, and Uplifting: Elizabeth B. Fouse and the
Production of Class Identity*, M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1998.

Shelton, Cynthia Lynne. *We are what we do: The national program of Alpha Kappa
Alpha Sorority, Incorporated. A post-modern corporatist interpretation of
African-American women's philanthropy.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of
Kentucky, 2003.

Webb, Althea . *The Limits of Interracial Sisterhood: The Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the
Louisville Young Women's Christian Association.* Ph.D. dissertation, University
of Kentucky, 2008.

Primary Sources: Articles, Book chapters, Circulars, Pamphlet, etc.

"About the Falls Cities: Social and Business Review of Louisville, Ky." *Indianapolis
Freeman*, October 7, 1905.

Aery, William Anthony. "National Association of Colored Women," *Southern
Workman*, 41, no. 9 (September 1912): 535-539.

"After 45 years of service to Negro education, Prof. W. H. Fouse, Pioneer, Will Retire in
Spring", *Lexington Herald*, February 6, 1938.

"American Mother." *Time* 47(May 13, 1946): 25.

- “‘American Mother’ Doses Children Benefi[t]ing From Community Chest.” *Courier Journal*, October 14, 1947.
- “American Mother is Welcomed Here.” *The New York Times*, May 5, 1937.
- “American Mothers: 1935-1947.” *Better Homes and Gardens* 25 (June 1947): 45-46.
- “An Appeal to the White Christian Women of the Southland” *Colored American Magazine*, 4, no. 3 (Jan.-Feb. 1902): 251-252.
- “Ben Franklin: Pioneer Barber Removes Shop From Place He Occupied For 32 Years.” *Lexington Leader*, December 12, 1905.
- “Blue Grass Medical Society.” *Lexington Leader*, January 9, 1910.
- “The Branch in Lexington, Kentucky.” *The Negro History Bulletin*. 2, no. 8 (May 1939): 71.
- Britton, Mary E. “A Woman’s Appeal: To Members of the Kentucky General Assembly.” *Lexington Leader*, April 19, 1892.
- _____. “Woman’s Suffrage: A Potent Agency in Public Reforms.” *The American Catholic Tribune*, July 22, 1887.
- Brooks, Albert N.D. “Highlights of the Annual Meeting.” *The Negro History Bulletin*, 19, no. 3 (December 1955): 52.
- Bruce, Mrs. B. K. “Colored Women’s Clubs.” *The Crisis*, 10 (August 1915): 190.
- “Burial of Monk Overton’s Wife Will Be In Lexington.” *Lexington Leader*, December 21, 1905.
- Burroughs, Nannie Helen. “An Appeal to the White Christian Women of the Southland.” *Colored American Magazine*, 4, no. 3 (January/February 1902): 251-252.
- _____. “Black Women and Reform.” In “Votes for Women.” *The Crisis* 10, no. 4 (August 1915): 187.
- _____. “The Colored Woman and Her Relation to the Domestic Problem.” In *The United Negro: His Problems and His Progress: Containing the Addresses and Proceedings the Negro Young People’s Christian and Educational Congress, held August 6-11, 1902*, edited by I. Garland Penn and J.W.E. Bowen, 324-329. Atlanta: D.E. Luther Publishing, 1902.

- _____. "Industrial Education: Will it Solve the Negro Problem," *The Colored American Magazine*, 7, no. 3 (March 1904): 188.
- _____. "Miss Burroughs Replies to Mr. Carrington," *The Voice of the Negro: Illustrated Monthly* 2(February 1905): 106-107.
- _____. "Not Color but Character," *The Voice of the Negro: Illustrated Monthly* 1(July 1904): 277-79.
- _____. *12 Things The Negro Must Do For Himself*. (Pamphlet, Circa Early 1900's).
- "The Camp Meeting: Women Who Want to Vote and W.C.T.U. Workers," *Decatur Daily Republican*, July 31, 1894.
- Circular of Information for the Twenty-first Annual Session Eckstein Norton Institute Incorporated, Cane Spring, Kentucky: For the season 1910-11*. The Institute Press: Cane Spring, KY, 1910.
- "Club Work Among Colored Women." *Colored American Magazine*, 11, no. 2 (1906): 83-90.
- "Clements Says Equal Training is Due Negroes: Tells Church Meeting of State's Progress." *Courier Journal*, May 7, 1948.
- "Colored Circles." *Lexington Leader*, August 26, 1902.
- "Colored Circles." *Lexington Leader*, July 19, 1903.
- "Colored Female Doctor." *Lexington Herald*, November 12, 1902.
- "Colored Notes: Resolutions." *Lexington Leader*, August 30, 1925.
- "Colored People: Personal Notes." *Lexington Leader*, July 26, 1903.
- "Colored Woman's Club." *Lexington Leader*, October 22, 1905.
- "Colored Women Ask for 'Jim-Crow Playground.'" *The Post* (Covington), May 11, 1909.
- "Colored Women Make Protest: Delegation Appears Before Mayor Yancey with Petition Asking Investigation into the Death of Gertie Boulder." in *Lexington Leader*, April 5, 1925.
- "Communists Won't Win Italian Elections, But Riots Are Likely, Louisvillian Says: Red Cross Aide Visits Mother." *Courier Journal*, April 3, 1948.

- “Complain of Police Action: Negro Organizations of City Send Open Letter to Mayor Yancey and Commissioner Gentry.” in *Lexington Herald*, April 5, 1925.
- Cook, Mary V. “Eulogy for Lucy Smith.” *The Home Mission Echo*, 6, no. 1 (January 1890), 45.
- _____. “Our Women.” *The National Baptist Magazine*. (July 2, 1895): 137-139. Washington, D.C.: American National Baptist Convention, 1894, 1901.
- _____. “What the Colored Baptists are Doing.” *The Home Mission Echo*, 6, no. 11 (November 1890): 3-4.
- _____. “Woman's Place in the Work of the Denomination.” *Journals and Lectures*. Mobile, AL: American National Baptist Convention, 1887: 45-56.
- _____. “The Work for Baptist Women.” In *The Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers, by Colored Baptist Ministers*, edited by Edward M. Brawley, 271-286. Freemont, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971[c.1890].
- “Council of Women of Darker Races in Session,” *Louisville Leader*, 7:37(August 18, 1923), 1, col. 5.
- “Covington News.” *The Kentucky Club Woman: Official Organ of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs*, 10, no. 1 (Feb. 1928).
- “The Educational World: An American Family VIII,” *Headlines and Pictures*, (August 1946): 36-38.
- “The Eighteenth Annual Celebration of Negro History Week in Retrospect.” *Negro History Bulletin*, 6, no. 7 (April, 1943): 164-67.
- “Eyes on Africa,” *Indianapolis Freeman*, Sept. 3, 1904.
- Federal Writers Project. *Kentucky Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the Kentucky from Interviews with Former Slaves. Typewritten records prepared by the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*. Boston, MA: Applewood Books, 2006.
- “Federation of Women's Clubs: Lifting as We Climb” *American Baptist*, January 8, 1904.
- “First Ladies of Colored America” *The Crisis*, 49, no. 9(Sept 1942): 287; (Fouse) 49, no. 10 (October 1942): 321; (Glass) 50, no. 1(January 1943): 17; (Miller) 50, no. 10(October 1943): 305.
- “Fish to Address Anti-Lynch Meeting,” *Louisville Leader*, January 26, 1924.

- “Former Berean Honored: Outstanding Negro Nurse to Receive Award,” *Berea Citizen*, August 18, 1949.
- “Fortieth Annual Meeting: As reported in the *Los Angeles Sentinel*.” *The Negro History Bulletin*, 19, no. 3 (December 1955): 51.
- Fourth Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School for Colored Persons for 1890-91 and Annual Announcement for 1891-92, Frankfort, Ky.* Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson Public Printer, 1891.
- “From Slavery’s Shadow to Leadership,” *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 15, 1950.
- “General Colored Notes.” *Lexington Leader*, December 9, 1906.
- Greenbaum, Lucy. “Mothers Extolled in Day of Tributes: 2,000 in Central Park Hear Guest of Honor Plead Cause of Starving Children.” *The New York Times*, May 13, 1946.
- “Heart Attack Proves Fatal to Mrs. Fouse.” *Lexington Leader*, October 22, 1952.
- “Help for Women.” *Lexington Leader*. .September 17, 1908, p. 2, col. 3-4.
- “Historical News.” *The Negro History Bulletin*, 7, no. 7 (April 1944): 165-166.
- Hunton, Addie W. “The National Association of Colored Women: Its Real Significance.” *Colored American Magazine*, 14 (July 1908): 416-424.
- “In Memoriam: Mrs. Lucy Harth Smith” Asbury Methodist Church, September 24, 1955 Cunningham Funeral Home. (Funeral Program).
- “Kentucky Educators Hold Great Session: 45th Annual Convention of Teachers Greatest in History of Association,” *Louisville Leader*, April 15, 1922.
- Kilgus, Marilyn. “Health Camps, Supported by Community Chest, Leave Child Free from Worry, Free to Gain” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, October 12, 1952.
- “Killed Herself: Hattie Britton Kills Herself With A Pistol.” *Lexington Leader*, June 1, 1891.
- “Ky. Educator at Anniversary of Negro History Group.” *Louisville Defender*. September 1940.
- Lewis, Cary B. “Louisville and its Afro-American Citizens,” *Colored American Magazine*, 10, no. 4 (April 1906): 259-265.
- “Lexington Doctors on Program of Paris Meeting,” *Lexington Leader*, May 3, 1905.

- “Livingstone College: the Gateway to a Christian Education.” *The Crisis* 47(August 1940): 246.
- “Louisville, Ky.” *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 1, 1905.
- “Louisville, Ky.” *Indianapolis Freeman*, August 26, 1905.
- “Louisville Negro is Chosen American Mother of 1946.” *Courier Journal*, May 2, 1946.
- “Louisville’s Mother of Year Named on 1946 Race Relations Honor Roll.” *Courier Journal*, February 10, 1947.
- Martin, Fletcher. “National Negro Nurses’ Association will Present Award to Louisvillian” *Courier-Journal*. August 14, 1949.
- “Mary Church Terrell.” *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 1, 1905.
- “Mary Fitzbutler Waring.” *Who’s Who in Colored America, seventh edition*. Yonkers, NY: Christian E. Burckel & Assoc., 1950: 534.
- “‘Mother of 1946’ Urges Sacrifice to Help Hungry.” *Providence Journal-Evening Bulletin*, June 13, 1946.
- “Mother of Year, Mrs. Roe-Cloud Speaks for Church Building Fund: Still Has Faith in U.S. Youth.” *Courier Journal*, October 9, 1950.
- “‘Mother of Year’ in 1946 Dies: Mrs. Emma Clement Active Until End.” *Afro-American*, January 3, 1953.
- “Mothers’ Meeting.” *Lexington Leader*, December 9, 1906.
- “Mrs. Clement, Mother of ‘46, Dies Suddenly.” *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 3, 1953.
- “Mrs. Clement, Mother of Year, Visits Fort Knox.” *Courier Journal*, December 5, 1946.
- “Mrs. Frank L. Williams Buried from her Home,” *St. Louis Argus*, November 23, 1956,
- “Nebraskan Named ‘Mother of 1937’.” *The New York Times*, April 23, 1937.
- “Negro dolls for Negro Children Should be the Motto of all the Parents of Negro Children.” *National Baptist Review*, 1 (December 25, 1909):13-15.
- “Never Spared Rod, Asserts Mrs. Clement.” *Afro American*, May 11, 1946.

- Parrish, Mary V. "King's Daughters of Louisville." *National Association Notes* 16, no. 5 (1913): 3.
- "People: The Mother." *Newsweek* 27(May 13, 1946): 28.
- "Personal". *The Journal of Negro History*, 40 (4) (Oct 1955), 397.
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, held in Houston, Texas, November 10-14, 1934." *The Journal of Negro History*, 20, no. 1 (Jan., 1935).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held in New York, November 11-13, 1938." *Journal of Negro History*, 24, no. 1 (Jan., 1939).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Pittsburgh, October 24, 25, and 26, 1927." *Journal of Negro History*, 13, no. 1 (Jan., 1928).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia October 25-28, 1936." *Journal of Negro History*, 22, no. 1 (Jan., 1937).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held in Washington, D.C. from October 29 to November 1, 1933." *Journal of Negro History*, 19, no. 1 (Jan., 1934).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Washington, D.C., October 27-31, 1929." *Journal of Negro History*, 15, no. 1 (Jan., 1930).
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association held in Washington, D.C., October 30- November 1, 1942." *Journal of Negro History*, 28, no. 1 (Jan., 1943).
- "Proud Welcome Given 1946 American Mother." *Louisville Times*, May 2, 1946.
- "Race Gleanings: Louisville" *Indianapolis Freeman*, March 25, 1905.
- Raphael, Alan. "Health and Social Welfare of Kentucky Black People, 1865-1870" *Societas, A Review of Social History* 2 (1972): 143-157.
- "Reports from State Clubs" *National Association Notes* 18, no. 3 (December 1915): 1.
- "Requiescat in Pace: Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement." *The Atlanta University Bulletin* Series III (December 1952): 38.

- “Resolutions.” *Lexington Leader*, August 30, 1925.
- “R.I. Native, Granddaughter of Slave, Is Chosen American Mother of 1946.” *Providence Journal-Evening Bulletin*, May 2, 1946.
- Rudwick, Elliott M and August Meier, “Black Man in the ‘White City’: Negroes and the Columbian Exposition, 1893,” 26, no. 4 *Phylon* (1965):357.
- “Session of the Woman’s Congress at Atlanta,” *The Enterprise* (Omaha, Nebraska) January 11, 1896.
- Smith, Camie C. “Mrs. Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith.” 1973, rev. 1974, rev. 1975. (Unpublished).
- Smith, Lucy Cornelia Harth. “The Paul Vernon and Lucy Cornelia Harth Smith Family”. January 1954. (Unpublished).
- Smith, Lucy Harth. “Negro Musicians and their Music” *The Journal of Negro History*, 20, no. 4 (Oct., 1935): 428-432.
- _____. “Steps Toward our Goal.” *The KNEA Journal*, 16, no. 2-3(April May 1945): 4.
- Smith, Lucy Wilmot. “The Future Colored Girl.” in *Minutes and Address of the American National Baptist Convention, Held at St. Louis, Mo., August 25-29, 1886 in the First Baptist Church*, 68-74. Jackson MS: J.J. Spelman Pub., 1886.
- Steward, Mamie E. “Afro-American Women and the Church” *Colored American Magazine*, 12:1(January 1907), 56-58.
- _____. “Woman in the Church” *The National Baptist Magazine* 6 (Aug-Oct, 1898): 147-148.
- Strothers, T. “Louisville Correspondence,” *Christian Recorder* 4, no. 45 (November 5, 1864):179.
- “Ten Outstanding Kentuckians of 1945.” *Louisville Defender*, December 29, 1945.
- “Training School.” *Lexington Leader*, February 18, 1906.
- “Tributes to the Late Prof. W.H. Fouse” in *KNEA Journal* 16, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb.1945): 7.
- “Vital Statistics.” *Lexington Leader*, December 24, 1905.
- Waring, Mary Fitzbutler. “Sanitation” *National Association Notes* (Apr.-May 1917): 8-9.
- _____. “Training and the Ballot,” *The Crisis* 10 (August 1915): 185-86.

“We Went to Camp this Summer” *Negro History Bulletin*, 9 (1) (Oct., 1945): 5-6.

“What Helps One Race Benefits Us All.” *Courier Journal*, January 11, 1953.

Whedbee, Bertha J. “History of Red Cross Hospital and Sanatorium” (April 1, 1948).
Red Cross Hospital Records. Department of Archives and Records, Eckstrom
Library, University of Louisville. (Unpublished manuscript).

Williams, Fannie Barrier. "The Club Movement Among Colored Women." *Voice of the
Negro*, 1, no. 3 (1904): 99-102.

_____. “Club Movement Among Negro Women” in *Progress of a Race or the
Remarkable Advancement of the Colored American*, revised and enlarged by J.W.
Gibson and W.H. Croghan. Naperville, IL: J.L. Nichols & Co, 1912.

“Women: Mother of the Year.” *Time* 29 (May 3, 1937):17.

“Women’s Auxiliary.” *Lexington Leader*, September 18, 1908.

Works Progress Administration. *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the
United States from Interviews with Former Slaves: Indiana Narratives*. St. Clair
Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1976.

Yates, J. Silone, Mrs. “Report of the National Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs: To
the National Council of Women at Washington,” *Colored American Magazine* 8,
no.5 (1905): 258.

Secondary Sources: Books

Alvord, John W. *Third Semi-annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, July 1, 1867*.
Washington, D.C.: G.P.O. United States Government Printing Office, 1868.

Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Blair, Karen. *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*.
New York: William Morrow, 1994.

Bond, Horace Mann. *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University*.
Pennsylvania. Lincoln University, 1976.

Boris, Joseph J., ed. *Who’ Who in Colored American*. New York: Who’ Who in Colored
American Corp., 1927.

- Boyle, Kevin. *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 2004.
- Brawley, Edward M., ed. *The Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers, by Colored Baptist Ministers*. Freemont, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 [c.1890].
- Broughton, Virginia W. *Twenty Years' Experience of a Missionary*. Chicago: The Pony Press Publishers, 1907.
- Brown, S. Joe Mrs. *The History of the Order of the Eastern Star Among Colored People*. Des Moines, IA: Order of the Eastern Star, 1925.
- Byars, Laretta Flynn. *Lexington's Colored Orphan Industrial Home: Building for the Future*. Lexington, KY: I.B. Bold Publications, 1995.
- Carnegie, Mary Elizabeth, ed. *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing 1854-1984*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co, 1984.
- Cash, Floris Barnett. *African American Women and Social Action: The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal 1896-1936*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Clark-Lewis, Elizabeth. *Living In, Living Out: African American domestics and the Great Migration*. New York: Kodansha America, 1994.
- Clement, George Clinton. *Boards for Life's Building*. Cincinnati, OH: Caxton Press, 1924.
- Coleman, J. Winston Jr. *Slavery Times in Kentucky*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.
- Collier-Thomas, Bettye. *Jesus, Jobs, And Justice: African American Women And Religion*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, 2nd Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Cooper, Anna Julia. *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. Xenia, OH: The Aldine Printing House, 1892.
- Daniel, Sadie Iola. *Women Builders*. Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1931.
- Davis, Elizabeth Lindsay. *Lifting as They Climb*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933 reprint edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

- _____. *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs*. 1922, reprint edition New York: G.K. Hall, 1997.
- Davis, John P., ed. *The American Negro Reference Book*. Yonkers, NY: Educational Heritage, 1966.
- Dodson, Jualynne E. *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the A.M.E. Church*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Dunnigan, Alice Allison. *The Fascinating Story of Black Kentuckians: Their Heritage and Traditions*. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1982.
- Duster, Alfreda, ed. *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Easter, Opal V. *Nannie Helen Burroughs*. New York : Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.
- Fleming, G. James and Christian E. Burckel, eds. *Who's Who in Colored America: An illustrated Biographical Directory of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in the United States, 7th ed.* Yonkers, NY: Burckel & Assoc., 1950.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Black Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- Fredrickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971.
- Freeman, Edward A. *The Epoch of Negro Baptists and the Foreign Mission Board: National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.* Kansas City, KS: The Central Seminary Press, 1953.
- Gaines, Kevin K. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Giddings, Paula J. *In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1988.
- _____. *Ida, A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching*. New York: Harper Collins, 2008.
- _____. *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*. New York: Morrow & Co., 1984.

- Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Golden Jubilee: Baptist Women's State Missionary Convention of Kentucky 1953*. Louisville: American Baptist, 1953.
- Golden Rule Foundation. *Constructive Philanthropy: An Historical Sketch, a Review and an Interpretation of the Golden Rule Foundation*. New York, 1940.
- Grantham, Dewey. *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
- Hardin, John A. *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.
- _____. *Onward and Upward: A Centennial History of Kentucky State University 1886-1986*. Frankfort: Kentucky State University, 1987.
- Harley, Sharon and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1978.
- Harris, Lawrence, *Negro Population of Lexington in Professions, Business, Education and Religion*. Lexington, KY: Harris, 1907.
- Harrison, Earl L. *The Dream and the Dreamer: An Abbreviated Story of the Life of Dr. Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls at Washington, D.C.* Washington, D.C.: Nannie H. Burroughs Literature Foundation, 1956.
- Harrison, Lowell H. *The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1978.
- Harrison, Lowell H. and James C. Klotter. *A New History of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.
- Hartshorn, W. N. *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro since His Emancipation*. Boston: Priscilla Publishing, 1910.
- Hendricks, Wanda A. *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- Hill, Susan T. *The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education, 1960-1982*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1984.
- Hine, Darlene Clark. *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession 1890-1950*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- _____. *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- _____. *When the Truth is Told: A History of Black Women's Culture and Community in Indiana, 1875-1950*. Indianapolis: National Council of Negro Women, 1981.
- Hine, Darlene Clark, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn. eds. *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Hollingsworth, Randolph. *Lexington: Queen of the Bluegrass*. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004.
- Hull, Gloria T., ed. *Give Us Each Day: The Diary of Alice Dunbar-Nelson*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1984.
- Hutchinson, Louise Daniel. *Anna J. Cooper: A Voice from the South*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982.
- Howard, Victor B. *Black Liberation in Kentucky: Emancipation and Freedom, 1862-1884*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.
- Hunter, Tera W. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Ingram, J. H. *Religious Training in Education for Negroes in Kentucky*. Frankfort: Kentucky State College, 1940.
- Irvin, Helen Deiss. *Women in Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1979.
- Johnson, Dorothy Sharpe and Lula Goolsby Williams. *Pioneering Women of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church*. Charlotte, NC: A.M.E. Zion Publishing House, 1996.
- Johnson, Karen A. *Uplifting the Women and the Race: The Educational Philosophies and Social Activism of Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.

- Johnson, Kimberley. *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Johnson, W.D. *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: The Standard Print, 1897.
- Jones, Adrienne Lash. *Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950*, in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History*, vol. 12. Brooklyn: Carlson, 1990.
- Jones, Beverly Washington. *Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954*, in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History*, vol. 13. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Company, 1990.
- Jordan, Lewis G. *Negro Baptist History, U.S.A. 1750-1930*. Nashville: National Baptist Convention, 1930.
- Kentucky's Black Heritage: The Role of the Black People in the History of Kentucky from Pioneer Days to the Present*. Frankfort: Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 1971.
- Kentucky Club Woman: Kentucky Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 1918-1919-1920-1921, Newport, Maysville, Mt. Sterling & Covington, Kentucky*. Louisville: American Baptist, 1924.
- Kentucky Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in Kentucky from Interviews with Former Slaves*. Typewritten records prepared by the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938. Boston, MA: Applewood Books, 2006.
- Kleber, John E., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997, 2001.
- Kletzing, H. F. and W. H. Croghan. *Progress of a race; or, the remarkable advancement of the American Negro; from the bondage of slavery, ignorance, and poverty, to the freedom of citizenship, intelligence, affluence, honor, and trust*. Atlanta: J.L. Nichols & Co., 1898.
- Knupfer, Anne Meis. *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Lerner, Gerda, ed. *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*. New York: Vintage, 1973.
- Library of North American Biographies-Volume 7: Scholars and Educators*. Princeton, NJ: Philip Lief Group, Inc., 1990.

- Lincoln, C. Eric and Lawrence H. Mamiya. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990.
- Link, William A. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Lowenberg, Bert James and Ruth Bogin, eds. *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.
- Lucas, Marion B. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: Volume 1, From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992.
- Mather, Frank Lincoln, ed. *Who's Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent, vol.1*. Chicago: Mather, 1915.
- Mayberry, B.D. *A Century of Agriculture in the 1890 Land-Grant Institutions and Tuskegee University, 1890-1990*. New York: Vantage Press, 1991.
- McKean, Else. *Up Hill*. New York: Shady Hill Press, 1947.
- McMurry, Linda O. *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971.
- Mjagkij, Nina, ed. *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2001.
- National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses: Biennial Convention, Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, Louisville, KY Beginning August 22, 1949*. (Conference program) p. 11.
- National Association of Colored Women. *Constitution of the National Association of Colored Women*. Louisville: W.H. Steward Printer, 1904.
- _____. *The Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., Part I*. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994; *Part II*. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995.
- Negro Year Book: an Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro*. Tuskegee Institute, AL: Negro Year Book Publ. Co., 1919, 1926, 1932, 1938, 1946, 1947, 1952.

- Neverdon-Morton, Cynthia. *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*. New York: Norton, 1986.
- Parrish, C.H. *Golden Jubilee of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky: The Story of 50 Years' Work from 1865-1915*. Louisville: Mayes Printing Co., 1915.
- Payne, Charles M. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Peck, Elisabeth S. *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1955.
- _____. *Nurses in Time: Developments in Nursing Education, 1898-1963*. Berea, KY: Berea College Appalachian Fund, 1964.
- Penn, I. Garland. *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*. Springfield, MA: Willey & Co., 1891.
- Penn, I. Garland and J.W.E. Bowen, eds. *The United Negro: His Problems and His Progress: Containing the Addresses and Proceedings the Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress, held August 6-11, 1902*. Atlanta: D.E. Luther Publishing, 1902.
- Pickens William. *Nannie Burroughs and the School of the Three B's*. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1921.
- Ploski, Harry A. and James Williams, ed. *Reference Library of Black America*. 5 vols. Detroit: Gale Research, 1990.
- Rawick, George P., ed. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*. 19 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972.
- Rice, Mitchell F. and Woodrow Jones, Jr. *Public Policy and the Black Hospital: From Slavery to Segregation to Integration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Richardson, Harry V. *Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism Among Blacks in America*. New York: Anchor Press, 1976.
- Richings, G. F. *Evidence of Progress Among Colored People*. Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Co., 1896, 1902.
- The Roll of Honor and Service: Lecturers and Artists of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority*. Baltimore, MD: The Garland Press, 1941.

- Ross, Mrs. S.D. *The Minister's Wife*. Detroit, MI: Arbora Publishing Co., 1946.
- Rouse, Jacqueline. *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Russell, Harvey C. *The Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1946*. Norfolk, VA: Guide Quality Press, 1946.
- Salem, Dorothy C., ed. *African American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993.
- _____. *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*. Brooklyn: Carlson, 1990.
- Schultz, Rima Lumin and Adele Hast, eds. *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990: a Biographical Dictionary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Schwartz, Marie Jenkins. *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Scott, Anne Firor. *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Scott, Emmett J. *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*. Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919.
- Scruggs, L. A. *Women of Distinction: Remarkable in Works and Invincible in Character*. Raleigh, NC: Scruggs, 1893.
- Sears, Richard. *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.
- _____. *Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man*. Berea, KY: Berea College Press, 1986.
- Shaw, Stephanie J. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Sicherman, Barbara and Carol Hurd Green, eds. *Notable American Women, the Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Simms, James. *Simms' Blue Book and National Negro Business and Professional Directory*. Chicago: Simms, 1923.

- Smallwood, Stephanie E. *Saltwater Slavery : A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Smith, Edward D. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- Smith, Gerald L. *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.
- Smith, Jessie Carney, ed., *Notable Black American Men*, Detroit: Gale Research Publ., 1999.
- _____. *Notable Black American Women, Book II*, Detroit: Gale Research Publ., 1996.
- Smith, Lucy Harth, ed. *Pictorial Directory of the Kentucky Association of Colored Women*. Lexington, KY: The Kentucky Association of Colored Women, 1946.
- Smith, S.E. *History of the Anti-Separate Coach Movement of Kentucky: containing half-tone cuts and biographical sketches*. Evansville, IN: National Afro-American Journal and Directory, ca.1895.
- Smith, Susan Lynn. *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890-1950*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Staupers, Mabel L. *No Time for Prejudice*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1961.
- Stewart, Sallie. *NACG Girl's Guide*. Washington, D.C.: The National Association of Colored Women, 1946.
- Tallant, Harold D. *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003.
- Terrell, Mary Church. *A Colored Woman in a White World*. Washington, D.C.: Ransdell, 1940.
- Thomas, A. B. *Pathfinders: The Progress of Colored Graduate Nurses*. New York: Kay Printing House, 1929.
- Tindall, George B. *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967.
- U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*. (Bowling Green, Warren, Kentucky). Census of Population.

- U. S. Bureau of the Census. *United States Federal Census. 1880*. (Bowling Green, Warren, Kentucky). Census of Population.
- U.S. Census. *1900 United States Federal Census* [Database online]. Louisville Ward 10, Jefferson, Kentucky: RollT623 531, 10B. (Ancestry.com accessed January 22, 2009.)
- United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1910. Louisville Ward, Jefferson, Kentucky , Roll T624..486; p. 4A Enumeration District: 150; Image: 357. (Ancestry.com. 1910 United States Federal Census, on-line database accessed Feb. 18, 2008).
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Compendium of the Tenth United States Census*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Negroes in the United States, 1920-32*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census of the United States , 1920., Volume II, General Report and Analytical Tables. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922.
- Vickrey, Charles V., ed. *The Golden Rule Book*. New York: Golden Rule Foundation, 1933.
- Vroman, Mary E. *Shaped to its Purpose: Delta Sigma Theta, the First Fifty Years*. New York: Random House, 1965.
- Weeden, H. C. *Weeden's History of the Colored People of Louisville*. Louisville, KY: H.C.Weeden, 1897.
- Weisenfeld, Judith. *African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Wesley, Charles Harris. *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., 1984.
- White, Deborah Gray. *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: Norton, 1985.

- _____. *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1998.
- Williams, Lawrence H. *The Charles H. Parrishes: Pioneers in African American Religion and Education, 1880-1989*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellon Press, 2002.
- Williams, Lillian S. *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: The Creation of an African American Community, Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Wilson, Atwood S. *Proceedings of the Kentucky Negro Education Association, 1877-1913*. Kentucky State University Archives.
- Wilson, Shannon H. *Berea College: An Illustrated History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006.
- Wolcott, Victoria W. *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Woodson, Carter G. and Charles Wesley. *The Negro in Our History*. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1966.
- Wright, George C. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: Volume 2, In Pursuit of Equality, 1890-1980*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992.
- _____. *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985.
- _____. *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings."* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1990.
- Wright, R. R., Jr. *Encyclopedia of African Methodism Episcopal Church*. Philadelphia, PA: The Book Concern of the AME Church, 1947.
- _____. *Who's Who in the General Conference*, Philadelphia, PA: AME Book Concern, 1924.
- Yenser, Thomas, ed. *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America*. Brooklyn, NY: Thomas Yenser, 1933.

Secondary Sources: Articles, Book chapters, Circulars, Pamphlet etc.

- Berkeley, Kathleen C. "Colored Ladies Also Contributed: Black Women's Activities from Benevolence to Social Welfare, 1866-1896" in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Company, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 181-203.
- Bogert, Pen. "A Woman of Courage: Mary Victoria Cunningham Smith," *The Griot* 1(Summer2000).
- Brady, Marilyn Dell. "Kansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs: 1900-1930," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, 9 (Spring 1986): 19-30.
- _____. "Organizing Afro-American Girls' Clubs in Kansas in the 1920's," *Frontiers*, 9:2 (1987), 69-73.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "What Has Happened Here: The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995, 39-54.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke," *Signs: Journal in Culture and Society* 14 (Spring 1989): 610-633.
- Burnside, Jacqueline, "Black Symbols: Extraordinary Achievements by Ordinary Women" in *Appalachian Heritage*, 15, 3 (Summer, 1987), 11-17.
- Burnside, Jacqueline G. "Berea's First Generation of Black Women, 1866-1904." *In Women in Berea's History: A Symposium for Women's History Week*. Berea, KY: Berea College, 1985, 18-19.
- Byars, Laurretta Flynn. "E. Belle Mitchell Jackson," in *Notable Black American Women, Book II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996, 317-320.
- "Club Work among Colored Women." *Colored American Magazine*, 11, 2 (August 1906), 83-90.
- Dagbovie, Pero Gaglo. "Black Women, Carter G. Woodson, and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950." *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Winter 2003), 21-41.
- Dickerson, Dennis C., "Martha Jayne Keys and the Ordination of Women in the African Methodist Church," *AME Church Review* 118:385 (January-March 2002), 72-83.

- Feldstein, Ruth. "I Wanted the Whole World to See," in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 264-303.
- Ferguson, Earline Rae. "The Woman's Improvement Club of Indianapolis: Black Women Pioneers in Tuberculosis, 1903-1933," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 84 (Sept. 1988): 237-261.
- Hanawalt, Leslie L. "Henry Fitzbutler: Detroit's First Black Medical Student." *Detroit in Perspective: A Journal of Regional History* 1, no. Winter (1973): 126-140.
- Harley, Sharon. "Mary Church Terrell: Genteel Militant," in Leon Litwack and August Meier, eds. *Black Leaders in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995. pp. 3-24.
- Johnson, Waverly B. "Red Cross Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 57(4) (July 1965):332-334.
- Kendricks, Ruby M. "They Also Serve: The National Association of Colored Women, Inc.," *Negro History Bulletin* 17 (March 1954): 171-175.
- "KEA Commission Announces New Award Program" *KEA News: Official Publication of the Kentucky Education Association*, vol. 10, no. 18, p.1. February 7, 1974.
- Knupfer, Anne Meis. "'Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood': African-American Women's Clubs in Chicago, 1890 to 1920." *Journal of Women's History*, 7(3) (1995), 58-76.
- Kremer, Gary. "'Yours for the Race': The Life and Work of Josephine Silone Yates." *Missouri Historical Review*, 90 (1996), 199-215.
- Lee, B.F. "Negro Organizations." In *Church and Community Among Black Southerners, 1865-1900*, edited by Donald G. Neiman, 387-395. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.
- Lerner, Gerda. "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," *Journal of Negro History* 59 (April 1974): 158-167.
- Lexington City Directory and rural postal directory routes for 1906-07*. Columbus, Oh. : R. L. Polk and Company, 1906.

- Low, W. Augustus, and Virgil A. Clift, eds. "Nurses" in *Encyclopedia of Black America*. New York: McGraw hill Book Co., 1981, 652-654.
- McKenzie, Andre. "In the Beginning: the Early History of the Divine Nine." In *African American Fraternities and Sororities: the Legacy and the Vision*, edited by Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks and Clarenda M. Phillips. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005.
- Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. "Domestic Feminism Conservatism, Sex Roles, and Black Women's Clubs 1893-1896," *Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences* 24 (Fall 1987): 166-177.
- Nelson, Paul David. "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858-1908," *Journal of Negro History*. 59, no. 1 (Jan 1974): 13-27.
- Prather, James H. *Prather's Lexington city directory : containing a complete list of residents, and a classified business directory, of the mercantile, manufacturing and professional interests of the city*. Lexington, Kentucky: Prather, 1890, 1895.
- Rouse, Jacqueline Anne. "Out of the Shadow of Tuskegee: Margaret Murray Washington, Social Activism, and Race Vindication." *Journal of Negro History*, 81 (1996), 31-46.
- Scott, Anne Firor. "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations", *Journal of Southern History*, 56 (1990): 3-22.
- Sears, Richard. "Early Berea History: Berea's First Black Teacher." *The Pinnacle* (Berea, KY), February 20, 1988.
- Shaw, Stephanie J. "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women", in Darlene Clark Hide, ed., "*We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible*": *A Reader in Black Women's History*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995, 433-447.
- Smith, Gerald L. "Commission on Interracial Cooperation" in Charles Lowery and John Marszalek, eds., *Encyclopedia of African-American Civil Rights* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 121.
- Solinger, Rickie, "Race and 'Value': Black and White Illegitimate Babies, in the U.S., 11945-65," in Vicki Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, eds. *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History, 2nd edition*. New York: Routledge, 1994, 463-78.

- Speller, Julia M. "Mary Fitzbutler Waring" in Schultz, Rima Lumin and Adele Hast, eds. *Women Building Chicago 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, 936-9.
- Stetson, Erlene. "Black Feminism in Indiana, 1893-1933," *Phylon* 64 (December 1983), 292-98.
- Taylor, Traki L. "Womanhood Glorified: Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Training School for Women and Girls, Inc., 1909-1961" *The Journal of African American History* 87 (Autumn, 2002), 391. New Perspectives on African American History.
- Thompson, Ernest Trice. "Black Presbyterians, Education, and Evangelism after the Civil War." In *Church and Community Among Black Southerners 1865-1900*, edited by Donald G. Nieman, 302-326. New York: Garland, 1994.
- White, Deborah Gray, "The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism," in Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds. *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 247-269.
- Williams, Lillian S. "And Still I Rise: Black Women and Reform: Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940." *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, 14:2 (1990), 7-33.

Electronic databases and web sites

- About Lincoln: A Legacy of Producing Leaders*. <http://www.lincoln.edu/about.html> (accessed July 10, 2009).
- James M. Prichard (May 9, 2006) "Into the Fiery Furnace: Anti-Slavery Prisoners in the Kentucky State Penitentiary 1844 -1870." Kentucky Educational Television. *Kentucky's Underground Railroad: Passage to Freedom*: <http://www.ket.org/underground/research/prichard.htm> (accessed June 1, 2009).
- Marcia G. Synnott. "Burroughs, Nannie Helen", <http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00132.html>; *American National Biography Online*. Feb 2000. Access Date Wed. Sep. 6 17:31:05 EDT 2006. Copyright 2000 American Council of Learned Societies. Published by Oxford University .
- New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, 1905. National Archives Microfilm Publication M237. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36; National Archives, Washington, D.C. Microfilm roll T715_605 p. 105, line 22.(Ancestry.com accessed March 22, 2009).

Vita

KAREN COTTON MCDANIEL

Education

M.S.L.S., Library Science, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY, 1975.

B.S., Business Administration, Berea College, Berea, KY, 1973.

Professional Positions

Visiting Assistant Professor, Berea College, 2010-2011.

Visiting Scholar, Eastern Kentucky University, 2007- 2010.

Director of Libraries/Professor, Kentucky State University, 1989- 2005.

Program Coordinator/Archives, Kentucky Department for Libraries, 1987-1989.

Librarian Senior, Kentucky Department for Libraries, 1985-1987.

Program Coordinator/Law Librarian, Kentucky Dept. of Public Advocacy, 1983-1985.

Asst. Librarian/Instructor, Kentucky State University, 1975-1983.

Publications

Kentucky African American Encyclopedia, co editor with John Hardin, and Gerald Smith. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. (Forthcoming 2015).

McDaniel, Karen Cotton. "Altruistic Activism: The Life Work of Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Fouse." In *Kentucky Women: Their Lives and Times*, edited by Melissa A. McEuen and Thomas H. Appleton. Athens: University of Georgia Press, under contract.

"Mary Ellen Britton: A Potent Agent for Public Reform." in *The Griot: The Journal of African American Studies on Kentucky*, 32, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 52-61.

"Georgia Powers," in *African American National Biography*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

"Mary Levi Smith," in *African American National Biography*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

“Mae Street Kidd,” in *African American National Biography*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

“Annie Nathan Meyer,” in *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance, Vol. 2*. Edited by Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman. New York: Routledge, 2004.

“United Colored Democracy,” in *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance, Vol. 2*. Edited by Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman. New York: Routledge, 2004.

“Albert E. Meyzeek,” in *Encyclopedia of Louisville*. Edited by John Kleber. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

“Charles W. Anderson, Jr.,” in *Encyclopedia of Louisville*. Edited by John Kleber. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

“Muhammad Ali,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998. (reprinted in *Black Heroes*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 2001).

“Charles W. Anderson, Jr.,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“George C. Clement,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“Albert E. Meyzeek,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“Charles H. Parrish, Sr.,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“William Henry Steward,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“Edward E. Underwood,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998.

“Whitney M. Young, Jr.,” in *Notable Black American Men*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1998. (reprinted in *Black Heroes*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 2001).

“Mary Levi Smith,” in *Kentucky Women: Two Centuries of Indomitable Spirit and Vision*. Edited by Eugenia K. Potter. Louisville: Big Tree Press, 1997.

“Emma C. Clement,” in *Notable Black American Women, II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996.

"Eleanor Young Love," in *Notable Black American Women, II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996.

"Lucy Harth Smith," in *Notable Black American Women, II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996.

"Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe," in *Notable Black American Women, II*. Edited by Jessie Carney Smith. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996. (reprinted in *Powerful Black Women*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1996).

Scholastic and professional honors

Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society, Tau Chapter, University of Kentucky.

Torch of Excellence Award, University of Kentucky, 2007.

Southern Regional Education Board Dissertation Fellowship, 2005.

Outstanding Alumnus, College of Library & Information Science, University of Kentucky, 1999.