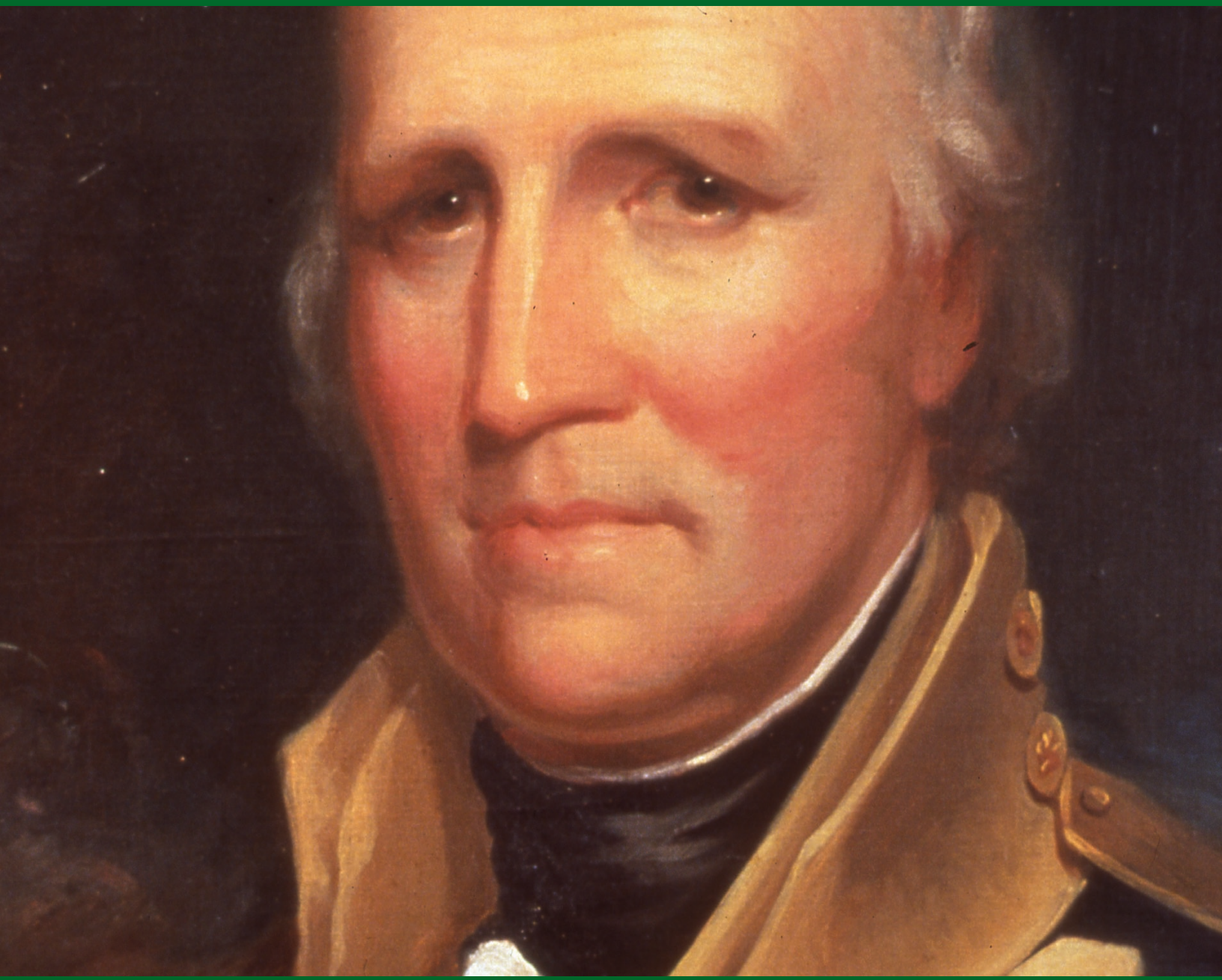
Volume 12, Number 1
Spring 2012

The Filson

A Publication of The Filson Historical Society, Kentucky's Oldest and Largest Independent Historical Society



FROM THE PRESIDENT

"Accounts of the past can inform and educate us by providing context and perspectives that allow us to make thoughtful decisions about the future to delight and enrich us, enlarging and intensifying the experience of being alive."* This quote from the article *The Gift of History* by Dennis O'Toole, allows us to consider the value that knowledge of our past offers. While interest in history remains strong, the environment is changing, presenting both challenges and new opportunities. As the education system struggles in difficult economic times, institutions like The Filson Historical Society can embrace the growing technological advantages of today to fulfill its mission to protect, preserve and tell the significant stories of Kentucky and the Ohio Valley history and culture.

The Filson offers the people of the Ohio Valley Region access to the past through its collections and the ability to learn its important experiences. Dennis O'Toole's article goes on to say, *"By helping communities collect and conserve history's sources, and by joining with the public to study them and consider and debate their meaning, history institutions connect the people, thoughts, and events of yesterday with the active memories and abiding interest of people today."* The ability to identify and remember the relevant experiences of the past is the key to unlocking the importance of history to society. By recalling the experiences of those generations that preceded us, we can continually build a stronger society for our children. The Filson along with a number of other institutions are critical to the growth of our community. And through our joint efforts we will contribute to the continuing development of the community, state, and region.

I would like to welcome our new board members Anne Arensberg, Bob Kulp, Bob Shaw and Ken Clay and to thank the remaining board and the staff for their continuing support. Finally, I want to thank all our members and supporters for the generous contributions that enable The Filson to fulfill its mission.

*From *AASLH Technical Leaflet, #252*

J. McCauley Brown
President

FROM THE DIRECTOR

On May 17, The Filson will open a new gallery exhibit entitled "20th Century African American Collections at The Filson" to accompany our Spring Filson Institute's Public Conference "National Issues, Local Struggles: The Civil Rights Movement in the Ohio Valley and Beyond."

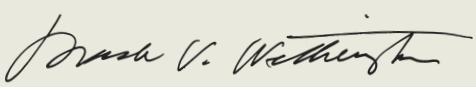
A reception and viewing of the exhibit will begin at 5:30 pm and precede Prof. Emeritus John Dittmer's keynote address, "The Civil Rights Movement and the Possibilities of Democracy," at 6:30 pm. The Institute will continue on May 18 with a day of lectures and a panel discussion by local and national scholars and on Saturday May 19 with a field trip (see p.10). You will receive a conference brochure and registration information shortly and can learn more by visiting our website.

The exhibit will feature some of The Filson's unique materials drawn from our library, manuscript, photograph, and museum collections spanning the 20th century. These items include a guitar played by Jug band musician Fred Smith, Dinnie Thompson's Knights of Friendship/Sisters of the Mysterious Ten ceremonial sword, and WWII letters of a soldier who served in Burma, as well as photographs of architect Samuel Plato and examples of his architectural plans.

For the first time at The Filson, visitors will see a contemporary courtroom drawing of the "Black Six" during their trial for allegedly conspiring to blow up oil refineries on the Ohio River. This trial sparked two years of demonstrations (1968-1970) and ended when the charges were dismissed for lack of evidence.

While the items in this exhibit represent a selection of our African American holdings, we have a long way to go to make this collection reflect of the scope and depth of the African American experience in our city, state, and region, especially for the 20th century. I hope this Spring Institute and this exhibit will inform the public regarding the types of materials we collect, encourage donations to our growing collections and stimulate discussions of the ongoing Civil Rights movement.

I look forward to seeing you May 17-19.



Mark V. Wetherington, Ph.D.
Director

Cover Photo: Posthumous idealized portrait of George Rogers Clark attributed to Matthew H. Jouett, circa 1825

The Filson
is published quarterly by
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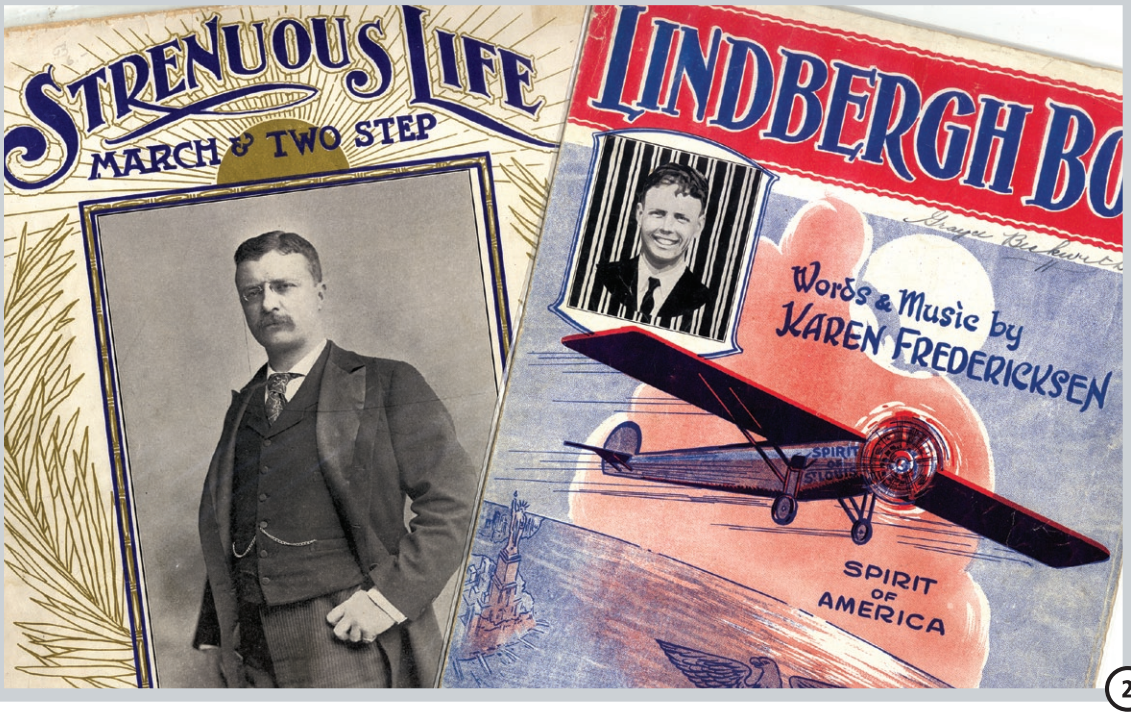
OUR MISSION:
To collect, preserve, and tell the significant stories of Kentucky and the Ohio Valley history and culture.

Recent Acquisitions

1



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3

4

1. Ribbon of the 39th National GAR Encampment, Denver, CO 1903-Delegate
2. Two Examples of the addition to the Barney Sheet Music Collection
3. Merritt Lewis and GAR medals
4. Portrait of an Unidentified Woman, Signed R pinxit 1840

The Filson has been fortunate to add a number of acquisitions to our collection. From art work to manuscripts to artifacts, material worthy of preservation and welcome additions to our collection have been received in recent months. Highlights include a small 1840 portrait of an unidentified young woman. The artist signed it "R pinxit 1840" and the backing identifies the framer as "Hasbrook & Howe, Louisville, Ky." This gift is from Dr. Ted Steinbock who also donated a series of sketches done by artist James L. Russell in the 1930s.

Last year marked the beginning of the Sesquicentennial of the American Civil War. There is still material from that tragic conflict in private hands that makes its way to The Filson. A wonderful collection of Grand Army of the Republic Encampment medals was donated by Merritt Drye Lewis, the great grandson of Major Levin Merritt Drye, of the 6th Kentucky Cavalry, Union. For decades, Major Drye attended GAR reunions in cities across the country. Mr. Lewis also donated a bullet-riddled branch from a red oak bush that his great-grandfather picked up during the Battle of Chickamauga.

Among other acquisitions are additions Walter Barney made to the collection of sheet music he presented to The Filson in 2009. He also donated a collection of 20th century artist autographs. And these are just a few of the highlights!

Browsing in Our Archives

Southern Indiana Treasures in The Filson's Collection

BY JAMES J. HOLMBERG | ASSOCIATE CURATOR OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

The Filson has been collecting regionally since its founding in 1884. Although we are located in Louisville, our mission has always been to collect, preserve, and tell the significant stories of not only Kentucky, but of the Ohio Valley, which of course includes Southern Indiana. Over the years, a great deal of historically significant material regarding that specific area has become part of The Filson's collection, from the days of George Rogers Clark and the frontier village of Clarksville to the terrible years of the Civil War to an early 20th century Jeffersonville ferry boat captain and beyond, we hold important and interesting collections that help document the history of Southern Indiana. Shown here are a few examples of The Filson's Southern Indiana "treasures."

page 2
The Sanderson Fire Engine House in New Albany, no date [late 19th century]

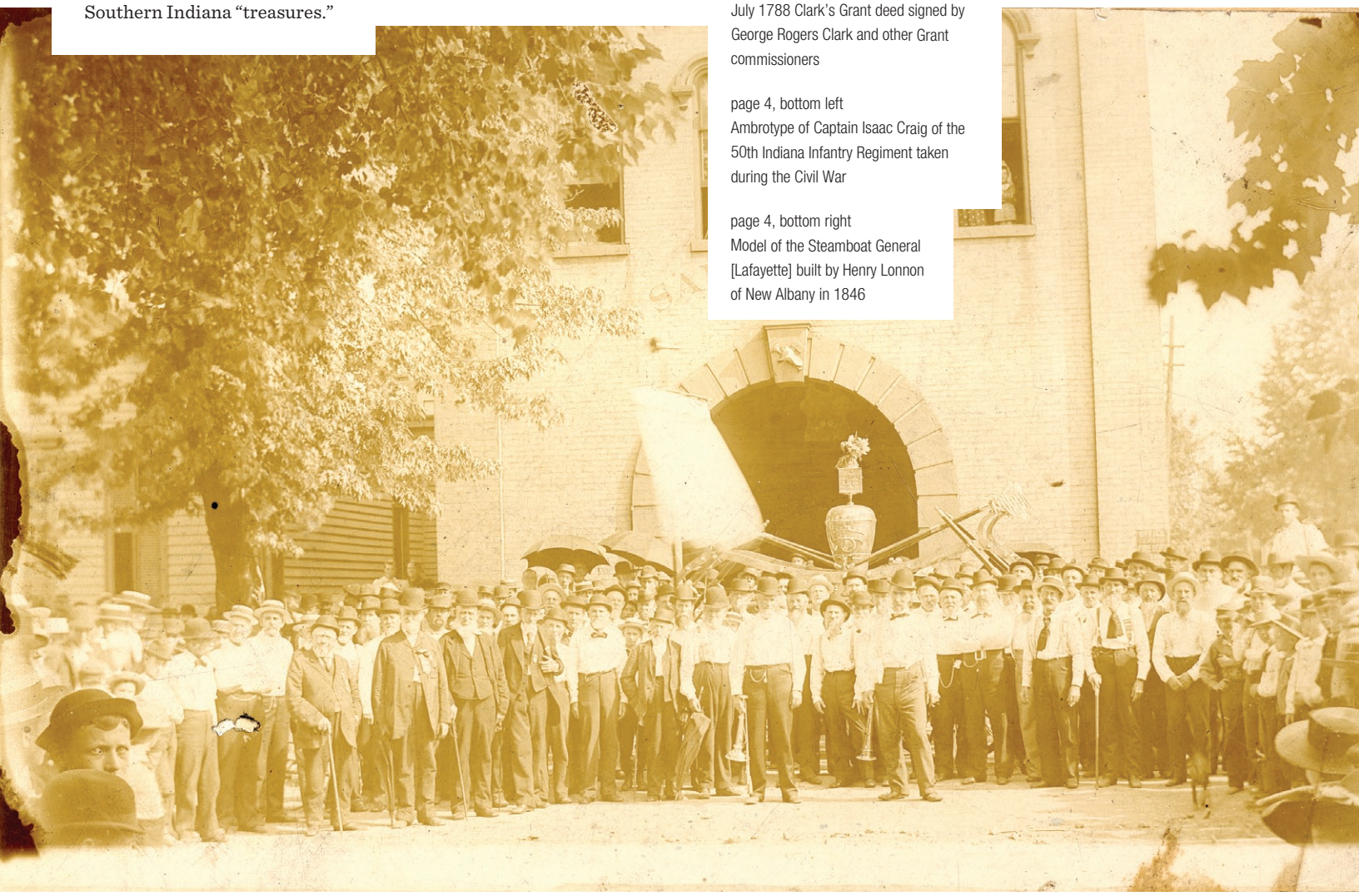
page 3, top
An early plat of Clarksville

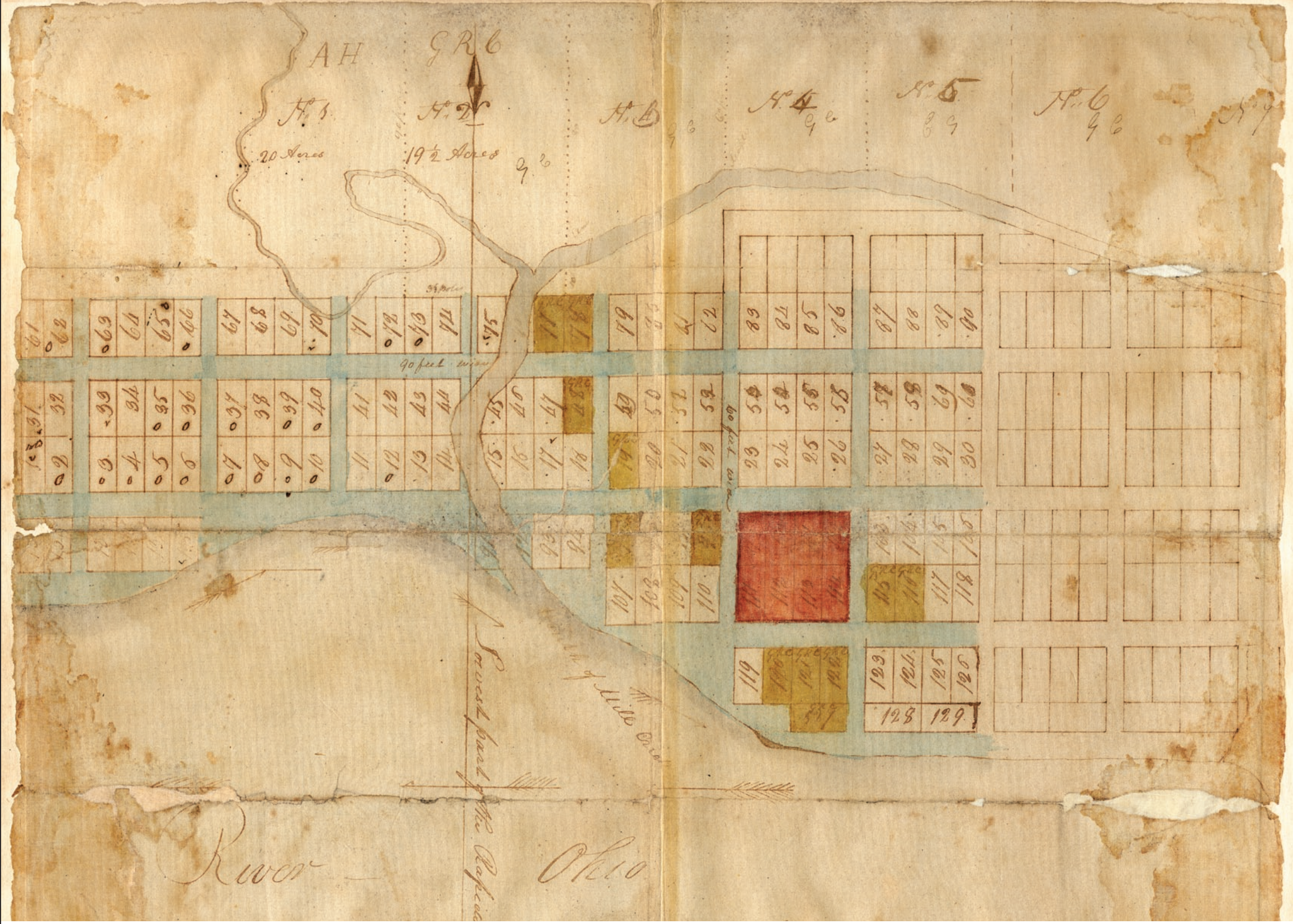
page 3, bottom
The final page of George Rogers Clark's famous November 1779 letter to George Mason reporting on his victorious Illinois Campaign

page 4, top
July 1788 Clark's Grant deed signed by George Rogers Clark and other Grant commissioners

page 4, bottom left
Ambrotype of Captain Isaac Craig of the 50th Indiana Infantry Regiment taken during the Civil War

page 4, bottom right
Model of the Steamboat General [Lafayette] built by Henry Lonnon of New Albany in 1846





95

like Islands in the Seas covered with Buffloes a
other Game; in many Places with a good Glass
You may see all those that is on their feet in hal
a Million of Acres; so level is the Country, which
some future day will excell in Cattle. The Settle
ments of the Illinois commenced about one
hundred Years ago by a few Traders from Can
my Reflections on on that head its situation the
probability of a flourishing Trade the state
of the Country at Present what its capable of
Producing My opinion Respecting the


This Indenture made this eighteenth day of July one thousand seven hund and eighty eight Between John Campbell, George Rogers Clark, William Clark, Abraham Chaplin Richard Taylo James Francis Moore William Croghan & Andrew Heth Gentlemen Commissioners for apportioning the Land granted to the Illinois Regiment &c of the one part, and Richard Terrell of the other part Witnesseth: Tha whereas a certain tract or parcel of Land containing one hundred and forty nine thousand Acres lying and being on the North W side of the Ohio River, was granted by the Commonwealth of Virginia, by Patent bearing date at Richmond the fourtee of december one thousand seven hundred and eighty six, unto certain Commissioners in trust, to be laid out and divi among the Claimants agreeable to an Act of Assembly intituled an Act for Surveying and apportioning the Lands gran to the Illinois Regiment and establishing a Town within the said Grant, and one other Act to amend the Act aforesaid pa in the October Session one thousand seven hundred and eighty six. The same being now laid out, the said Commission herein first mentioned having received of the said Richard Terrell the proportion of the fees payable to the Regist the Land office for so much Land as is hereby to be conveyed, do Grant and confirm unto the said Richa Terrell his Heirs and Assigns a certain tract or parcel of Land in the Grant aforesaid, containing five hundr Acres Number thirty eight, being part of Martin Carneys claim allowed by the Board of Commissioners in sequence of Military service performed by the said Carney in the Regiment aforesaid, which part beca vested in said Terrell by Assignment &c and bounded as followeth, to wit, Beginning at a Beech, th North corner of John Swans Survey Number thirty seven, running thence with Swansline, South degrees East three hundred poles to a Beech, North fifty degrees East two hundred sixty six and two third poles, crossing the Sixmile Island Lick Branch several times, to a Beech; North forty degrees West th hundred poles to a Beech and Walnut, thence South fifty degrees West two hundred sixty six and two thi poles to the beginning, With its appurtenances, To have and to hold the said tract or parcel of Land wi its appurtenances to the said Richard Terrell and his Heirs forever In Witness whereof the Comm -oners have hereunto set their hands and Seals the day and Year first above written.

Signed Sealed & Delivered in the presence of

Christr. Greenup.
Saml. Brodhead jr.
Cath. Joyes.

G R Clark
Abm. Chaplin
W Clark
Richd. Taylor
James F Moore
W Croghan
Andw Heth

RECENT INTERNS AT THE FILSON

Lydelle Abbott

Interns continue to learn the ins and outs of an archives and museum through hands on experience. Our most recent Boehl intern was Lydelle Abbott. Lydelle followed something of an unusual path into the museum field. A graduate of Western Kentucky University, Lydelle worked as a photo journalist for the Bardstown *Kentucky Standard* before deciding to pursue a museum related career. She went abroad to Gothenburg University in Sweden for her masters. Lydelle came for a month and ended up staying for three! She got plenty of hands-on experience and was a tremendous help in mounting the "Steamboats on Western Waters" and "United We Stand – Divided We Fall" exhibits.

Lena Gimbel

Lena Gimbel is our current University of Louisville graduate intern. Lena has focused on the architectural plans of Louisville-based architect D. X. Murphy. This long term project began last year with U of L intern Lori Wilson. Under the supervision of associate curator of special collections Sarah-Jane Poindexter, Lori tackled Murphy's records and this year Lena focused on the plans. Its a real accomplishment and pleasure to now have this collection available to researchers.

THE FILSON HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S EXPANSION

CREATING A CULTURAL AND SPECIAL EVENT DESTINATION

BY RICK ANDERSON, DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT, THE FILSON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This article is the seventh in a series on The Filson Historical Society's Old Louisville Campus Expansion.

All images courtesy of De Leon & Primmer Architecture Workshop, Expansion Architects

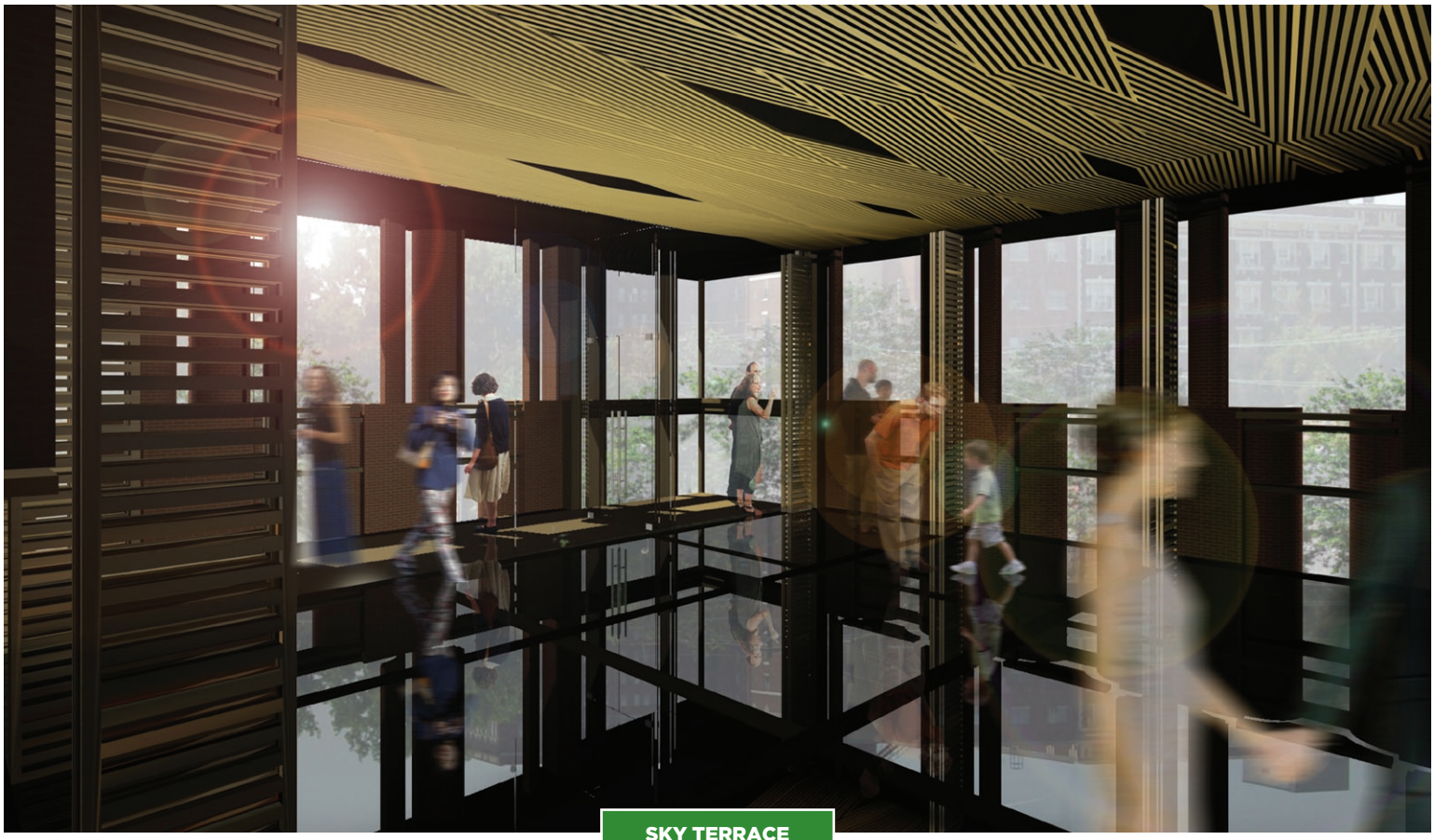
The Filson's transformative Expansion Project at its Old Louisville Campus will result in the modern, substantially larger facilities The Filson needs to continue its mission as a professional historical society dedicated to preserving and telling the significant stories of Kentucky and Ohio Valley history and culture. But the new Campus design will offer more than that. It will give our community another exciting location for cultural and other special events. The Filson will join other great institutions in the Louisville area that combine excellent cultural education opportunities with compelling design and modern, flexible event facilities. The Expansion will, of course, attract and be used by those who want to experience The Filson's outstanding programming in our new, state-of-the-art lecture hall, view our collections in the new and renovated museum-quality exhibit spaces, and use our modern, technologically accessible research library and archives. But it will also attract individuals, organizations and businesses that want to host an important event in a fascinating place.

The new Campus, featuring its beautiful contemporary building and the renovated Ferguson Mansion and Carriage House will be just such a place. The new building, designed by Louisville's award-winning De Leon & Primmer Architecture Workshop, will provide a multitude of attractive spaces for special events . The building's flexible lecture hall will accommodate 260 for lectures or seminars, or 150 for dining, and provide oration-quality acoustics and state-of-the-art audio, visual and telecommunication capabilities. In addition to the remarkable lecture/event facility and new gallery exhibit space, the new building features a Sky Terrace on its top floor affording panoramic views of Louisville, as well as modern catering and storage facilities to support events hosted by the Filson or other users.

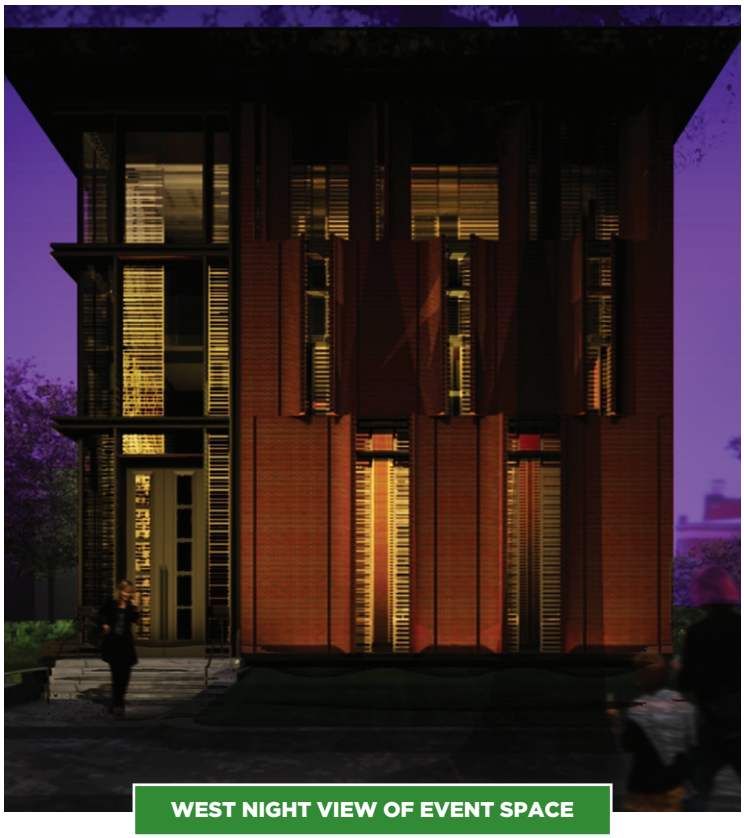
Individually or in combination, the new building's Sky Terrace, lecture and gallery facilities, and the public spaces within the other Campus buildings—all of which will be linked and accessible via an elevated glass walkway system —will constitute an exceptional environment for virtually all types of presentations and events. Coupled with the welcoming tree-lined mall and park-like natural setting that will surround the buildings, as well as ample parking, the Campus will be a unique, stimulating and desirable site for a wide range of educational, business, civic, and social events.

Our Campus Expansion will be a symbol of our dedication to our mission and the public, and of our commitment to Old Louisville, acting as a catalyst for the continued revitalization of the urban neighborhood that has been our home since 1986. But the Expansion is exciting and transformative because it will create not only an education destination, but a cultural and event destination as well—right here in Old Louisville.

We ask your support for the Campus Expansion Project. For full information on the project we invite you to visit our website at **www.filsonhistorical.org.**



SKY TERRACE



WEST NIGHT VIEW OF EVENT SPACE

LECTURE HALL SET UP FOR BANQUET

FILSON FRIDAY TALKS

JUNE 22

Mark Wetherington, Director of The Filson Historical Society

"Treat Them as Wild Beasts": Civil War Bandits and Guerillas in the Ohio Valley Region

After the fall of 1862 and the Battle of Perryville, most of the conventional fighting between large Union and Confederate armies took place beyond Kentucky's borders, and on the surface the commonwealth was controlled by Federal forces. But the Union Army was never able to adequately occupy and protect the entire state, focusing its resources instead on key transportation arteries and garrison cities and towns. The remainder of Kentucky could be a chaotic and dangerous "no-man's-land" threatened by bandits and guerillas. This lecture explores some examples of wartime activities by these groups and their meanings.

JUNE 29

Jim Holmberg, Curator of Special Collections

"A Government on Wheels": Kentucky's Confederate Government

When war between the North and the South erupted in April 1861 Kentucky as a whole hoped the conflict would be quickly resolved. Although a slave state, Kentuckians strongly believed in the sanctity of the Union. The commonwealth's initial stand of neutrality was unrealistic. Summer elections to the state legislature clearly decided Kentucky for the Union. But tens of thousands of Kentuckians disagreed with that decision and either joined the Confederacy as soldiers or civilian refugees. Many Kentuckians stayed home but lent aid and moral support to the Confederate cause. A number of Kentucky politicians refused to accept Kentucky's decision not to secede and formed a Confederate government. Like the famous brigade in the Confederate Army, this Kentucky Confederate government essentially was an orphan. It could go only where the force of Confederate arms allowed it to, and was frequently on the move. It was, as Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston described it, a "government on wheels." Attend this lecture by Jim Holmberg and learn more about Kentucky's Confederate government.

Secession Calling Card

JULY 6

Jennie Cole, Associate Curator of Special Collections

Melville Otter Briney and Old Louisville

Before she became a celebrated *Louisville Times* columnist, educating and entertaining readers on the city's history with her weekly editorial page entitled "Old Louisville," Melville Otter was a young girl growing up in the neighborhood we now refer to as "Old Louisville." Melville and her parents, John D. Otter and Melvilla Carter Otter, lived on St. James Court, the neighborhood of choice for the city's literary and political elite. Melville's memory books, dating from 1912 through 1916, document her teenage years as the only child of a prominent, well-to-do family in the early twentieth century. Using the multiple manuscript and photograph collections on Melville Otter Briney and her family, Cole will delve into Melville's accounts of life on St. James Court in the 1910s, as well as touch upon her family background, her education and her career as a journalist and author.

JULY 13

Judith Partington, Kara Hennis, and Cassie Bratcher, Library Staff

Rare Pamphlets: An Underutilized Asset in The Filson's Collections

The Filson Historical Society has a large collection of rare pamphlets, an asset that tends to be underutilized by our researchers and members. Join Judith Partington, Cassie Bratcher, and Kara Hennis for an afternoon of examining these important documents. This extensive collection includes lectures, sermons, speeches and almanacs on such topics such as slavery, politics, and religion. There is something for everyone among these historic documents.

AEF Field Artillery, World War I, 1917, Speed Family Collection

JULY 20

Robin Wallace

Images of War from The Filson's Collections

As the bicentennial of the War of 1812 is commemorated this year, the sesquicentennial of the Civil War continues, and as we prepare for the centennial of World War I, The Filson presents an overview of images of war from our collections. Associate Curator of Special Collections Robin Wallace will explore our holdings of war-time imagery related to those individuals from the Ohio Valley region who served our country. From the War of 1812 to the Vietnam War, Kentucky has played a vital role in our nation's conflicts, and our image collection provides a fascinating look at these individuals and stories.

JULY 27

A. Glenn Crothers, Director of Research

Lucy Nichols and the Limits of Freedom in the Post-Civil War Ohio Valley

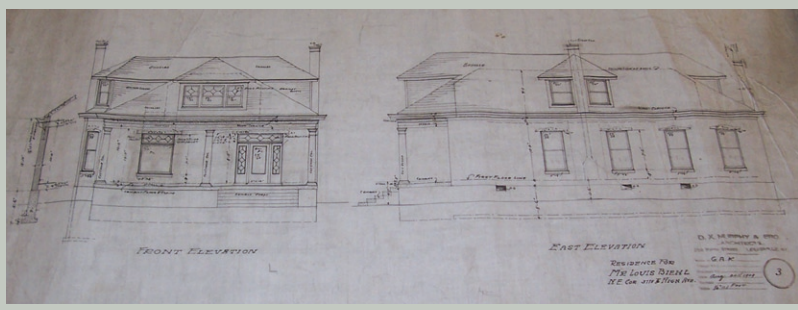
Lucy Nichols ran from her master in Bolivar, Tennessee, to Union Army lines and freedom in August 1862. She became a laundress, cook, and nurse for the Indiana 23rd Volunteer Regiment, and served with them through the duration of the war, seeing action at Vicksburg, in the Atlanta campaign, and Sherman's March to the Sea. After the war, Nichols returned to Indiana with the regiment and settled in New Albany. She remained close to the men of the Indiana 23rd, who honored her wartime service with membership in the New Albany post of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and helped her obtain an army pension in 1898. Yet despite her celebrity, Nichols—or "Aunt Lucy" as the veterans of the 23rd called her—never enjoyed a full measure of equality in post-war Indiana, her status and opportunities circumscribed by her race and gender. This lecture, based on research conducted for the new permanent exhibit about Nichols at the Carnegie Center for Art and History in New Albany, explores the life and times of Lucy Nichols to understand how she carved out a place for herself in a largely hostile post-war world.

AUG 3

Sarah-Jane Poindexter, Associate Curator of Special Collections

The Language of Buildings: An Introduction to The Filson's Architectural Collection

Everyone has heard the old saying, 'if these walls could talk, what stories they would tell.' Join Associate Curator of Special Collections Sarah-Jane Poindexter to explore The Filson's historic architectural collections and delve into the fascinating stories these materials convey. With their distinct language, the paper trails of buildings give us another perspective on history and lend a unique voice to the historical record. Poindexter will discuss what we can learn from these unique collections, highlighting particular drawings of note and addressing the challenges of archiving and preserving architectural records. The non-narrative format of architectural records retains many clues to the myriad people, events, and cultural influences that have inspired our constructed environment. Come learn about former buildings that once graced downtown Louisville (even a proposed grand public theater that never came to fruition), the city's chic residential designers of the 19th and 20th centuries, and pioneering African American and female architects.



Elevation for Louis Biehl residence located at 37th and High Streets. Designed by D. X. Murphy & Bro., Architects, 1909.

AUG 10

Michael Veach, Associate Curator of Special Collections

Distillers and the 18th Amendment

The people in the distilling industry had many arguments as to why prohibition was a bad idea. The problem was that they did not do a good job getting their message to the public. This talk will focus on the arguments against prohibition made by the distillers and then their arguments for the repeal of prohibition. There were many valid arguments as to why prohibition would not work. Legally, the enforcement of prohibition laws was impossible without an army of enforcement officers. Economically, the cost of the enforcement and the loss of tax revenue were too much to endure. E. H. Taylor, Jr., George Garvin Brown, J.M. Atherton and others used these arguments and others as they fought to protect their livelihood and Kentucky's signature industry.

The Filson Institute Public Conference

Spring 2012
May 17-19

National Issues, Local Struggles: The Civil Rights Movement in the Ohio Valley and Beyond

Although national in scope, the twentieth century struggle for black equality depended on the efforts of local women and men committed to securing basic human rights for all Americans within their own neighborhoods, towns, cities, and states. This was a struggle that began long before the sit-ins and protest marches of the 1960s and it continues into the present day. The Filson's spring 2012 public conference, "National Issues, Local Struggles: The Civil Rights Movement in the Ohio Valley and Beyond," explores various strands of the struggle for black civil and political equality, moving beyond a top-down focus on the national movement. The conference brings together leading civil rights scholars and Louisville activists to explore how local people—black and white, women and men—fought for racial justice over many years and together helped transform the United States.

Thursday, May 17

5:30 p.m.

Reception and viewing of the 20th Century African American Collections at The Filson exhibit

6:30 p.m. - Keynote Lecture

The Civil Rights Movement and the Possibilities of Democracy

John Dittmer
Professor Emeritus, DePaw University
B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. in United States History, Indiana University

Friday, May 18

9:30 a.m.

St. Louis, the Border South, and the Place of the Border in Black Freedom Studies

Clarence Lang
Associate Professor, Department of African and African American Studies, The University of Kansas
B.A., Journalism with minor in Black Studies, University of Missouri-Columbia
M.A., History, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville
Ph. D., History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

10:45 a.m.

Women's Important Role in the Civil Rights Movement

Rhonda Y. Williams
Associate Professor and Director of CWRU Social Justice Institute/Alliance, Case Western Reserve University
B.S., Journalism, Summa Cum Laude, University of Maryland College Park
Ph. D., History, University of Pennsylvania

12:00 p.m. - LUNCH

1:00 p.m.

Upon This Rock: African American Migration, Urban Renewal and the Struggle for Open Housing in Louisville, Kentucky

Luther Adams
Associate Professor, Ethnic, Gender and Labor Studies, University of Washington, Tacoma
B.A., History, University of Louisville
Ph. D., History, University of Pennsylvania

2:15 p.m. – Panel Discussion

Moderated by Tracy K'Meyer,
Chairperson and Professor of A&S History, University of Louisville
B.A., History, University of Virginia
M.A. and Ph.D., History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

PANELISTS

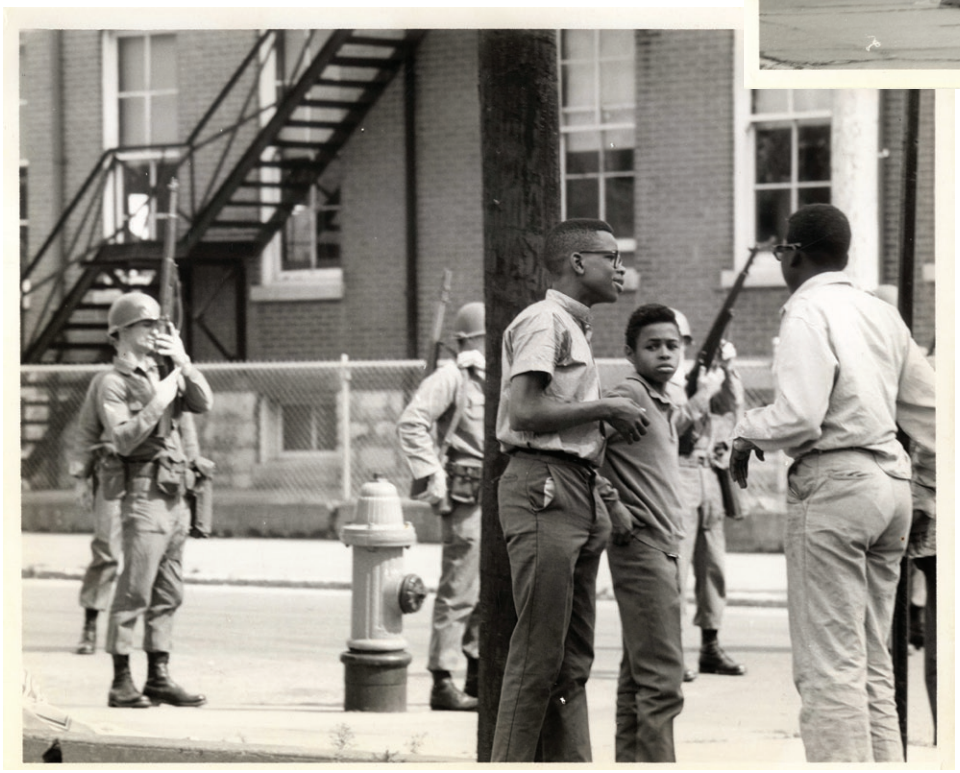
- **J. Blaine Hudson,** Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Louisville
- **Mervin Aubespin,** Former editor at The Courier-Journal
- **Rouel Cunningham,** Longtime NAACP Activist

Saturday, May 19

Field Trip – Civil Rights Driving Tour

Designed by Catherine Fosl
Associate Professor of Women's & Gender Studies/ History and Director of the Anne Braden Institute for Social Justice Research, University of Louisville
B.S., Communications, Georgia State University
MSW, University of Georgia
M.A. and Ph.D., History, Emory University
Led by Catherine Fosl, Mervin Aubespin, and Bob Cunningham

This conference is made possible in part by the Thomas Walker Bullitt Perpetual Trust



These four photographs document in part the racial unrest in Louisville following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968. The Kentucky National Guard was called out regarding possible disturbances in the wake of this tragic event. The photos were taken by St. Matthew's own Dr. George Beury, pastor of the West Louisville United Church of Christ on 41st St. at the time. These photos were taken while driving a colleague home who lived on Dumesnil Street. George recalls a very tense situation and he took the photos surreptitiously to avoid detection.

- Courtesy of The Filson Historical Society

The Filson Historical Society recognizes the winners of the 3rd Annual High School Essay Contest

The Filson Historical Society is pleased to announce the winners of the 3rd Annual High School Essay Contest. In keeping with The Filson's mission to tell significant stories about Kentucky and the Ohio Valley, this year's contest asked high school students to explore and analyze one story, event, or person of significance in the region's history. The committee received over 100 essays in a very competitive field. The first prize winner is rewarded a $1000 Filson Essay Prize and the essay is published in this issue; two runners-up receive $250 prizes. The teacher of the first place winner receives $100.

We were pleased to award first place to Grace Elizabeth Daly, a senior at Sacred Heart Academy in Louisville. Her essay, "An Analysis of the Desegregation Efforts in Neighborhoods throughout the 1960s and 1970's in Louisville, Kentucky" is published below. Ms. Daly's teacher at Sacred Heart is Ms. Susan Foley.

The runners up were Emily K. Allen, a junior at South Oldham High School with "Luxury for Louisville: The Era of the Showboat," and Gabriel N. Sutkamp, a senior at Saint Xavier High School in Louisville with "Kentucky: A Key Element in the Outcome of the American Civil War."

The winners were recognized at the Gertrude Polk Brown Lecture on April 17.

Name: Grace Elizabeth Daly

Grade: 12th

School: Sacred Heart Academy

An Analysis of the Desegregation Efforts in Neighborhoods throughout the 1960s and 1970s in Louisville, Kentucky.

"Because these things will change, can you feel it now? These walls that they put up to hold us back will fall down. It's a revolution, the time will come for us to finally win!" In the song, "Change," by American singer-songwriter, Taylor Swift, the main lyrics of the chorus seem to echo the strength and fortitude that the Civil Rights activists had in Louisville, Kentucky, during the 1960s and 1970s. If the relentless efforts to desegregate housing in Louisville had not occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, then legal barriers segregating neighborhoods might continue to exist in the city today. One could acclaim the legacy of this time period by arguing that the legislation passed as a result of the desegregation efforts brought down the racial barriers and made Louisville neighborhoods much more integrated than the 1950s. However, the majority of African Americans in Louisville were unable to afford houses in white neighborhoods because of their income-status, delaying the progress of neighborhood integration. In addition, though the opportunity was available, many Blacks did not move into new homes simply because of neighborhood traditions. Therefore, the desegregation efforts of the 1960s and 1970s in Louisville, Kentucky were successful to the extent that legally, segregated housing could no longer exist; however, because of the city's socioeconomic barriers, the struggle to desegregate neighborhoods for all races remained a dilemma in the year 2000.

In order to understand how Louisville activists went about desegregating neighborhoods, one must understand how housing influenced society during the Civil Rights Movement. In her book, *A Fragile Movement: The Struggle for Neighborhood Stabilization*, historian Juliet Saltman portrays the civil rights movement in particular urban areas, analyzing the important "linkage of the neighborhood and its organization to the larger community and

society" (Saltman 1). Although she does not directly address Louisville, Saltman reveals how urban communities like Louisville have to desegregate their neighborhoods in order to desegregate the rest of the city, particularly to desegregate the schools. As in the rest of the country, neighborhoods in Louisville during the 1950s were segregated because of the discrimination in the buying and selling of homes and the low paying jobs to which Blacks were generally restricted prevented them from affording the houses in white neighborhoods. This would become a major barrier to the success of desegregation efforts in schools because children went to the schools in their local neighborhood areas. Hence, neighborhood desegregation became a primary endeavor for Civil Rights activists because if the housing system desegregated, then schools and other forms of city life could successfully integrate.

According to historian Dr. Tracy K'Meyer, modern day Louisville neighborhoods are much less segregated than they were in the 1960s because of the desegregation efforts against housing discrimination (K'Meyer-personal interview). In her book *Civil Rights Gateway to the South: Louisville Kentucky, 1945-1980*, Dr. K'Meyer evaluates how the lack of enforcement of the 1917 Buchanan v. Warley decision, which declared housing discrimination illegal, led to "policies of government agencies, financial institutions, and real estate professionals together with public pressure, to [continue keeping] whites and blacks living apart and limit[ing] African Americans' housing options" (K'Meyer 61). This recalcitrant attitude toward the anti-discrimination ruling led to several instances in which Blacks were threatened if they attempted to move into a predominantly white neighborhood in Louisville.

One significant incident occurred when a white couple, Carl and Anne Braden, helped the Wade family, African Americans, move into Shively Park, an all-white neighborhood: "On Sunday, June 27, [1954] and without warning, a dynamite blast destroyed one whole side of the Wade's house" (Fosl 152). The appalling fact is that the bombers were never prosecuted, but rather Carl and Anne Braden were arrested and "indicted for 'criminal syndicalism and sedition'" (qtd. in Adams 116). After being released from jail, Carl and Anne Braden became leading advocates for the desegregation in Louisville. However, in the biography of Anne Braden, the authors contend that due to the "cold War anxieties and an even shriller paranoia over accelerating legal challenges to segregation, to defy the norms of Jim Crow in housing became truly subversive – traitorous even – in the minds of many white southerners in the postwar era" (Fosl 136). This fear of communism in the 1950s seemed to stall further progress in protests and efforts against housing segregation. Upon entering the 1960s, Louisville activists switched their central focus to the desegregation of public accommodations, which seemed to create a progressive atmosphere for the return of housing desegregation efforts.

The peaceful approach to desegregate public accommodations reinvigorated the housing movement in the year 1963. Inspired by the non-violent protests led by Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights activists around the country, African Americans participated in non-violent demonstrations from 1956 to 1963, such as sit-ins, rallies, boycotts of stores that discriminated against Blacks. These efforts proved to be more effective than the actual confrontation of Whites since in February of 1960, "a 'Public Accommodations' ordinance making in unlawful to deny patronage to any person because of race or religion...called for the complete desegregation of downtown restaurants, hotels, and theaters" (Adams 132). These small gradual gains in the public accommodations movement encouraged activists to revive the war against housing segregation. When the "Louisville Defender [a local African American newspaper] argued in 1963 that since nearby states...were considering open occupancy laws, Louisville should do so as well," (K'Meyer 113), the movement to ban housing discrimination, known as the open-housing movement, officially began. From 1963 to 1967, "the open housing issue united myriad organizations in a broad based campaign that used persuasive, mass demonstrations, and the power of the Black vote to attack residential segregation" (K'Meyer 110 and 111). This similarity of the open-housing campaign's and public housing campaign's efforts demonstrate that progress was occurring in the desegregation of housing.

Although open-housing efforts consisted mainly of peaceful protests, there was also a very hostile side to the movement that damaged the campaign's effectiveness in desegregation. When the

open-housing movement first began, the desegregation efforts were fruitless because of the anti-open-housing activists. As a result, several Black activists created a Black Power movement, hoping to empower the Black community. The Black Power movement existed throughout the country, yet did not arise in Louisville until the failure of the open housing campaign, when police brutality against Black demonstrators was increasing. During a personal interview, Dr. Tracy K'Meyer explained that "failure of open housing fueled the Black Power movement [because] leaders were disillusioned by how to integrate" (K'Meyer) Louisville neighborhoods. Black Power leaders gave livid speeches, instigating riots in the West End of Louisville, where segregated African American neighborhoods existed. The most significant uprising occurred in May 1968 when "the arrest of two prominent African American professionals set off a chain of events leading to a riot" that lasted three weeks and caused "$250,000 in property damage, 119 fires set, 472 people arrested, 52 people injured, and 2 people killed" (K'Meyer 188-190). The fear and chaos spread by the "destructive path of Black Power militants" (K'Meyer 214), seems to have slowed the quick success of "the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing Act), which ban[ned] discrimination in the sale of rental of housing" (Carson et al. 348). For example, two local newspapers analyzed the results of a 1969 investigation of Louisville neighborhoods, concluding that "despite purported gains in civil rights over the last decade...whites and blacks continued to live in two separate and unequal worlds" (K'Meyer 217). This persistence of unequal distribution and discrimination in housing implies that, although the opportunity was provided for Whites and Blacks to live next door to each other, Whites may have felt threatened by the Black's moving in and thus continued to discriminate against them. Therefore, in contrast to the progressive atmosphere created by the peaceful side of the open-housing movement, the insecurity spread throughout Louisville by the hostile side of the open-housing movement played a specific role in the socioeconomic barriers that slowed the housing desegregation efforts' success.

Throughout the 1970s, Civil Rights activists' efforts to improve school desegregation seemed to create more of an accepting atmosphere in Louisville neighborhoods, hence breaking down the socioeconomic barriers in the open housing movement. When asked her opinion of the 1960s and 1970s desegregation efforts in Louisville in a personal interview, Dr. K'Meyer noted, "What's interesting is how well integrated [neighborhoods] are, such as South Louisville areas around Shively and Fairdale, because of course that is where most environments against housing integration were" (K'Meyer). Shively is the area in which the bombing of Wade family's home occurred in 1954. Dr. K'Meyer further emphasizes in the interview that "neighborhoods that had the most protesting are relatively integrated [in Louisville] compared to other cities and compared to the past" (K'Meyer). This explanation verifies that desegregation efforts throughout the 1960s and 1970s created more of an accepting atmosphere toward integration than existed in the 1950s. Hence, discrimination and racial violence were no longer socioeconomic barriers that prevented housing desegregation.

Some historians contradict the assumption that the 1960s and 1970s desegregation efforts were successful in housing. For example, Aubespin, Clay, and Hudson claim that, "[r]ace relations had become more problematic" by the year 2000, pointing out that "a few empirical studies of contemporary racial attitudes and race relations in Louisville...found that in 1999...[there existed] 'a large segregated 'White community' in which Whites know little about, fear and denigrate persons of color'" (qtd. in Aubespin, Clay, and Hudson 259). A report on Louisville Metro housing patterns seems to validate Aubespin, Clay, and Hudson's contention that segregation still existed in Louisville in 2000 by providing statistics released from the U.S. Census Bureau:

In 1960, 414,000 white residents (78 percent) of Louisville/ Jefferson County lived in tracts with less than a 5 percent African American population. [In 2000], more than 260,000 White residents (49 percent) still lived in census tracts with an African American population of less than 5 percent. (K'Meyer and Sally 4)

Although these statistics indicate that desegregation efforts did not completely eliminate neighborhood segregation in Louisville, the 29 percent difference between 78 percent of Whites in segregated neighborhoods in 1960 and 49 percent in 2000 indicates the desegregation efforts of the 1960s and 1970s helped to integrate neighborhoods to a noticeable extent. This decline in

segregation might further emphasize that, although Whites and Blacks were more willing to live next door to each other, other socioeconomic factors prohibited them from completely integrating.

Although neighborhoods had desegregated to an extent by the year 2000, there is still evidence to suggest that the desegregation efforts failed to overcome socioeconomic barriers in neighborhoods. For example, a main argument as to why neighborhoods are not completely integrated in Louisville is that many Blacks "cannot afford housing in a neighborhood...[and are] thus shut out of the economic and social opportunities that are linked to that neighborhood" (K'Meyer and Sally 7). Therefore, it was highly unlikely that the desegregation efforts could completely eliminate the economic struggles by the year 2000. However, during an interview with Dr. K'Meyer, Kevin Cosby reveals how Louisvillians simply did not want to move out of their neighborhoods:

[B]ecause of the social arrangement of segregation it gave birth to five fundamental institutions that helped transmit values to black communities. Those five institutions were...the home...the churches...black businesses...black schools...those institutions were dismantled [because of desegregation] and we became deinstutionalized to a great degree. (Cosby)

As Cosby portrays, many Blacks and Whites in Louisville may not have opposed integration, but rather they valued the community and social norms of their neighborhood that existed during segregation. Even though the opportunity was available, many Blacks and Whites may not have moved out of their neighborhoods because they preferred to live close to their church, friends, and job location. Therefore, the efforts to desegregate neighborhoods in the 1960s and 1970s were successful to a great extent, yet did not succeed in overcoming socioeconomic barriers that prohibited complete integration.

In conclusion, the desegregation efforts of the 1960s and 1970s in Louisville, Kentucky were successful to the extent that legally segregated housing no longer existed. However, because of the socioeconomic barriers, the struggle to desegregate neighborhoods for all races remained a dilemma in the year 2000. Without the activists' relentless efforts throughout the 1960s and 1970s to break down racial barriers, Louisville neighborhoods would not be as integrated as they are today. Although low-income, family environment, and social norms prevented complete integration of neighborhoods by the year 2000, the progress made since the 1960s and 1970s shows potential for even more progress in the future. Hence, as in the song "Change" by Taylor Swift, because of the "revolution" during the 1960s and 1970s, the "time will come for [desegregation efforts] to finally win" (Swift).

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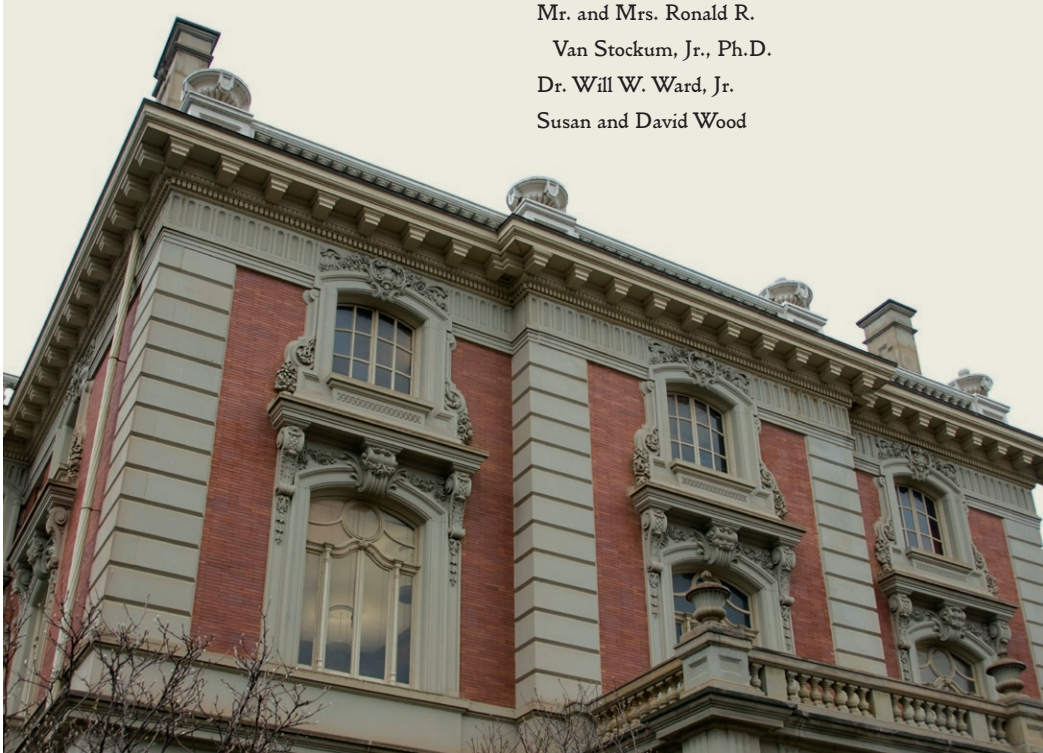

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