



Fee Memorial Church Camp Nelson National Monument Historic Structure Report 85% Draft



Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Division
Interior Region 2 - Southeast Gulf

Camp Nelson National Monument Fee Memorial Church Historic Structure Report

85% Draft Submittal

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Prepared by:
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Under the direction of
National Park Service
Interior Region 2: South Atlantic-Gulf
Cultural Resources, Partnerships, & Science Division



The report presented here exists in two formats. A printed version is available for study at the park, the Interior Region 2 - South Atlantic Gulf office of the National Park Service, and at a variety of other repositories. For more widespread access, this report also exists in a web-based format through ParkNet, the website of the National Park Service. Please visit www.nps.gov for more information.

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About the cover: View of Fee Memorial Church, 2020
(Source: RATIO Architects).

Camp Nelson National Monument Fee Memorial Church Historic Structure Report

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Foreword

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Management Summary

Introduction

At the request of the National Park Service (NPS), WLA Studio has developed this Historic Structure Report (HSR) for the Fee Memorial Church at Camp Nelson National Monument. WLA Studio consulted with RATIO Architects Inc. in preparing this document. Historically, the church has had several names. This document uses the historical names “John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church” and “Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson.” The document uses “Fee Memorial Church” for the contemporary context.

Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this Historic Structure Report (HSR) is to document the history, context, and current condition of the John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church / Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson (Fee Memorial Church) at Camp Nelson National Monument (CANE) and to provide recommendations for the treatment and use of this structure. The park’s foundation document, dated April 2020, identifies the building’s deteriorated and unused condition as threats to its long-term preservation and identified the need for an HSR to guide the National Park Service (NPS) in the stewardship of this historic resource.

The report includes *Part I: Developmental History* and *Part II: Treatment and Use*. Part I provides a brief review of the historical development of Camp Nelson National Monument, known historical information about the construction and use of the building, and transfer of the property to the National Park Service. A chronology of the structure’s physical development and use provides information on the known evolution of the resource over time. This information derives from physical investigations and available historical documentation. The HSR provides information about why the structure was constructed, who constructed it, and how it was constructed. The HSR also provides a chronology of changes that

have been made to the structure, from its original construction to 2021.

A current physical description based on building investigations and assessment using non-destructive methods provides a systemic accounting of the structure’s features and materials. A summary assessment of their current condition is also included.

Part II provides recommendations for the treatment and use of the Fee Memorial Church. The Treatment and Use chapter presents a proposed treatment for the historic structure. It emphasizes preservation and restoration of existing historic material while conforming to applicable laws, regulations, planning, and functional requirements. Treatment recommendations address foundation conditions, structural conditions, and deterioration of the physical structure.

A bibliography provides all sources of information that this report references. An appendix contains enlarged maps, period and existing plans and elevations, and a structural analysis report.

Historical Overview

Construction of Camp Nelson began in June 1863 following orders from Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the newly formed Army of the Ohio. Burnside wanted a large and secure supply depot and encampment for his planned campaign to capture Knoxville, Tennessee. This campaign was to fulfill President Abraham Lincoln’s promise to free pro-United States areas of East Tennessee from Confederate control. Southern Jessamine County was chosen due to its location on a major turnpike and river. A bridge across the Kentucky River (Wernwag or Hickman Bridge) and natural defenses provided by the four-hundred-foot-tall limestone palisades on the Kentucky River and Hickman Creek were also factors in the camp’s chosen location.

1 Once completed, Camp Nelson consisted of 53
2 over three hundred wooden buildings and tents 54
3 and eleven forts spread over four thousand 55
4 acres on both sides of the Lexington-Danville 56
5 Turnpike (present US 27).¹ Camp Nelson was a 57
6 bustling settlement. In addition to its role as a 58
7 supply depot, Camp Nelson contained private 59
8 businesses including saloons, hotels/taverns, 60
9 and stores.² Significantly, the camp soon became 61
10 a major recruitment center, and concurrently, a 62
11 refugee camp. John Gregg Fee, a white abolitionist, 63
12 minister, and educator, arrived at Camp Nelson in 64
13 1864 to serve and advocate for the Black enlistees 65
14 and refugees fleeing slavery. 66

15 Beginning at the end of the Civil War, as the 67
16 Freedmen's Bureau worked to close the National 68
17 Home for Colored Refugees, John G. Fee led the 69
18 effort to create a community of Black landowners 70
19 on the site, to be drawn from veterans of the United 71
20 States Colored Troops (USCT) and the residents of 72
21 the camp. After years of struggle, Fee and his wife 73
22 Matilda ultimately sold some of their only assets to 74
23 purchase 130 acres including the refugee camp site. 75
24 In 1868, they laid out the village of Ariel, granted 76
25 adjacent parcels for Ariel Academy and the Church 77
26 of Christ, both continuations of institutions 78
27 founded by Fee in 1864, and sold all other lots 79
28 to African Americans. Although the Fees sold 80
29 the property at a loss and hoped to sell all of the 81
30 property within a year, the lots sold slowly between 82
31 1868 and 1904. Fee would remain the strongest ally 83
32 and advocate for the community, working tirelessly 84
33 on its behalf until his death in 1901. 85

34 Gabriel Burdett, a USCT veteran and Fee's 86
35 assistant in ministry in the camp, served as minister 87
36 of the church from 1867 to 1877 and was a key 88
37 leader during the community's early years. In 89
38 1874, the community invited Howard S. Fee, son 90
39 of John and Matilda Fee, to take charge of Ariel 91
40 Academy. William S. Overstreet, a USCT veteran 92
41 who had enlisted at Camp Nelson, was appointed 93
42 assistant pastor around the same time, allowing 94
43 Burdett to focus on regional evangelization and 95

44 1. Col. R. E. Batchelder, "List of Public Buildings at Camp 97
45 Nelson, February 1866." (Washington, D.C., 1866), 98
46 National Archives Military Records; Capt. E. B. W. 99
47 Restieaux, "Letter to Brig. Gen. Robert Allen, March 100
48 20, 1865" (Washington, D.C., 1865), National Archives 101
49 Military Records. 102
50 2. Theron E. Hall, "Report to M. C. Meigs, May 30, 1865," 103
51 1865, National Archives Military Records; Restieaux, 104
52 "Letter to Brig. Gen. Robert Allen, March 20, 1865." 105

46 political organization among freedpeople. During
47 1875-1876, Burdett noted that the community was
48 making significant progress under the combined
49 leadership of Howard Fee, Overstreet, and himself.
50 He saw Ariel as a place where African Americans
51 could obtain an education and other advantages
52 equal to those available to whites under the same
53 circumstances, preparing the formerly enslaved
54 for full exercise of their rights of citizenship. The
55 church in Ariel appears to have been at its peak
56 of membership—191 members and 100 Sunday
57 school attendees—and the school, Ariel Academy,
58 appears to have been at its peak of enrollment—at
59 around 150 students—during these years.

67 Despite the hopes and aspirations of the town's
68 Black settlers, racial inequality persisted in
69 Kentucky. Although Kentucky had remained part
70 of the United States throughout the Civil War and
71 most Kentuckians who served in the war were
72 United States Army soldiers, the state experienced
73 significant resistance to Black freedom and civil
74 rights following the end of the war. Faced with
75 violent attacks from organized white supremacist
76 groups and a new type of second-class citizenship,
77 Burdett became convinced that progress was no
78 longer possible in Kentucky. In 1877, he joined the
79 Exoduster movement, leading a large group from
80 Ariel—perhaps twenty-five to forty percent of the
81 population—and the surrounding area to Kansas in
82 search of better opportunities and reduced racial
83 hostility. Howard Fee, exhausted by several years
84 of intense work, left the community shortly after.
85 While William S. Overstreet would remain in the
86 village, the community appears to have struggled
87 to match the progress made under the combined
88 leadership of Burdett, Fee, and Overstreet during
89 the mid-1870s.

90 Ariel Academy was renamed Camp Nelson
91 Academy in 1884. Between the 1880s and the
92 1910s, the Ariel community was estimated to
93 contain about forty families. The community
94 appears to have reached its peak of development
95 during this period and was known as a model
96 Black community and a center for Black education
97 in Kentucky. The village contained two general
98 stores, a public hall known as the Benevolent
99 Hall, a public school, the Fee Memorial Church,
100 and a Baptist Church. The school and church
101 appear to have struggled during the 1890s. In
102 1903, the trustees of Camp Nelson Academy
103 approached the Board of Missions for Freedmen

of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) about taking control of the school. The school was renamed the Fee Memorial Institute and saw renewed progress as an industrial and agricultural training school under the leadership of J. A. Boyden, a Black Presbyterian minister who also led the Fee Memorial Church. The congregation renamed itself Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson in 1902 and built the present building in 1912. The name Ariel began to fade from use during this period in favor of the umbrella term Camp Nelson, which included many surrounding communities; by the 1930s, the village was known as “the Hall.”

H. W. McNair, a Black Presbyterian minister, succeeded Boyden as the principal of the Fee Memorial Institute and minister of Westminster Presbyterian Church (Fee Memorial Church) in 1914 and would lead the school for two decades. During the early-1910s, the community began to see the effects of the Great Migration, as African Americans left the rural south for the promise of job opportunities and reduced racial hostility in Northern cities. McNair and other leaders worked to create the conditions for a good life for African Americans in Kentucky, but larger forces drove continued out-migration. The closure of the nearby E. J. Curley distillery with the advent of Prohibition in 1919 eliminated many jobs in the community and initiated a permanent decline. The Fee Memorial Institute relocated to Nicholasville in 1924, removing the population of students, faculty, and staff; the school would operate there until 1934, when it consolidated with the Ingleside Seminary of Burkeville, Virginia, where it was located thereafter.

The Hall community saw accelerated population decline during and after World War II, as the descendants of the original settlers left and sold or rented their family homes to outsiders. From about 1980, the local Black population dwindled alongside a gradual influx of white residents. A 1994 oral history project recorded multiple community members lamenting the decline from a well-kept, neighborly village to a sparsely populated area of vacant lots, abandoned houses, neglected properties, and new residents who lacked knowledge of or pride in the community’s history. The development of Camp Nelson as a county historical park in the 1990s drew some attention to the Hall Community.

Within this context, the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson (Fee Memorial Church) remained a key institution in the community. From at least the 1940s it held annual homecoming gatherings for descendants of the community each August. The 1912 church building saw few changes aside from the additions of later interior finishes like plywood paneling and acoustical ceiling tiles. The church faced the same challenges as the community. Its membership dwindled, and the congregation joined with that of nearby Camp Nelson Baptist Church on alternate Sundays and for special programs. The congregation had about three members left at the time it stopped meeting in 1991 or 1992. The building suffered vandalism and deferred maintenance during this period. Jessamine County Fiscal Court purchased the property in the 1990s as a part of the development of the Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park and renovated it between 2000 and 2005 so that it could be used for lectures, meetings, and special events. The county demolished the adjacent manse about 2007, leaving its stone foundation. The property passed to the National Park Service in 2018 and is now part of Camp Nelson National Monument.

Statement of Significance

The Fee Memorial Church is a significant resource associated with the post-Civil War experiences of African Americans in Kentucky. The church and adjacent manse (then extant) were classified as noncontributing resources within the Camp Nelson Civil War District, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001. The district’s period of significance of June 1863 to June 1866 excluded all later resources, including those associated with the post-1866 experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the village of Ariel/Hall. This period of significance was followed for the Camp Nelson Historic and Archaeological District, designated a National Historic Landmark in 2013.

The Fee Memorial Church is the only surviving building associated with Ariel Academy (later Camp Nelson Academy and Fee Memorial Institute). The school used the Fee Memorial Church for twelve years prior to its relocation to Nicholasville. The adjacent manse foundation and potential archaeological resources on the former campus site are other significant resources

1 associated with the school. The property appears
2 to be eligible for listing in the National Register
3 of Historic Places with state-level significance in
4 the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Religion, and
5 Education, with a potential period of significance
6 of 1912 to 1924. As the community's most intact
7 historic building, oldest public building, and
8 the last building associated with the school that
9 operated here from 1868 to 1924, the church offers
10 a unique connection to the experiences of Black
11 Kentuckians after the Civil War.

12 **Scope of Work and Project**

13 **Methodology**

14 The scope of work for this HSR defined the
15 required level of the historical research and
16 the architectural investigation, analysis, and
17 documentation as "exhaustive." Research was
18 to be conducted employing all published and
19 documentary sources of known or presumed
20 relevance, interviewing all knowledgeable persons
21 regardless of location, and thoroughly analyzing
22 and presenting findings from all data of direct and
23 indirect relevance. Research began with review
24 of documentation maintained by the national
25 monument and with prior research publications
26 and data, notably those collected and published by
27 Dr. W. Stephen McBride, Dr. Kim A. McBride, and
28 Richard D. Sears between the 1980s and the 2010s.
29 The project team conducted additional research
30 at Jessamine County repositories, libraries, and
31 using published and electronic resources including
32 historic newspaper databases, census and vital
33 records, trade journals and catalogs, maps, and
34 archival collections of the Presbyterian Church
35 (USA) and Berea College.

36 The available documents in the park archive
37 provided important information on the historic
38 context of Camp Nelson National Monument
39 including the foundation document completed
40 in April 2020. This document lists "Cultural
41 Connections to Camp Nelson" through the post-
42 Civil War Ariel/Hall community as one of the
43 fundamental resources and values (FRVs) of the
44 park and notes that all of the NPS resources in
45 Hall, including the Fee Memorial Church, are in
46 poor condition and have no visitor infrastructure
47 or interpretation beyond pre-NPS wayside markers
48 that are in poor condition. The document identifies

49 the Fee Memorial Church as one of the other
50 important resources and values (OIRVs) of the
51 park. The church and community also connect
52 to the interpretive theme of "Family, Home, and
53 Community," continuing this theme on the site
54 for more than 125 years after the closure of the
55 military camp.

56 Physical investigation and documentary research
57 informed each other and provided a more detailed
58 understanding of the building's evolution.
59 Physical assessment of the property's historic
60 fabric (architectural archaeology) began with
61 a thorough visual examination of the building,
62 including overall configuration and the details of
63 materials and finishes, to identify evidence of the
64 building's historic configurations and treatments
65 and subsequent alterations. National monument
66 staff authorized limited destructive investigation,
67 including sampling of structural wood components
68 and selective investigation of materials and
69 finishes. Documentation of the building began
70 in September 2020 with the kickoff meeting for
71 the project. The team conducted fieldwork in
72 October 2020 with a follow-up visit in March
73 2021. Documentation included field drawings
74 of existing conditions, notes about materials and
75 architectural features, structural conditions, and
76 digital photographs.

77 While the church is not directly aligned with the
78 cardinal directions, descriptions of the building
79 use directional names to indicate walls and angles
80 most closely aligned with those directions. For
81 example, the façade (facing west-northwest) is
82 the west façade and the rear elevation (facing
83 east-southeast) is the east elevation. The historical
84 architects prepared the existing condition plans
85 based on these field investigations and drafted
86 them using AutoCAD.

Summary of Findings

This section will be summarized in full in subsequent drafts.

The congregation founded by abolitionist, minister, and educator John G. Fee at Camp Nelson in 1864 constructed the Fee Memorial Church in 1912. The congregation used the church until it disbanded in the early-1990s. It possesses exceptional connections to the post-Civil War experiences of the Black Kentuckians who settled in the community established by John G. Fee in 1868 and who sought to exert their full citizenship rights on the site of the camp where many had enlisted in the United States Colored Troops or sought refuge after escaping enslavement. It is the last surviving building associated with Ariel Academy (later known as Camp Nelson Academy and the Fee Memorial Institute), a school for African Americans that grew out of a school established by John G. Fee at Camp Nelson in 1864 and which operated in the community of Ariel/Hall from 1868 to 1924. This school was a central institution in the community and made it a center for Black education in postbellum Kentucky. The Fee Memorial Church is the only surviving public building left from the community's peak of development in the 1910s, and it retains a high degree of integrity. It is a rare survivor in a village where most of the historic buildings associated with the flourishing Black community that existed at the time of its construction are demolished or extensively altered.

The Fee Memorial Church is in fair condition overall, having suffered from deferred maintenance and limited use since the county renovated it in the early-2000s. Prior to that renovation, the church experienced many years of vandalism and neglect. Much of the 2000s work appears to have been partial or incomplete and failed to address key issues, including management of rainwater runoff from the roof, that contributed to deterioration of the building's historic fabric. Specific structural concerns, including insufficient capacity of the floor structure for the building's use, the lack of adequate shear capacity in the walls (which include no sheathing), the need for reinforcement of the cupola, and insect damage to wood structural members were all noted and can be addressed through appropriate treatments. Despite these issues, the church remains largely

as built in 1912, with specific modern alterations limited to the addition of later interior finishes (plywood paneling and acoustical ceiling tile) over the original plaster and the post-2000 replacement of the front doors and removal of the louver from the front of the cupola. Appropriate treatments can allow the preservation and effective interpretive use of this building to tell the story of the Ariel/Hall community.

Recommendations for Further

Study

This section will be summarized in full in subsequent drafts.

It is recommended that the national monument complete the following documentation and investigation to further the understanding of the Fee Memorial Church, its evolution, and historic significance:

- Initiate a public call for information, memories, and photographs of the Ariel/Hall community, Fee Memorial Church, and Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute. This could build upon the 1994 oral history project while helping to gain exposure for the story of the community and its connection to Camp Nelson.
- Complete interior and exterior historic finish analysis to determine the Fee Memorial Church's finish scheme during the period of interpretation.
- Complete HABS documentation of the Fee Memorial Church.
- Conduct an archaeological survey/investigation of the church and manse site considering both the postbellum period of the community and the Civil War era resources of the National Home for Colored Refugees.
- Prepare a National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Fee Memorial Church.

Administrative Data

Location Data

Building Name: Fee Memorial Church

Location: Camp Nelson National Monument

State/Territory: Kentucky

Related NPS Studies

National Park Service. Foundation Document, Camp Nelson National Monument. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service), April 2020.

Real Property Information

Acquisition Date: 2018

CRIS ID: 1169239 Fee Memorial Church

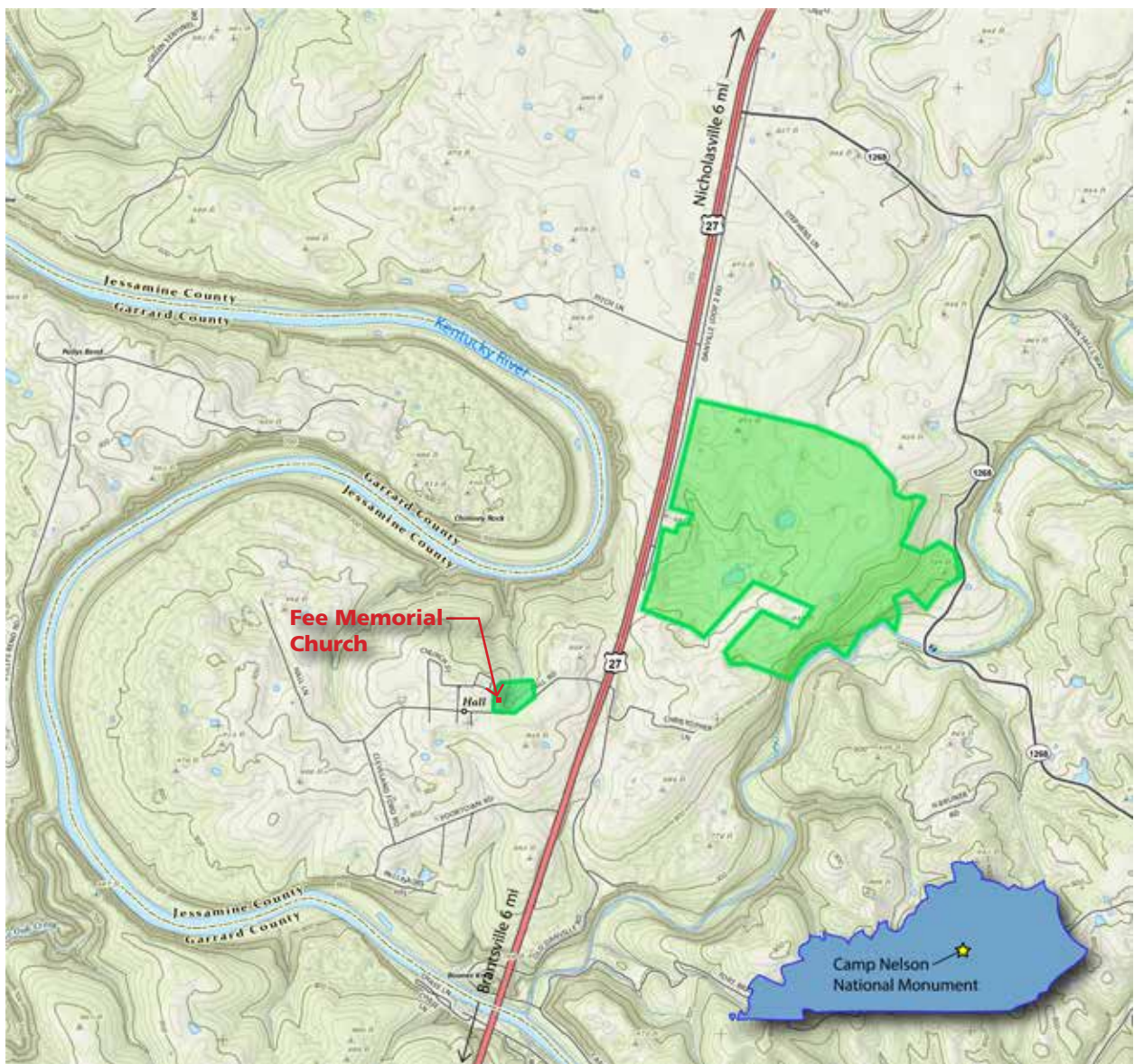
LAT/LONG Data: 37°47'05.3"N / 84°36'53.1"W

Size Information

Fee Memorial Church: 1,160 square feet ±

Cultural Resource Data

The Camp Nelson Civil War District was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001. The period of significance of June 1863 to June 1866 excluded all later resources, including those associated with the post-1866 experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the village of Ariel/Hall. For this reason, the Fee Memorial Church and adjacent manse (then extant) were classified as noncontributing resources. This period of significance was followed for the Camp Nelson Historic and Archaeological District, designated a National Historic Landmark in 2013, with the church as noncontributing resource. Evaluation of the Fee Memorial Church in 2021 indicates that it is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places with state-level significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Religion, and Education, with a potential period of significance of 1912 to ca. 1940.



3 **Figure 1.** Location of Camp Nelson National Monument and Fee Memorial Church. (Source: USGS and WLA Studio)

1 **Proposed Treatment**

2 The Fee Memorial Church's Management
3 Category has not yet been determined and the
4 national monument needs to complete a planning
5 process to determine this category.

6 The recommended ultimate treatment for the Fee
7 Memorial Church is a Preservation treatment,
8 maintaining the building in its current form,
9 anticipating regular maintenance and significant
10 repair campaigns every ten to fifteen years. A
11 preservation treatment would allow interpretation
12 of the building and would maintain this significant
13 resource for future generations. A preservation
14 treatment would not preclude the research and
15 investigation leading to an ultimate rehabilitation
16 treatment. For this reason, a preservation treatment
17 could serve as an intermediate level of treatment
18 until research and investigation are completed
19 and funding can be secured for a rehabilitation
20 treatment.

21 Recommendations for treatment of the Fee
22 Memorial Church include:

- 23 • Exterior Treatment – replace existing
24 concrete stoop with a compatible stoop
25 including a ramp accommodating
26 compliant access; implement structural
27 repairs following structural design phase;
28 provide appropriate louvers, screens,
29 or other covers at foundation openings;
30 stabilize cupola; install gutters and
31 downspouts; replace deteriorated exterior
32 wooden components in-kind; repair
33 historic wood sash windows, including
34 entry transom, and associated frames, sills,
35 and casings; replace deteriorated modern
36 entry doors.
- 37 • Interior Treatment -- retain interior
38 configuration of vestibule and sanctuary;
39 retain and repair paneled wood door
40 between vestibule and sanctuary; repair
41 damaged sections of wainscoting, interior
42 trim, and other woodwork; retain dais
43 balustrade and steps; retain and repair
44 historic wood floors; retain bell and bell-
45 rope system.
- 46 • Site – regularly maintain area around
47 building; ensure positive drainage away
48 from foundation; preserve the Manse/
49 Parsonage Foundation Ruins.

Part 1.A Historical Background and Context

Introduction

The Fee Memorial Church, also known as the John Fee Memorial Church / Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson, is located on the edge of the village of Hall (formerly Ariel) in Jessamine County, Kentucky. The church sits east of Church Street, a curving road that includes portions of the former Front and Row Streets, on a site that slopes down from northwest to southeast. The church was built in 1912 and underwent limited later alterations.

The church is associated with the post-Civil War experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the Ariel community established by John G. Fee in 1868. Here, community members sought to exert their full citizenship rights on the site of the camp where many had enlisted in the United States Colored Troops (USCT) during the Civil War or sought refuge when escaping enslavement. The Fee Memorial Church is the last surviving building associated with Ariel Academy / Camp Nelson Academy / Fee Memorial Institute, a school for African Americans that operated in Ariel/Hall from 1868 to 1924 and made the community a center for Black education in postbellum Kentucky. The Fee Memorial Church is the only surviving public building left from the community's peak of development in the 1910s and retains a high degree of integrity. The building was renovated by Jessamine County in the early-2000s and became part of Camp Nelson National Monument in 2018.

The Hall community is located in the at the eastern edge of a distinctive meander bend in the Kentucky River, just west of US Highway 27 (US 27)/Danville Road. [Figure 2] Hall is approximately 20 miles south of Lexington in the Central Bluegrass region, between Nicholasville (7 miles north) and Danville (12 miles south). The landscape is characterized by limestone karst topography with rolling pasture, hay fields, woods, surface springs, sinkholes, and caverns. Steep palisade cliffs, following the course of the Kentucky River and Hickman Creek to the east, create a geographic barrier around the community that was the

impetus for the establishment of the Camp Nelson Civil War Depot (1863-1866) at that location. Camp Nelson served as a US Army supply depot, hospital, recruitment and training center, and refugee camp for African American families from Kentucky and white families from East Tennessee. The US Army quickly disassembled Camp Nelson following the war, leaving several buildings associated with the refugee camp (the Home for Colored Refugees) in the northwestern corner of the camp, which encompassed over 4,000 acres in total. In the modern context, the Fee Church and Hall community seems geographically removed from Camp Nelson National Monument, but the histories of the two sites are inextricably linked.

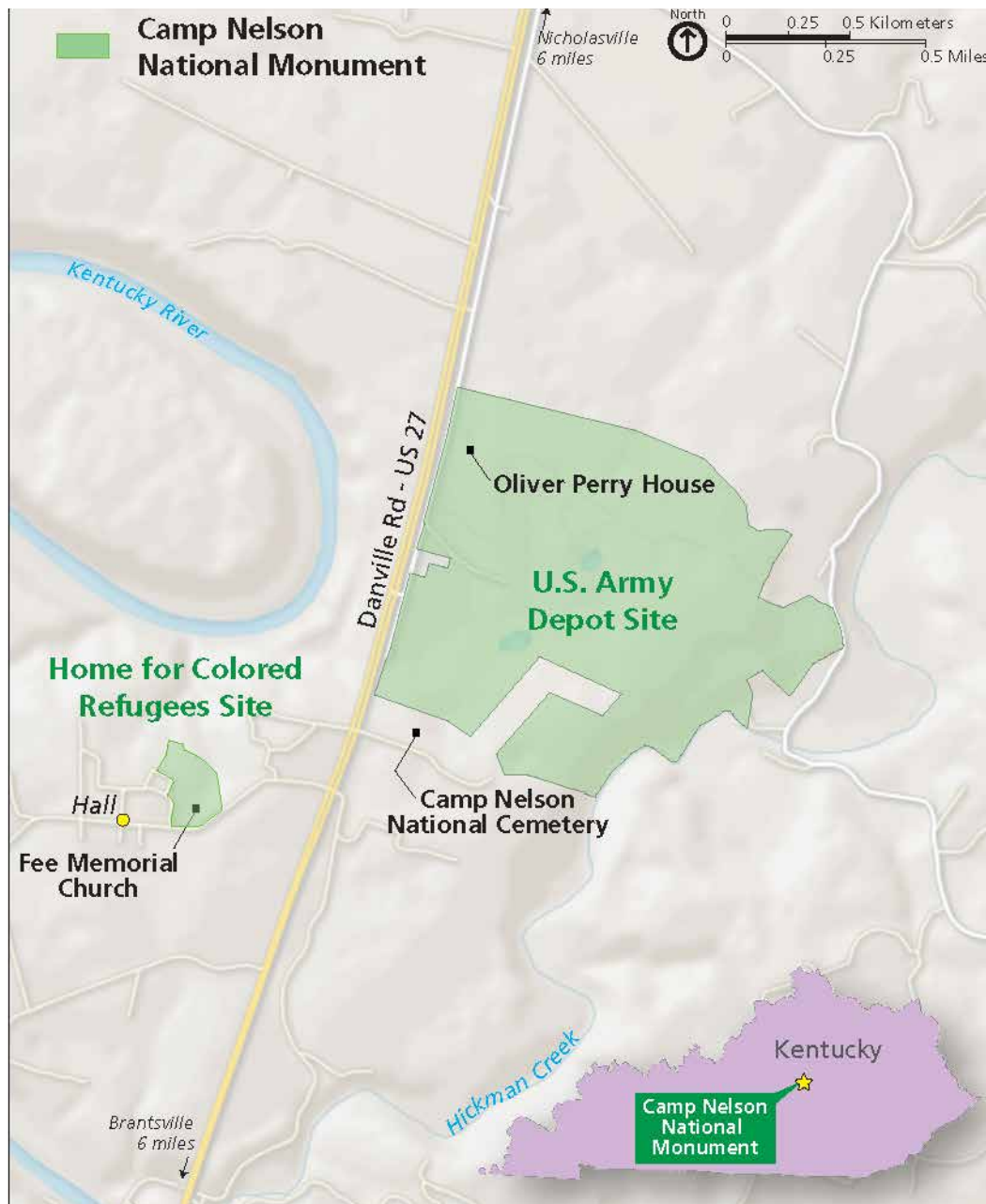
African Americans in Antebellum Kentucky

The majority of African Americans arrived in the central Kentucky region as enslaved laborers. Many such workers were enslaved by a class of "Gentlemen Planters" who migrated largely from the tidewater region of Virginia to establish farms on land grants following the American Revolution.³ Those planters with sufficient financial resources typically sent an overseer and their enslaved laborers out ahead of their arrival to clear the land and build dwellings for themselves and the planter and his family.⁴ Once established, these farms produced a variety of crops, including tobacco, corn, barley, oats, cotton, flax, and vegetables. Many farms also bred livestock with imported breeding stock from Europe, including beef and dairy cattle, horses, and sheep.⁵

3. Peter C. Smith and Karl B. Raitz, "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural Estates in Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass," *Geographical Review* 64 (1974): 221.

4. Smith and Raitz, "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural Estates in Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass," 221.

5. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, From Its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville, KY: Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1898), 143.; Smith and Raitz, "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural Estates in Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass," 221.



1 **Figure 2.** Camp Nelson National Monument context map, with Fee Memorial Church indicated. The Fee
 2 Memorial Church is in the village of Hall (formerly Ariel), built on the site of the National Home for
 3 Colored Refugees. (Source: National Park Service)

4 The African Americans enslaved on the plantations
 5 provided the means for the planters to maintain
 6 comfortable and sometimes opulent lifestyles.
 7 Without their labor, these plantations would have
 8 operated much differently, if they could have
 9 been sustained at all. Enslaved laborers produced
 10 agricultural products, bred and cared for livestock,
 11 nannied children, and worked as domestic
 12 servants or as **bondsmen, the term for a class of**
 13 **highly skilled enslaved laborer who was hired out**
 14 **to neighboring farms or the factories** in urban

15 centers.⁶ Throughout the South, the exploitation
 16 of African Americans generated both the free time
 17 and the financial capital for a society based on
 18 white supremacy to grow and flourish.

19 In Kentucky, the planter class expanded their
 20 wealth through both the enslaved people's labor
 21 and through the domestic slave trade. Between
 22 1820 and the Civil War, slave auctions in Louisville
 23 and Lexington made Kentucky one of the

24 6. Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky,*
 25 *Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*
 26 (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992), 102.

largest slave-exporting states, supplying markets throughout the Deep South.⁷ As population and agricultural activity in the region increased after the American Revolution, the number of enslaved people in Kentucky grew, with the Central Bluegrass region becoming the primary slaveholding area of the state. By 1860, the federal census counted 225,483 enslaved individuals in Kentucky, accounting for nearly twenty percent of the total population.⁸ While still a significant percentage, this figure is lower than other southern states. Further, the interests of the planter class in Kentucky were not as entrenched as they were in Deep South states, which influenced the state's politics in terms of secession and the subsequent Civil War.

The Civil War in Kentucky and African American Freedom

Although a slave holding state, Kentucky never seceded from the United States. When the Civil War began in April 1861, Kentucky Governor Beriah Magoffin declared the state neutral, but by late summer a pro-United States legislature was elected and neutrality soon ended.⁹ Despite the fact that Kentucky “produced a number of Confederates, including at least twenty-five thousand regular soldiers . . . politically and militarily, the commonwealth proved to be a far more significant supporter of the Union war effort. By most estimates, nearly twice as many white Kentuckians served in the ranks of the Union army as joined the Confederacy.”¹⁰

Two Confederate attempts to extend north into Kentucky ended unsuccessfully after defeats at the Battles of Wildcat Mountain (Laurel County) and Mill Springs (Pulaski and Wayne counties) in October 1861 and January 1862, respectively.¹¹

7. Lucas, 100.

8. William A. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2016), 381.

9. Harrison Lowell H., *The Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 8–9.

10. J. Michael Rhyne, “‘A Blood Stained Sin’: Slavery, Freedom, and Guerilla Warfare in the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky, 1863-65,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 112, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 554.

11. Harrison Lowell H., *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 19, 24–28.

After the February 1862 US Army victory at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, led by Brig. General Ulysses S. Grant, Federal troops occupied the northern three quarters of the state and Confederates occupied the remainder. The Confederates, however, made one final attempt to invade and capture Kentucky in August to October 1862. This campaign also resulted in failure and defeat at the Battle of Perryville (Boyle County) in October 1862.¹² Following Perryville, the US Army began to fortify strategic locations within the state.

African American Routes to Freedom

From the Civil War's first days, the impact of the war upon the established systems of land and labor in the South was significant. Disruptions in food supply, plantation management, and transportation networks affected the daily lives of all residents. Importantly, these disruptions allowed the opportunity for enslaved people to liberate themselves from plantations throughout the South and migrate toward US Army-occupied military fortifications. Both Fort Monroe in Virginia and Fort Howell in South Carolina are examples of Federal forts that in turn became refugee camps. In Kentucky, Camp Nelson became the epicenter of the refugee migration in the state, as well as African American recruitment into the US military.

However, the reception of the refugees was not often welcoming. Rather, their freedom was tied to the codes of war, property rights, and military strategy. Northern journalists and US military officials began to use the term “contraband of war” to describe African Americans who fled to Federal lines. A thematic study for Reconstruction Era National Monument notes that the term “was widely used in international law but novel in its application to people; it suggested the runaways’ in-between and somewhat uncertain legal status.”¹³ Abolition groups of the era did not prefer this term, opting for “refugee” instead in an appeal for the humane treatment of the people fleeing for their lives and towards a hope for freedom.¹⁴ The term

12. Harrison Lowell H., *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 50–54.

13. Gregory Downs, “The Era of Reconstruction: 1861-1900, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” n.d., 10.

14. Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 10.; This report opts for the term “refugee” as well, except in context of military use.



Figure 3. Simpson map of Camp Nelson, see Appendix A for enlarged version. (Source: National Archives, RG 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers)

refugee also “evoked both their liminal status and their compelling need for protection.”¹⁵

The uncertain legal status of the refugees was due to the US Army’s lack of formal policy. Initially, military officials either turned away or returned African American refugees to where they escaped from. By the fall of 1861 however, the US military began sheltering and soon employing African Americans who made their way to Federal strongholds. In turn, Congress passed legislation to codify the legalization of capturing Confederate property—including enslaved individuals. In Kentucky, the protection of refugees was inconsistent at first. As William Dobak explains,

When federal troops abandoned their advanced posts in northern Alabama during the fall of 1862 and hurried north to intercept the invasion of Kentucky, they brought with them thousands of black refugees from slavery in parts of the South that the Union could no longer hold. White Kentuckians leapt at the chance to reenslave the new arrivals. Local authorities arrested

those who strayed too far from the protection offered by Northern soldiers, who by this time in the war often practiced emancipation, even though they might disagree with it in theory. In Kentucky, black people without passes faced jail and the auction block. By April 1863, the military Department of the Ohio, which administered all but the westernmost part of the state, had to issue an order on the subject and stop the abuse. Having found and freed for a second time perhaps as many as a thousand of these former slaves, military authorities put the adults among them to work, the men laboring on construction projects and the women in army hospitals.¹⁶

By 1863 the needs for additional fortifications and federal troops in Kentucky intersected with the yearning for freedom by African Americans. Camp Nelson was a product of this confluence.

Camp Nelson

Construction of Camp Nelson began in June 1863 following orders from Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the newly formed Army of the Ohio. [Figure 3] Burnside wanted a large

15. Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War’s Slave Refugee Camps*, 10.

16. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867*, 381.

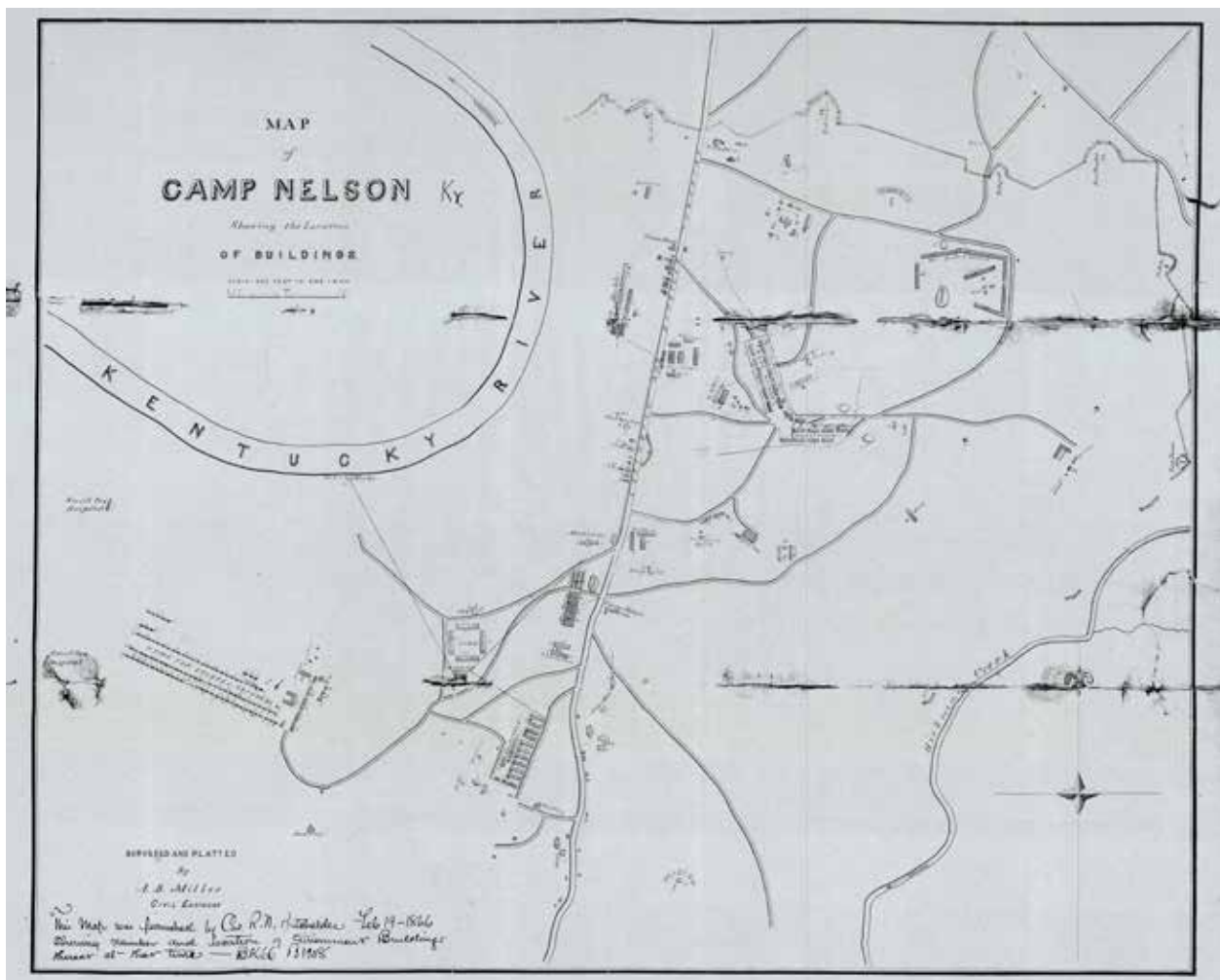


Figure 4. A. B. Miller (1866) Map of Camp Nelson; see Appendix A for enlarged version. (Source: National Archives, Cartographic Section, National Archives, College Park Maryland)

and secure supply depot and encampment for his planned campaign to capture Knoxville, Tennessee. This campaign was to fulfill President Abraham Lincoln's promise to free pro-United States areas of East Tennessee from Confederate control. Southern Jessamine County was chosen due to its location on a major turnpike and river. A bridge across the Kentucky River (Wernwag or Hickman Bridge) and natural defenses provided by the 400-foot-tall limestone palisades on the Kentucky River and Hickman Creek were also factors in the camp's chosen location. [Figure 4]

Once completed, Camp Nelson consisted of over three hundred wooden buildings and tents, and eleven forts spread over four thousand acres on both sides of the Lexington-Danville Turnpike

(present US 27).¹⁷ Camp Nelson was a bustling settlement. In addition to its role as a supply depot, Camp Nelson contained private businesses including saloons, hotels/taverns, and stores.¹⁸ Significantly, the camp soon became a major recruitment center, and concurrently, a refugee camp.

US Colored Troops (USCT) Recruitment

As the US Army moved into Confederate territories, many of the formerly enslaved flocked toward Federal camps, seeking not just safe haven,

17. Col. R. E. Batchelder, "List of Public Buildings at Camp Nelson, February 1866." (Washington, D.C., 1866), National Archives Military Records; Capt. E. B. W. Restieaux, "Letter to Brig. Gen. Robert Allen, March 20, 1865" (Washington, D.C., 1865), National Archives Military Records.
18. Theron E. Hall, "Report to M. C. Meigs, May 30, 1865," 1865, National Archives Military Records; Restieaux, "Letter to Brig. Gen. Robert Allen, March 20, 1865."

1 but also wage work and the opportunity to fight in
2 the war. As early as 1861, African Americans living
3 in states that did not secede from the United States
4 attempted to enlist in the US Army, but Secretary
5 of War Simon Cameron instituted a policy against
6 Black enrollment.¹⁹ Even though the US Army
7 needed more troops and laborers, the enlistment
8 of African Americans was highly controversial. Not
9 only did it disrupt social codes, but it also factored
10 into military strategy. The role of Kentucky in this
11 issue was paramount. As Dobak explains,

12 A few Northern generals with profound
13 antislavery convictions tried to raise regiments
14 of former slaves, but their efforts were thwarted
15 by worries at the highest levels of government
16 that such moves would alienate potentially
17 loyal Southerners and drive the central border
18 state, Kentucky into the Confederacy. A quip
19 attributed to Lincoln, 'I would like to have God
20 on my side, but I must have Kentucky,' remains
21 apocryphal, but sums up nicely the predicament
22 of Union strategists. What finally tipped the
23 balance in favor of the black recruitment was the
24 Union Army's demand for men.²⁰

25 After Lincoln issued the Emancipation
26 Proclamation on January 1, 1863, the War
27 Department actively and publicly authorized
28 the recruitment of Black men into the US
29 Army, though not without reticence ranging
30 from caution to outright bigotry on the part of
31 military leadership. Nevertheless, "the force
32 known generally as the U. S. Colored Troops was
33 organized in regiments that represented the three
34 branches of what was then known as the line of the
35 Army: cavalry, artillery, and infantry."²¹

36 While the creation of USCT regiments began
37 in all states in 1863, it was delayed in Kentucky
38 until 1864 because of strong opposition from
39 Kentucky's political leadership and the fear that the
40 state might secede. Kentucky was failing to meet its
41 enlistment quota with white troops, however, so in
42 early 1864, the United States Congress amended
43 the Enrollment Act, which allowed for a census
44 (referred to as enrollment) of Kentucky's able

50 bodied African American men as potential soldiers.
51 This act led to considerable resistance in the state.

52 Actual enlistment of African American troops in
53 Kentucky finally began on April 18, 1864, after
54 District Commander Major General Stephen G.
55 Burbridge issued General Order 34. But because of
56 local opposition, this order restricted enlistment
57 to freedmen and enslaved men at their owner's
58 request.

59 Multiple restrictions and provisions in the order
60 designed to placate white Kentucky leaders limited
61 recruitment success to a single regiment and
62 resulted in much violence toward enlisting men
63 while travelling to and from enlistment stations.
64 Because of the violence perpetrated on the
65 enlistees or potential enlistees, Gen. Burbridge,
66 with concurrence from Secretary of War Edwin
67 Stanton, lifted the "owners' request" restriction
68 on May 13, 1864.²² Burbridge ordered the Provost
69 Marshal General of Kentucky, "Please direct
70 your Provost Marshals to secure all Negroes who
71 offer themselves regardless of the wishes of their
72 owners."²³

73 This change led to a major increase in enlistment.
74 On May 23, 1864, 250 men "thirsting for freedom"
75 arrived at Camp Nelson from Danville, Kentucky
76 where they had been subjected to much violence
77 and were unable to enlist.²⁴ Four days later, the
78 enlistment group had already grown to four
79 hundred.²⁵

80 On June 13, 1864, Adjutant General Lorenzo
81 Thomas issued an order declaring eight official
82 USCT enlistment and training centers (including
83 Camp Nelson) across Kentucky. This made
84 enlistment much safer for the men, although they
85 could still enlist at county and district offices.

86 22. Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge, "Order to Maj. W.
87 H. Sidell, May 13, 1864" (Morrow, GA, 1864), National
88 Archives Military Records; Maj. C.W. Foster, "Order
89 from Sec. of War to Maj. W. H. Sidell, May 13, 1864,"
90 1864, National Archives Military Records.

91 23. Burbridge, "Order to Maj. W. H. Sidell, May 13, 1864."
92 24. Thomas Butler, "Reports of Mr. Butler: What the
93 Sanitary Commission Did for Colored Recruits at
94 Camp Nelson, Ky.," in *The U.S. Sanitary Commission
95 in the Valley of the Mississippi During the War of
96 the Rebellion*, by John S. Newberry (Cleveland, OH:
97 Fairbanks, Benedict, and Co., 1871), 519-26.

98 25. Col. Andrew H Clark, "Letter to Lieut., May 31"
99 (Washington, D.C., 1864), Record Group 383, part 4,
100 Entry 902, p. 58, National Archives Military Records.

45 19. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored*
46 *Troops 1862-1867*, 6.

47 20. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored*
48 *Troops 1862-1867*, 7.

49 21. Dobak, 11.

48 This order also authorized the creation of invalid
49 regiments for the infirm, old, and young, so these
50 enlistees would not be sent back to their owners
51 and be subjected to violence.

52 By mid-June 1,000 to 1,500 African American men
53 had entered Camp Nelson and by August over
54 2,000 were in camp.²⁶ In total, about 5,700 men
55 enlisted at the camp and about 10,000 men (forty
56 percent of Kentucky's African American soldiers)
57 passed through Camp Nelson. Eight USCT
58 regiments were founded there, and parts of five
59 other USCT regiments were trained or stationed
60 at Camp Nelson, making it the third largest such
61 center to emerge during the course of the war.

62 Kentucky was the last state in which the US Army
63 recruited black troops. During the war, seventy-
64 one percent of Kentucky's eligible white males
65 chose not to fight at all; of the minority who fought,
66 roughly two-thirds fought for the United States
67 and roughly one-third fought for the Confederacy.
68 By contrast, forty percent of Kentucky's African
69 American males—twenty-four thousand men—
70 fought for the United States.

71 At Camp Nelson, many enlistees got their first taste
72 of freedom, although it was tempered by army life.
73 Sergeant Elijah Marrs of the 12th U.S.C.H.A. wrote
74 his feelings about this change in status:

75 I can stand this . . . this is better than slavery,
76 though I do march in line at the tap of a drum.
77 I felt freedom in my bones, and when I saw the
78 American eagle with outspread wings, upon the
79 American flag, with the motto E Pluribus Unum,
80 the thought came to me, 'Give me liberty or give
81 me death.' Then all fear banished.²⁷

82 A friend of Sergeant Marrs, Corporal George
83 Thomas, also of the 12th, stated his strong feelings
84 on escaping slavery:

85 I enlisted in the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery
86 in the fall of 1864, and my only sorrow is that I
87 did not enlist sooner. I see, as it were a nation
88 born in a day- men and women- coming forth

89 26. Butler, "Reports of Mr. Butler: What the Sanitary
90 Commission Did for Colored Recruits at Camp Nelson,
91 Ky.," 519–26.
92 27. Elijah P. Marrs, *Life and History of the Reverend Elijah*
93 *P. Marrs, First Pastor of Beargrass Baptist Church, and*
94 *Author* (Louisville, KY: Bradley and Gilbert, 1885), 22.

1 from slavery's dark dungeons to the noonday
2 sunshine of the greatness of God's gifts-
3 Liberty.²⁸

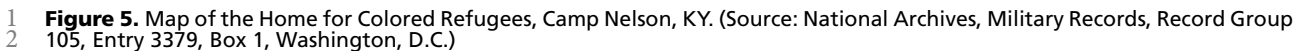
4 A USCT sergeant perhaps put it best when he
5 stated, "See how much better off we are now than
6 we was four years ago. It used to be five hundred
7 miles to get to Canada from Lexington, but now
8 it is only eighteen miles! Camp Nelson is now our
9 Canada."²⁹

10 The Rev. John G. Fee, a white abolitionist
11 sponsored by the American Missionary Association
12 (AMA), who taught and ministered to the soldiers
13 and would go on to establish the town of Ariel after
14 the war, described working with the soldiers:

15 Here are thousands of noble men, made in
16 the image of God, just emerging from the
17 constraints of slavery into the liberties and
18 responsibilities of free men, and of soldiers. I
19 find them manifesting an almost universal desire
20 to learn; and that they do make progress. . . I feel
21 that it is blessed to labor with such people. . .³⁰

22 After their training, Camp Nelson African
23 American troops performed a variety of duties.
24 They did garrison duty at Camp Nelson and
25 other Kentucky posts. They also helped protect
26 the Louisville & Nashville and Kentucky Central
27 Railroads, critical duty necessary to hold Federal
28 territory and protect supply lines. Camp Nelson's
29 USCT troops were involved in a number of large
30 campaigns and battles, including the 1864 battles
31 of Marion and Saltville, as well as the sieges of
32 Richmond and Petersburg in Virginia.³¹

33 28. Edwin S. Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters*
34 *from African American Soldiers in the Union Army,*
35 *1861-1865* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge
36 University Press, 1992), 189.
37 29. Joseph Simpson, "Letter to James H. Tuke and
38 Frederick Seebchom, July 1, 1865" (London,
39 England: Friends Central Committee for the Relief of
40 Emancipated Negroes, 1865), 23.
41 30. John G. Fee, "Letter to Brother Jocelyn" (Berea,
42 Kentucky: Berea College, August 8, 1864), American
43 Missionary Association Archives.
44 31. William C. Davis, "The Saltville Massacre," *Civil War*
45 *Times Illustrated*, 1971, 46–47; Thomas D. Mays,
46 *The Saltville Massacre* (Fort Worth, TX: Ryan Place
47 Publishers, 1995), 72.



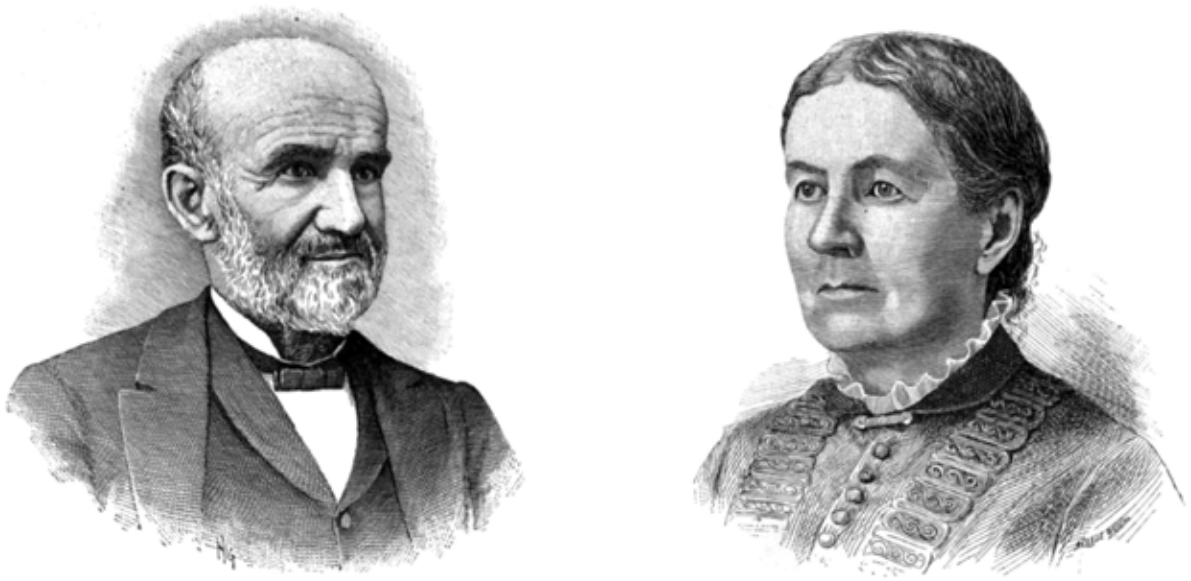


Figure 6. John G. Fee and Matilda H. Fee, 1891. Abolitionist, minister, educator, and founder of Berea College, John G. Fee was the strongest ally of the Ariel community, school, and church from his arrival at Camp Nelson in 1864 until his death in 1901. Fee's tireless advocacy for Black freedom, equality, and opportunity helped to sustain the community and its institutions through the difficult decades after the Civil War. A partner in her husband's work, Matilda H. Fee sold her inheritance to raise the remaining funds to buy the National Home for Colored Refugees site so that it could be sold to Black veterans and developed as the community of Ariel (now Hall). (Source: John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee, Berea, Kentucky*, (Chicago, IL: National Christian Association, 1891), frontispieces)

Camp Nelson as a Refuge

When African American recruits entered Camp Nelson, their families, who were also looking for freedom and opportunity, often accompanied them. Sometimes the families showed up afterward, escaping brutal treatment by slaveholders who retaliated against the spouses of enlisted men. "Across the South, the families of black men who enlisted in the Union armies were tortured, harassed, and assaulted by white Southerners, largely slaveholders and their cronies, who used violence to punish African Americans who exercised personal autonomy and struck their own blows against the institution of slavery within the federal ranks."³²

The army had no clear policy as to what to do with these families. Since they were still considered enslaved, and not useful in terms of enlistment, some officers wanted them removed. On a bitterly cold day in late November 1864, the camp commander, Brigadier General Speed S. Fry, ordered over 400 refugees out of Camp Nelson.

This order was eventually countermanded, but not before 102 refugees died of exposure and disease.³³

The political uproar following this incident led to the March 3, 1865 Congressional Act that freed families of the recruits and established a home for them. This home, known as the National Home for Colored Refugees, eventually contained ninety-seven cottages, fifty tents, and fifty-five cabins, a school, four barracks, a large mess hall, a hospital, and a laundry. It housed over three thousand women and children.³⁴ [Figure 5]

The refugee home was administered jointly by the army (**Hall, Superintendent**) and the American Missionary Association (AMA), a New York-based abolitionist organization that staffed schools for

32. Jacob Alan Glover, "One Dead Freedman: Everyday Racial Violence, Black Freedom, and American Citizenship, 1863-1871," PDF (University of Kentucky, 2017), 28, <https://doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2017.258>.

33. John G. Fee, "Letter to Lewis Tappan, February 21, 1865" (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1865), American Missionary Association Archives; Abisha Scofield, "Letter to William Goodell, November 30, 1864" (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1864), American Missionary Association Archives; Richard Sears, *A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man: John G Fee and the Camp Nelson* (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1986), 13.

34. John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee* (Chicago, IL: National Christian Association, 1891); Sears, *A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man: John G Fee and the Camp Nelson*, 38; Lafayette Hammond, "Letter to Capt. Harlan, June 10th, 1865," 1865, National Archives Military Records.

1 newly emancipated people in Union-occupied
2 territories. Established in New York in 1846, the
3 AMA “sought to free the slaves, convert them
4 to Christianity and provide them with a suitable
5 education.”³⁵ Abolitionist, minister, and educator
6 John G. Fee had arrived at Camp Nelson in 1864,
7 under the sponsorship of the AMA, to serve and
8 advocate for the Black enlistees and refugees
9 fleeing slavery. Fee would remain the strongest ally
10 and most tireless advocate of the Black community
11 at Camp Nelson for the rest of his life. [Figure 6].

12 The initial construction of the refugee camp
13 included large communal buildings. Fee and other
14 missionaries objected to these buildings, which
15 they felt would undermine families’ cohesion and
16 self-sufficiency and which presented more sanitary
17 challenges than lower-density housing. In the
18 spring of 1865, as a result of Fee’s petitions, the
19 army built ninety-seven 32-foot by 16-foot double
20 cottages along two streets running perpendicular
21 to the communal buildings.³⁶ Although the refugee
22 camp was large, with 121 buildings, the refugee
23 population swelled to more than three thousand
24 persons by the summer of 1865 and many refugees
25 lived in tents or built shanties from scrap materials.
26 These conditions led to poor sanitary conditions
27 and a shortage of food that weakened many of
28 the refugees, leading to a high death rate.³⁷ Major
29 General John M. Palmer noted in a March 1865
30 letter that it was an “urgent necessity” that not only
31 cabins be constructed for the refugees, but that
32 each lot should have its own garden or cropland.³⁸

33 Historians who have analyzed various records
34 related to African American history estimate that
35 by 1865, between 524,000 and 660,470 formerly
36 enslaved people lived in over two hundred refugee

53 camps across the country.³⁹ These families in
54 turn created communities, often immediately
55 adjacent to the refugee camps. The stability and
56 safety provided by these settlements offered a
57 modicum of support to African Americans facing
58 an uncertain future.

59 Community Development of Ariel

60 The development of the Ariel Community was a
61 direct result of the events that preceded it. Camp
62 Nelson served as a gateway to freedom, and from
63 here, African Americans sought to establish and
64 reestablish kin networks and community.

65 Seeking Safety

66 After the Civil War ended (April-May 1865), the
67 military continued operating Camp Nelson for
68 a short period. A rumor that remaining enslaved
69 persons would be freed on Independence Day that
70 year led to thousands gathering for celebrations in
71 US Army-held camps and towns, including Camp
72 Nelson:

73 Thousands from surrounding counties also
74 participated in a July 4 celebration at Camp
75 Nelson, planned by a committee of black men
76 and women. With “hundreds of dollars” in
77 contributions from visitors and soldiers, the
78 committee purchased foodstuffs later prepared
79 by the camp’s women. After a “grand review”
80 of soldiers which lasted until noon, the crowd
81 gathered at a grove of trees near the refugee
82 home to listen to martial music and patriotic
83 speeches. The celebration opened with prayer,
84 followed by songs from a children’s choir and
85 music from a military band. After a soldier read
86 the Declaration of Independence, Sergeant
87 Knox, in the first of several addresses by blacks,
88 reviewed the role blacks had played in American
89 and Biblical history. Then the integrated crowd
90 sat down to a magnificent dinner of breads,
91 meats, vegetables, and a variety of desserts. Later
92 in the afternoon, there were more speeches and
93 martial music, and songs by a quartet of black
94 soldiers from Chicago, Illinois.⁴⁰

37 35. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the
38 Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,
39 Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson
40 Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 2.

41 36. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, “Civil War
42 Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky,”
43 in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War
44 Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves
45 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 144.

46 37. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African
47 Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the
48 Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
49 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 25.

50 38. Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War
51 History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
52 2002), 187.

95 39. Abigail Cooper, “‘Away I Goin’ to Find My Mamma’:
96 Self-Emancipation, Migration, and Kingship in
97 Refugee Camps in the Civil War Era,” *Journal of
98 African American History* 102, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 448.
99 40. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From
100 Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 185.

Despite these celebrations, slavery was not legally ended nationwide until the passage of the 13th Amendment in December 1865. Federal abolition of slavery in the state brought outrage to many white Kentuckians, and the state refused to ratify the amendment (Kentucky would not ratify the amendment until 1976).

Kentucky was not subject to the Reconstruction Acts, which were reserved for the states that seceded from the United States. This meant that Kentucky only had a light presence of the Freedman's Bureau in the state, though the Freedman's Bureau did help the Camp Nelson refugee community. The lack of federal support in this regard resulted in the chaotic dismantling of the societal structure in Kentucky, which left African American citizens unprotected from gangs and mobs who violently rebelled against these changes by terrorizing, beating, raping, murdering, and lynching Black Kentuckians with impunity.⁴¹ Marion Lucas describes the postwar violence at Camp Nelson in *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*,

Communities of blacks which arose after the Civil War, such as Camp Nelson in Jessamine County, were special targets of random violence. Those who flocked into Camp Nelson during the war, seeking protection and assistance from federal authorities, did not anticipate the haste with which the government withdrew its support in 1865 and 1866. With no place to go, many blacks remained in Camp Nelson, looking to a small band of white northern missionaries for leadership. What had been a "City of Refuge" to desperate refugees in 1864 became to white "regulators" living in the area a "[*epithet removed*] nest" in 1866, and they vowed to break up the mostly black community. Early in 1866 before the government closed the camp, gangs of whites began beating black soldiers caught alone outside the perimeter, and as soon as federal authorities abandoned Camp Nelson in June 1866, regulators began threatening those who remained. Bands of armed ruffians frequently moved through camp at night, entering cabins and robbing blacks of their money, watches, and weapons.⁴²

As Marion explains, the "regulators" began targeting the white missionaries, whose presence offered a sense of protection to the Black community, threatening to kill the missionaries unless they left Camp Nelson. Awaiting the arrival of soldiers from the Freeman's Bureau for support, the Black community guarded and defended the missionaries, but were overtaken:

On November 19, 1866, at about 1:00 A.M., thirty regulators returned, easily capturing the missionaries. Many blacks fled into the night at the appearance of the regulators, but one man, John Burnside, refused to leave his house. Burnside fought off the attackers, wounding one severely and another mortally, but the mob eventually stormed his house and beat him mercilessly, leaving him for dead. After threatening the missionaries with death if they stayed, the attackers left. The next morning the small black community at Camp Nelson again became an armed camp. For eight days and nights the freedmen and their missionary friends stood guard, awaiting the arrival of bureau troops. The soldiers finally appeared on Saturday night but left in search of regulators a day later. Upon capturing two suspects, the troops returned to Lexington, leaving Camp Nelson blacks to fend for themselves. The regulators promptly returned and rode up and down the streets swearing revenge if harm came to their friends. The missionaries, with the aid of Gabriel Burdett, a black preacher, fled for their lives. Regulators continued to harass and attack Camp Nelson blacks and their white friends for years.⁴³

Between 1866 and 1868, most of Camp Nelson was dismantled and the land returned to agricultural uses. An 1895 article reported that most of the buildings "were knocked to pieces and the material sold to negroes and farmers for building cabins, barns and fences, and speculators and junk dealers purchased the other trappings."⁴⁴ Several of the buildings associated with the Home for Colored Refugees remained standing.

41. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 189.
42. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 193.

43. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 193.
44. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

1864-1884 Founding, Early Development, & Struggles

The village of Ariel was developed on the site of the National Home for Colored Refugees (Refugee Home) at Camp Nelson. [Figure 7, Figure 8, Figure 9, Figure 10, Figure 11] The Refugee Home was built between November 1864 and April 1865 to house people coming to Camp Nelson to escape from slavery, largely the wives and children of men who enlisted in the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). Construction of the Refugee Home followed the November 1864 expulsion of refugees from the military camp, which led to the deaths of more than one hundred women and children from exposure.⁴⁵ John Gregg Fee, a white abolitionist,

minister, and educator, had arrived at Camp Nelson in 1864 to serve and advocate for the Black enlistees and refugees fleeing slavery. In 1855, Fee had established Berea College, the first integrated and coeducational college in the South, but had been driven out of Kentucky by pro-slavery forces. Fee was supported by the American Missionary Association (AMA). Fee established a church and school at Camp Nelson and would remain the strongest ally and most tireless advocate of the Black community at Camp Nelson for the rest of his life.

45. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 24-25.

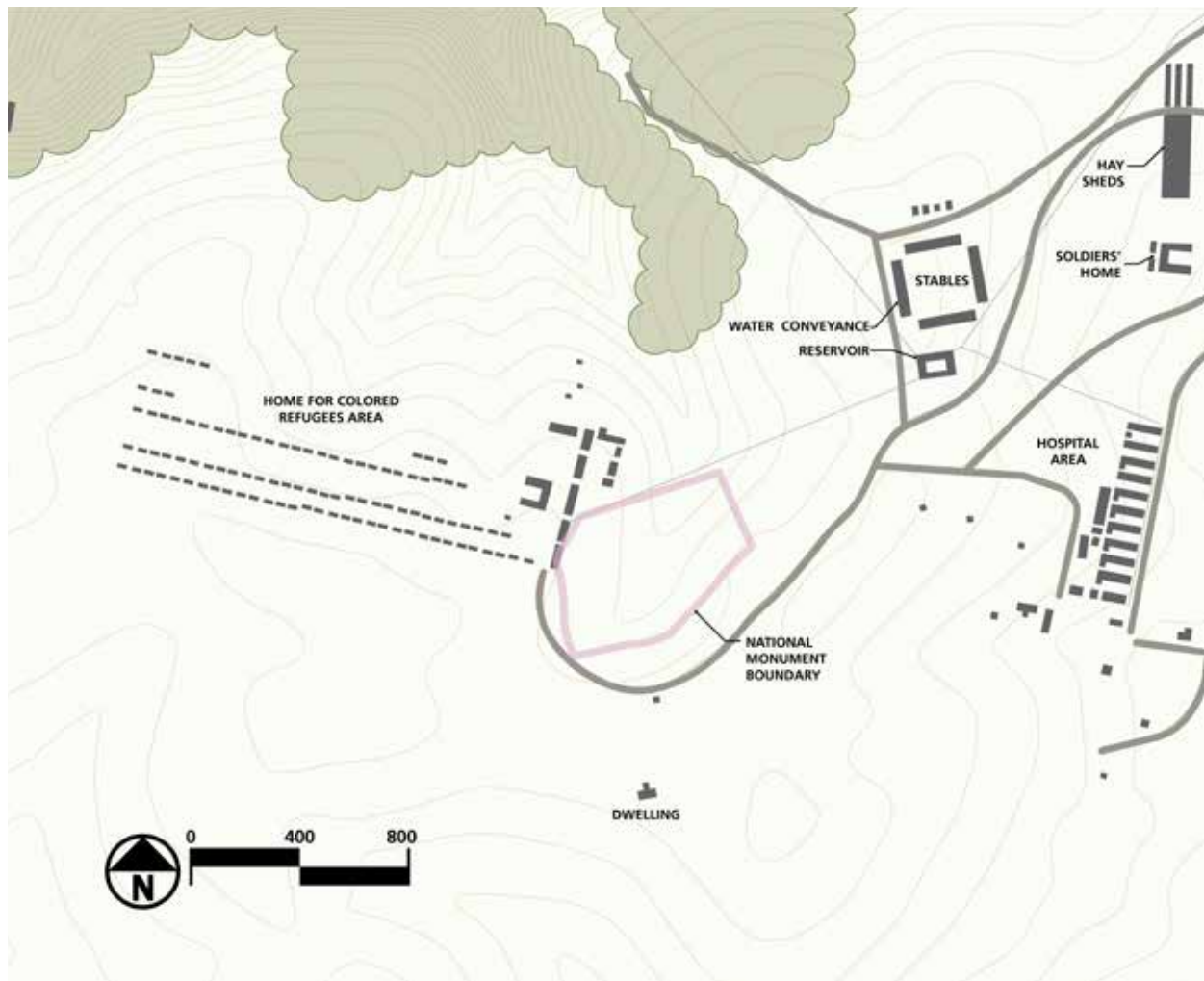


Figure 7. Map of National Home for Colored Refugees, 1866. This map shows the layout of the National Home for Colored Refugees on the site of the future village of Ariel/Hall. The Refugee Home buildings appear to have been just northwest of the present National Monument boundary. Adapted from survey map by A. B. Miller, February 19, 1866 [Figure 4]. (Source: WLA Studio) See Appendix B, Sheet 9 for enlarged version.



1 **Figure 8.** View of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing southeast, 1865. The School (Building 78) is the two-story
 2 building at left. U-shaped Dining Hall (Building 79) is visible at center. Beyond the Dining Hall is the Head Dormitory (Building
 3 75), flanked by four wards (Buildings 74). The rows of refugee cottages are visible at right. The center of the image shows tents
 4 providing temporary quarters for refugees. At left are cabins or huts built by refugees. (Source: National Archives, Still Picture
 5 Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)



6 **Figure 9.** View of the Head Dormitory (Building 75) of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing north, 1865. The
 7 buildings at right and left are two of the wards (Buildings 74) and may be the “wings” mentioned at the time the Head
 8 Dormitory was purchased for Ariel Academy in 1868. These buildings formed the original facilities of Ariel Academy. (Source:
 9 National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)



1 **Figure 10.** Students and teachers from the Camp Nelson school in front of one of the ward buildings (Buildings 74) at the
 2 National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. This was probably taken along the northwest elevation of the northernmost ward
 3 building, visible immediately behind and to the right of the School House in Figure 8; the window visible at center right in this
 4 view appears to be the same window visible in Figure 8. The woman at center and two men seated to the right appear to be
 5 teachers supplied by the American Missionary Association. One of the men may be Rev. Abishai Scofield and woman may be
 6 his wife, Ann Janett Marvin Scofield, or his daughter, Elizabeth Scofield. The photographer is in a similar position to Figure 11,
 7 where the camera is rotated approximately ninety degrees to the left from this view. (Source: National Archives, Still Picture
 8 Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)



9 **Figure 11.** Refugees at the School House (Building 78) at the National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. This photograph
 10 shows the southwest and southeast elevations of the building that was built to house the school founded by John Fee in 1864.
 11 The man at the top of the stairs might be John Fee or Rev. Abishai Scofield or he may be a refugee. The photographer is in a
 12 similar position to Figure 10, where the camera is rotated approximately ninety degrees to the right from this view. (Source:
 13 National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)



Figure 12. View northwest along the south street of double cottages (Buildings 85) at the National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. These cottages were built to provide refugees with sanitary housing and were designed better support the maintenance of family units. This street became Row Street when the village of Ariel was laid out in 1868. The camera appears to be placed near the present curve of Church Street (formerly the intersection of Front and Row Streets), in a similar position and orientation to Figure 37. (Source: National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)

The initial construction of the Refugee Home included large communal dormitory buildings. Fee and other missionaries objected to these buildings, which they felt would undermine families' cohesion and self-sufficiency and which presented more sanitary challenges than lower-density housing. In the spring of 1865, as a result of Fee's petitions, the army built ninety-seven 32-by-16-foot double cottages along two streets running perpendicular to the communal buildings.⁴⁶ [Figure 12] Although the Refugee Home was large, with 121 buildings, the refugee population swelled to more than three thousand persons by the summer of 1865 and many refugees lived in tents or built shanties from scrap materials. Shortly after the end of the war, Fee and his associates began plans to turn the site into a racially integrated farm village centered on a church and

school. Fee believed that for newly freed African Americans to not be condemned to destitution, the federal government "must adopt a policy of bold action. As a minimum, blacks should be allowed to acquire land and achieve economic success, thereby assuring independence", both as a matter of personal dignity and respect in society.⁴⁷ They envisioned a program to promote Black land ownership by selling lots "to black families who possessed strong moral character."⁴⁸ The Ariel (now Hall) community would develop out of these efforts," and hoped to intersperse sympathetic white families to provide a degree of protection from hostile outsiders.⁴⁹ The first step, acquisition

46. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 144.

47. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 185.

48. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 15.

49. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 15.

1 of the land and buildings of the Refugee Home,
2 would take more than two years and a great deal of
3 effort.

4 On October 31, 1865, an interracial group
5 consisting of Fee, Gabriel Burdett, George
6 Blakeman, and Abishai Scofield wrote to Major
7 General O. O. Howard, commissioner of the
8 Freedmen's Bureau, "to request that the buildings
9 of and all the appurtenances to the Refugee
10 Home in Camp Nelson Ky be conveyed to us,
11 and our successor in office—to be used by us, as
12 we now design, for school purposes; and this on
13 condition that we in paying for the lands (farm)
14 on which the buildings are erected, shall satisfy
15 Mr. Joseph Moss for damages he now claims from
16 the government."⁵⁰ Joseph M. Moss was a white
17 landowner whose property had been requisitioned
18 during the war. In another letter of the same
19 date, Fee, Burdett, and Scofield wrote, "Colored
20 soldiers now being mustered out desire to buy the
21 land, divide it into lots, attach one of the [existing]
22 cottages to each lot (from 4 to 5 acres each) – have
23 a home for their families, and a school for their
24 children. . . . We also propose to intersperse white
25 families, who are true friends, as far as possible.
26 The precedent will be good, and the highest good
27 of the colored people promoted. To such friends as
28 shall thus come in, we shall give the same facilities
29 we do to the colored men."⁵¹ January 1866, the
30 *American Missionary* reported the following:

31 Rev. John G. Fee is anxious to provide some
32 way to make it possible for the colored people
33 of Kentucky to become owners of land. He says
34 that white men there, owning from two hundred
35 to four hundred acres of land, "will not sell a
36 scrap to a [epithet removed]." He has proposed
37 to persons in Ohio and elsewhere, to form a
38 company, and buy and sell lands to colored men
39 and others on equitable business principles,
40 securing a moderate but fair profit.⁵²

41 The National Home for Colored Refugees officially
42 closed in 1866, but the Freedmen's Bureau

52 struggled to relocate all of its residents due to lack
53 of funds and resentment from the surrounding
54 white community. "Missionaries helped to
55 relocate hundreds of refugees to northern states,
56 and arrangements were made for some refugees
57 to relocate on plantations in Arkansas and
58 Mississippi."⁵³ Another unnamed missionary
59 apparently personally financed transportation and
60 living expenses for 350 refugees at Camp Nelson to
61 relocate to Ohio.⁵⁴

62 In December 1866, Fee reported that there was
63 little possibility of accomplishing the goal of
64 creating a permanent community "unless we can
65 get ten thousand dollars to buy out Mr. Moss.
66 [...] His neighbors were opposed to his selling to
67 colored people or for a school of such."⁵⁵

68 By the spring of 1867, only a few hundred refugees
69 remained. Some were too ill to travel, while others
70 were the wives and children of USCT soldiers who
71 had not yet returned; many of these soldiers were
72 in Texas on military service that did not end until
73 1867, and their families wanted to remain in Camp
74 Nelson until they returned.⁵⁶ The 116th Regiment,
75 U. S. Colored Infantry, was mustered out by June
76 "and many of these soldiers were planning to settle
77 at Camp Nelson."⁵⁷ Fee reported that the soldiers
78 were "saving their money with which to buy homes
79 – The houses are ready—the land is ready—it is
80 central—easy access—we will look after it – The
81 planting of these returned soldiers there will give
82 the place social protection."⁵⁸

83 53. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African*
84 *Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the*
85 *Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
86 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 25.

87 54. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From*
88 *Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 179.

89 55. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A*
90 *Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky
91 Press, 2002), 353.

92 56. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African*
93 *Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the*
94 *Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
95 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 24-26.

96 57. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
97 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,*
98 *Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson*
99 *Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 14.

100 58. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History*
101 *of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine*
102 *County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp*
103 *Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995),
104 15.

43 50. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A*
44 *Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky
45 Press, 2002), 291.

46 51. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A*
47 *Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky
48 Press, 2002), 291.

49 52. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A*
50 *Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky
51 Press, 2002), 310.



CAMP NELSON.
(Present Inhabitants of the Camp.)



CAMP NELSON.
(Only Government Building Left.)

Figure 13. Illustrations of surviving standard double cottage (1865) from the National Home for Colored Refugees. Some of the cottages were retained and occupied by the settlers of Ariel. (Source: "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15)

A large boarding house with two wings, built as a part of the Refugee Home, was purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in April 1868 as the initial facilities of Ariel Academy.⁵⁹ Some of the refugee cottages appear to have survived. [Figure 13]

During this period, Fee petitioned the federal government to provide land for the refugees to settle on the Camp Nelson site but received no answer. He then sought private funding for the same purpose. According to Sears, "Although he tried to induce reformers in Ohio or other northern states to buy land in Camp Nelson and form a company to parcel out tracts to black buyers, Fee could find no one willing to help him. Since his patrimony was spent, his wife sold hers; Matilda Fee divested an additional \$500 to purchase the Camp Nelson land."⁶⁰

By June of 1867, Fee reported that "Moss is ready to sell" and warned that the land "may pass into other hands. He has a contract with me to let me have it for ten thousand dollars, if I can raise the money."⁶¹ Fee eventually persuaded Joseph M. Moss to sell him 130 acres around the Refugee Home site for less than the \$10,000 previously agreed upon. On February 29, 1868, Joseph M. Moss and Matilda H. Moss sold the 130 acres to

John G. Fee for \$7,525.⁶² Fee laid out the town of Ariel and sold the lots to Black veterans and former refugees who developed a permanent community.⁶³ According to Richard Sears, Fee secured a charter for the village from the state legislature.⁶⁴

Although Fee had hoped to sell all the lots within a year, the sale proceeded slowly over decades, with nine in 1868, one in 1869, two in 1870, one in 1871, one in 1872, two or three in 1875, and one in 1880. He reportedly sold the lots for about one fifth of their real value; deed records suggest that payment for the lots, ranging from half an acre to several acres, ranged from \$5.00 to \$150.⁶⁵ In 1872, Fee wrote, "I have just returned from a very fatiguing & exhausting trip, through rain & cold to & from Camp Nelson. That work is a great burden to me. I have not sold a lot during the year—have collected 155 dollars rent—have paid near one hundred for repairs. Have a debt of over 12 hundred dollars there."⁶⁶ The following year, he

59. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

60. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 185 n21.

61. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 369.

62. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 25-26.

63. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 26-27.

64. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151-152.

65. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 27.

66. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 304.

50 wrote, "Camp Nelson has been a great burden on
51 my shoulders. I do not see the end; yet my purpose
52 was to do good and had men met their pledges to
53 Gabriel Burdett I should not have been [financially]
54 embarrassed."⁶⁷ Fee continued selling lots through
55 the 1880s and 1890s, selling one in 1900, only a few
56 months before his death. His will stipulated that
57 the proceeds from the sale of his remaining lots be
58 given to the school; his heirs continued to sell lots
59 until the last was sold in 1904.⁶⁸

60 Of the Refugee Home buildings that remained
61 standing following the army's abandonment of
62 Camp Nelson, a large boarding house with two
63 wings was purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in
64 April 1868. This building became the first structure
65 associated with Ariel Academy.⁶⁹ Some of the
66 refugee cottages appear to have also survived.

67 The resulting village of Ariel was settled by
68 refugees who remained at Camp Nelson, USCT
69 veterans, and their families. At the time of the
70 1870 census, the village contained about twenty-
71 five households. An 1875 history of Berea College
72 reported, "at Camp Nelson there is still a large
73 colored settlement, the most moral, harmonious
74 and hopeful in the State."⁷⁰

75 The circumstances by which the Ariel/Hall
76 community developed is unique in contrast to the
77 typical formation of postbellum Black communities
78 in the Central Bluegrass. Bound within the
79 economic structure of the white ruling class, many
80 newly freed persons found themselves with limited
81 opportunities for housing and employment.

82 In 1869 an employment agency was established
83 in Lexington to help Negroes find jobs on the
84 estates, since most Negroes had had experience
85 only in agricultural work and were qualified
86 for few city jobs. The one alternative for most
87 rural Negroes was to remain in the country and
88 seek employment in the only occupations they

1 knew - farm work on the estates of their former
2 masters. Slaves had been housed on the estates
3 in small groups of rude cabins that served as
4 the center of all slave life and social activity.
5 Providing quarters and garden plots for freed
6 workers would have meant that estate owners
7 were still responsible for maintenance and taxes.
8 From the viewpoint of the estate owners, it **was**
9 **both easier and more desirable to have laborers**
10 **housed in their own cabins on their own land,**
11 **yet close to the estate so they owners, it was**
12 **both easier and more desirable to have laborers**
13 **housed in their own cabins on their own land,**
14 **yet close to the estate so** they would be readily
15 available. Negroes were restricted with regard to
16 where they might live. Impoverished, they could
17 not purchase Bluegrass property easily, nor
18 were they welcome in white communities. Many
19 estate owners responded to the opportunity to
20 secure a reliable labor pool by setting aside a
21 small tract of land at the back of their property
22 for resettlement of freed Negroes. Tracts of
23 ten to twenty acres were divided into lots of a
24 quarter acre to five acres, and the land was given
25 or sold at a modest price to the Negroes.⁷¹

26 When compared to these exploitative conditions,
27 the relative autonomy of the Ariel community
28 stands out as an anomaly among other rural village
29 had instituted fines for making oaths, getting
30 drunk, and other offenses to law and order.

31 Despite the hopes and aspirations of the village's
32 Black settlers, racial inequality persisted in
33 Kentucky. Although Kentucky had remained part
34 of the Union throughout the Civil War and most
35 Kentuckians who served in the war were Union
36 soldiers, the state saw significant white backlash
37 to Black communities developing in the region at
38 that time. Although Ariel provided more equitable
39 opportunities for the Black residents, Kim A.
40 McBride described the challenges faced during the
41 community's early years:

89 67. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
90 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
91 2002), lxiii.
92 68. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
93 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
94 2002), lx, lxiii.
95 69. Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
96 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
97 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.
98 70. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati:
99 Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.

42 The transition from slavery to wage labor was
43 not an easy one in central Kentucky. Initial
44 reports from the Freedman's Bureau office in
45 Lexington suggest that negotiated contracts
46 for payment of wages to ex-slaves were
47 widely ignored, but initially better honored in

48 71. Smith and Raitz, "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural
49 Estates in Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass," 227.



Figure 14. Unidentified homestead, Nicodemus, Graham County, Kansas. Many of the residents who left Ariel in the late-1870s as a part of the Exoduster Movement settled on homesteads in Kansas. These two photographs appear to document improvements to a family's homestead between ca.1895 and ca.1905. (Source: Nicodemus Historic District, Nicodemus, Graham County, KS, HABS KS-49, Historic American Buildings Survey, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ks0077/>)

Jessamine County because of the presence of Camp Nelson. However, Bureau officials also testified of widespread resentment against the camp, leading to several attacks in the fall of 1868 by local gangs, often called Raiders or Regulators. One of the leading missionaries, Abisha Scofield, was forced to leave Ariel and several African Americans were badly injured. Despite this violence, many USCT families and other refugees did permanently relocate around the old refugee camp, perhaps encouraged by the chance to buy land cheaply and the educational opportunity offered by Ariel Academy.⁷²

In 1874, a public school was established in the village, supplementing the work of Ariel Academy. In 1875, Burdett recognized the progress that the community was making with the combined leadership of Howard Fee, W. S. Overstreet, and himself. He saw it as a place where “all Christians could be educated as well as white children under the same advantages. And that the colorade [*sic*] people can perform the duties of citizens as well as any of the white people of the same state under the same circumstances.” The community had instituted fines for making oaths, getting drunk, and other offenses to law and order.

Despite the hopes and aspirations of the town's Black settlers, racial inequality persisted in Kentucky. Faced with violent attacks from organized white supremacist groups and a new

type of second-class citizenship, approximately 26,000 African Americans left the South to establish homesteads in Kansas during the 1870s, a general migration known as the Exoduster movement. In 1877, Rev. Gabriel Burdett led a group of African Americans from Kentucky to Kansas as a part of this movement.⁷³ “Emigrant groups from Fayette, Garrard, Scott, Boyle, Ohio, Jessamine, and Jefferson Counties in central and northern Kentucky participated in large numbers.”⁷⁴ [Figure 14] In January 1878, shortly after the departure of Burdett and the Exodusters, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* described the transition from Camp Nelson to the present village of Ariel: “At the close of the war all the buildings were sold and nearly all removed. Those remaining are in close proximity, and are owned and occupied by ‘The Nation’s Wards’—quite a village, and known as Ariel.”⁷⁵

Brian Eades writes that “This proved to be a perilous time for the citizens of Ariel. Shortly after Burdett’s departure, Howard Fee announced his intention of leaving the school.”⁷⁶ The departure of two of the community’s most respected leaders during the late-1870s presented many challenges.

73. Richard D. Sears, “Burdett, Gabriel,” *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 75.

74. Selena Sanderfer, “Exodusters,” *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 171.

75. Simeon, “Camp Nelson,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 23 January 1878, 3.

76. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

72. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 27.

1 While William S. Overstreet would remain in the
2 village until his death in 1901, the community
3 appears to have struggled to match the progress
4 made under the combined leadership of Burdett,
5 Fee, and Overstreet during the mid-1870s.

6 1884-1915 Peak of Development

7 Ariel Academy, renamed Camp Nelson Academy
8 in 1884, was a central institution in the village.
9 "By 1891, forty-two families had established a
10 farm village on this tract. The free church Fee had
11 founded was still there, and Ariel Academy was also
12 operational at that date."⁷⁷ The earliest known plat
13 of the village, titled "Map of the Town of Ariel,"
14 bears references to conveyances in 1891, suggesting
15 that it was prepared around that time. [Figure 15]
16 Although the north arrow is upside-down, the plat
17 is clearly related to the present street and parcel
18 boundaries of Hall. Angled streets (Row Street
19 and Brown Street) in the northern part of the plat
20 appear to correspond to the parallel streets of
21 double cottages that formed most of the Refugee
22 Home.

23 An article published in the Louisville *Courier-*
24 *Journal* in 1895 reported, "There is now upon
25 the site of the camp a negro village of some three
26 hundred souls. . . It is a rather thrifty village, and
27 has one of the best private schools utilized for
28 negroes in Kentucky."⁷⁸ The article included an
29 engraving of the "Only Government Building Left,"
30 depicting one of the double cottages matching
31 those seen in 1860s photographs of the Refugee
32 Home. [Figure 12, Figure 13] The cottage had
33 been adapted to permanent occupation, acquiring
34 a front porch sheltering its two front doors and
35 a stone chimney. It is possible that other Civil
36 War era buildings survived at this time; an 1897
37 article stated, "Many of the houses were erected
38 and used as barracks by the soldiers." The article
39 also reported that "the village of Camp Nelson,
40 is inhabited entirely by negroes" and that "Camp
41 Nelson [National] Cemetery, one of the largest
42 and most beautiful national burying grounds in the
43 South, adjoins the village, and thus every inch of
44 the little town contains historic mementos of the
45 deepest interest."⁷⁹

52 An 1898 history of Jessamine County reported that
53 "Camp Nelson has become quite an important
54 village in the last few years" and indicates that
55 the village was located "at the mouth of Hickman
56 creek, near the wooden bridge, that spans the
57 Kentucky river, on the line of the Lexington and
58 Danville turnpike."⁸⁰ While this description seems
59 to indicate the village was on the river, subsequent
60 sentences clearly reference the village of Ariel/Hall,
61 noting that the population was mostly Black and
62 that "Ariel College is located at Camp Nelson."⁸¹

63 A 1902 description of the Camp Nelson Academy
64 reported, "The buildings are adjacent to the village
65 of Camp Nelson, composed of colored citizens
66 who settled there immediately after the war. Of the
67 forty-four families in the village, forty-two have
68 their own homesteads. The village has a charter
69 from the State Legislature and no intoxicating
70 liquors are sold in it."⁸² A visitor from Berea
71 that year "commented on the neatness of the
72 community and that nearly every home boasted
73 such refinements as a sewing machine or organ.
74 The visitor was much impressed by a local choir
75 of twenty-five girls, called the Jubilee Singers."⁸³
76 In 1903, Camp Nelson Academy became the Fee
77 Memorial Institute, operating with the support
78 of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian
79 Church in the United States of America (PCUSA).
80 In addition to its role as a center for Black
81 education in Kentucky, the community was known
82 for its music from at least the 1890s into the 1920s.
83 "Music seems to have flourished in the community,
84 which besides the Jubilee Singers, included a brass
85 band of at least 16 members and a string band of
86 four or five who recorded several songs, one called
87 the Camp Nelson Blues, in the 1920s."⁸⁴

88 80. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County,*
89 *Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*
90 (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898),
91 185.

92 81. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County,*
93 *Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*
94 (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898),
95 185.

96 82. G. F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored*
97 *People* (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Ferguson, Co., 1902),
98 260.

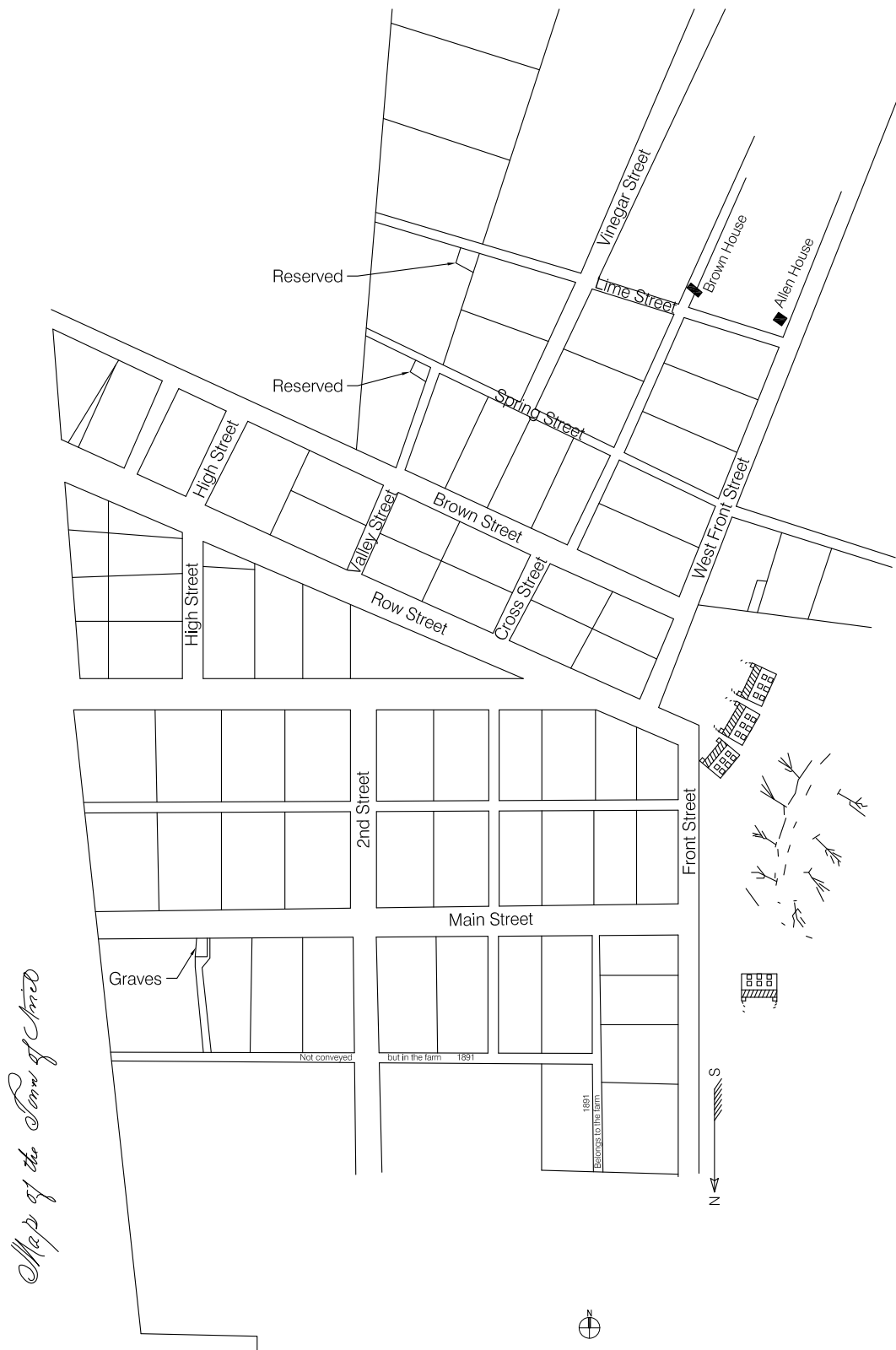
99 83. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African*
100 *Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the*
101 *Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
102 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28.

103 84. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African*
104 *Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the*
105 *Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
106 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28.

46 77. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
47 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
48 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 185 n21.

49 78. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal*
50 (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

51 79. "Melodies," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 December 1897, 9.



Map of the Town of Ariel, ca.1891

1 **Figure 15.** "Map of the Town of Ariel," redrawn from the photocopy of a ca. 1891 plat map. This appears to
2 reflect the village as laid out by John G. Fee in 1868. Row and Brown Streets appear to align with the rows
3 of cottages at the Refugee Home. The three house symbols at the corner of Front and Row Streets appear to
4 represent Ariel Academy, possibly showing the Head Dormitory (Building 75) and two of the flanking wards
5 (Buildings 74) purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868. The ravine east of Front Street is shown by the
6 trees and dashed lines. Main Street is now Hall Road. The map's original north arrow is actually pointing
7 south. (Source: RATIO Architects)

Census records indicate that most residents of Ariel worked as farm laborers or servants in 1870 and 1880. By 1900, most men were still farm laborers, but some were farmers or worked at the E. J. Curley distillery in the village of Camp Nelson on the river. Most women in the community worked at home, but some worked as laundresses, domestic servants, or teachers at Ariel Academy or the local public school (established in 1874).⁸⁵ The village seems to have reached its peak of population around 1910. A December 1912 article reported, "The town has a population of about 400, and is entirely a negro settlement, the white people having a town of their own some miles distant. The town has not any mayor, policeman or jail. The only protection is the school and the churches."⁸⁶ Ariel remained a center for Black education in Kentucky for more than fifty years after the establishment of Ariel Academy in 1868. The community was also known for its music, including the Booker Orchestra, a noted string band led by John Booker.

1915-1995 Outmigration & Decline

During the early-1910s, the village began to see the effects of the Great Migration, as African Americans left the rural South for the promise of job opportunities and reduced racial hostility in Northern cities. A 1915 article about the Fee Memorial Institute highlighted the work in "checking the rush to the cities." That year, H. W. McNair, principal of the school and minister of Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson, organized members of the community to improve roads leading to the church and school. The article reported,

So great has been the influence of the school for good that special privileges have been given to the negroes living in the village. The county court has under consideration a plan whereby the negroes living in the school vicinity may be exempt from working the public road and will be allowed to keep up the roads leading to and from the school and church. The principal of the school had a meeting of negroes of the school community and formed a brigade to assemble on

a certain day each month to work our roads until all are in perfect order. The high sheriff heard of this meeting and the good effect it had, and told the principal that he would see to it that the above order would be carried through court. We are now waging a campaign to make every road in this vicinity an ideal road. We have no money with which to build roads, but we have strong muscles to break rock, to push the wheelbarrow, to dig ditches and do anything else where muscle power is needed. If the school has brought all of this to pass is she not worth her existence in the community and state?⁸⁷

The article, possibly written by McNair, noted, "Probably few churches and schools sustain the relation to the community that Fee Memorial Institute and Westminster church sustain to the community of which they are a part" and asserted that the somewhat isolated village was free of "that laxity of worship noticeable in communities otherwise equally favored but through which railroads pass."⁸⁸ The article asserted that the Fee Memorial Institute was doing critical work to support Black families who desired to remain in the village as farmers but would otherwise have left for work in a city. The article asked,

Is the Fee Memorial Institute making good? When I tell you that the school has been the means of checking the mad rush to the cities you will agree with me that even if it has done no more, it has done a great work for the colored people. We can name more than twenty families who will declare that had the school not been here they would have gone to the city, but with the school and church here they are satisfied to remain on the farm, most of them trying to purchase humble homes... "...we are trying to instill in the minds of the colored people... that their future welfare centers in the farm... but [we] must help them to make conditions on the farm such that they will have no desire to rush to the city... If we have checked the rush to the cities with our limited facilities what would the outcome be with facilities increased?⁸⁹

85. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28.
86. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 671.

87. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.
88. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.
89. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.

The “mad rush to the cities” noted in this article was the beginning of the Great Migration, the relocation of more than six million African Americans from the rural South to cities in the Midwest, Northeast, and West between 1910 and 1970. As a result of this migration, the percentage of the African American population living in the South dropped from eighty-nine percent in 1910 to fifty-three percent in 1970.⁹⁰ Between 1910 and 1970, Kentucky’s total population increased from 2,289,905 to 3,218,706. During that same period, Kentucky’s African American population declined from 261,656 to 230,793, or from eleven percent of the total in 1910 to seven percent in 1970. This outmigration was reflected in the village of Ariel / Hall as descendants of the community’s settlers began moving from rural Jessamine County to cities like Louisville, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati.

In 1915, the *Indianapolis Recorder*, an African American newspaper, reported, “An electric power plant and several business enterprises are signs of thrift noted in the little town of Camp Nelson, in Kentucky. The corporation is governed solely by colored people and from present indications bids fair to become an important business center for the farmers and other rural workers.”⁹¹ No further information on this power plant has been found and other sources suggest that electricity was not available to the village until the 1930s, becoming common by the 1950s.

The village began a sustained decline around 1920. The closure of the Curley distillery with the implementation of Prohibition in 1919 eliminated many jobs in the area. William Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-1998) recalled that “it was a nice place to live once upon a time” and that it started to decline when the distillery closed.⁹² The Fee Memorial Institute relocated to Nicholasville in 1924,

removing the population of students, faculty, and staff.

The Rural Electrification Act of 1936 provided federal loans to support the distribution of electric power to rural areas. While electrification in cities was widespread by the 1920s, power companies considered it economically infeasible to invest in the extensive infrastructure to serve farms and rural communities like those in the Camp Nelson area. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) completed 126 miles of rural lines in Jessamine, Fayette, and Madison Counties in June 1938. The power was turned on during an all-day celebration at Daniel Boone Cave Park near Camp Nelson. More than one thousand attendees consumed two hundred gallons of burgoo at the event, which included a mock funeral with the burial of a kerosene lamp staged by local 4-H clubs and the ceremonial switching on of a lightbulb by John M. Carmody, administrator of the REA. Although electric power was now available, it is unclear when residents of Ariel/Hall first connected to the utility.⁹³ Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929 in Camp Nelson) later recalled that her family got electricity at home about 1950.⁹⁴

The village of Ariel or Hall or “the Hall,” as it was known by the 1930s, experienced accelerated population decline during and after World War II. The village’s two stores appear to have closed by the late-1940s. Brian Eades writes, “By the 1950s, many descendants of the original settlers had left Hall in search of better job opportunities and an improved quality of life. Their homes were either sold or rented to outsiders who often had no connection to the original community.”⁹⁵

Hall residents interviewed in the 1994 oral history project, most born between the 1890s and the 1930s, recalled this as a period of long decline as young people moved away and older residents died. Many families retained absentee ownership

90. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

91. “Signs of Progress at Camp Nelson, Ky.,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, May 1915, 4. Camp Nelson connections to Indianapolis in this period included George Carpenter, the son of Marion and Maggie Carpenter.

92. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

93. “Power Surges to Bluegrass Farm Homes,” *Lexington Leader*, 16 June 1938, 1-2.

94. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.

95. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 20.

of their properties; some were rented out, others stood abandoned and gradually succumbed to demolition by neglect. Rev. John W. Robertson Jr. (1935-2016), who moved to the area in 1949 and then to Lexington in 1955, recalled that the village of Hall had been “really clean” and that “people had pride in their property;” in the years since, people had died and moved away, and he felt that the neglected state of the village reflected current residents’ lack of pride in their property.⁹⁶ Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929) recalled a time when “just about every lot had a house.”⁹⁷ Kay Anderson, who moved to Hall in 1979, had seen the local Black population dwindle and observed a gradual influx of white residents.⁹⁸

1995-2021

The development of Camp Nelson as a county historical park in the 1990s drew some attention to the Hall Community. This period saw a continuing influx of white residents, demolition of historic buildings, and the construction of new houses on the edges of the village. The Jim Beam Nature Preserve, spanning between the north side of Hall and the Kentucky River, opened March 1995.⁹⁹ Writing in 1997, Kim A. McBride noted the following:

Today the Hall community is much smaller and most of the original buildings are gone, as are the descendants of the original settlers. But the stories and memories of local character live on, like those about resident John Booker, remembered for his musical abilities as leader of the string band, and for his nighttime fox hunting. Prior to the hunts, Mr. Booker would round up his hounds by blowing a large horn inherited from his slave grandfather. This artifact, like

96. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride, 22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54>.

97. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.

98. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g>.

99. Andy Mead, “Conservancy working to buy up land to protect Kentucky River Palisades,” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 30 March 1995, B1.

the many memories of the remaining residents, provides a connection to the rich history of this community. A connection is also provided by the still flowing “Refugee Spring,” the original water source.

The Fee Memorial Chapel and a frame house which served as the residence for teachers or ministers, are still standing today and will help preserve the history of Ariel. These structures have been purchased by a local preservation association, which has plans for their restoration and interpretation.¹⁰⁰

In his 2002 book on Camp Nelson’s Civil War history, Richard D. Sears wrote of a recent winter visit to the village of Hall:

When I drove through Hall, an aged black woman with white hair, dressed in a winter coat, smiled and waved at me from the porch of her respectable little house; I suppose she is a descendant of Camp Nelson refugees, and I think she ran out of the house to see who was driving on the otherwise deserted road. There are not many houses in Hall, but lots of junked cars and some scattered trash. It’s very out of the way, even hard to find. The streets are just country roads, blacktop leading to gravel turning to dirt roads and then dead ending, frequently without warning. There are lots of dead end roads in Hall, and many spectacularly beautiful glimpses of the Palisades... I visited an old, dilapidated church (not the original building), perhaps on the site where Rev. John Gregg Fee organized the first congregation of Christians in Camp Nelson, where Rev. Gabriel Burdett preached for a decade after the war ended. In front of the church is a recently erected historical marker with pictures... Except for some all-too-human eyesores, Camp Nelson is a beautiful site, beautiful now, beautiful then in the mid-1860s, as many observers agreed.¹⁰¹

100. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28-29.

101. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 375.

Community Name

The community formed on the site of the Home for Colored Refugees has been known by several names since the 1860s. The name Camp Nelson continued to be used for much of its history. The camp was named for General William “Bull” Nelson (1824-1862), a naval officer and US Army general. Ariel Academy was named before March 1868, when its name appeared on a deed. In his study of Camp Nelson, Brian Eades notes that the community had adopted the name Ariel by September 1871.¹⁰² The name Ariel, occasionally spelled “Arial,” was used interchangeably with Camp Nelson for much of the period between 1871 and 1900. From at least 1878 into the 1910s there was an unrelated community called Mount Ariel in Allen County, Kentucky, twelve miles southwest of Scottsville.¹⁰³ In a 1994 interview, Kay Anderson reported that a friend in Hall had found two plat maps showing her house and that these plats called the town Matilda Park, named after John G. Fee’s wife.¹⁰⁴ To date, no other reference to this name has been found. It is also possible that Fee’s plat of the village of Ariel had designated land for a public park or square with the name Matilda Park.

Richard Sears states that the community’s name was taken from the sprite in William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (ca. 1610-1611), a literary paradigm of the freed slave.¹⁰⁵ Shakespeare’s works saw revived interest in the nineteenth century. There are other possible sources for the name “Ariel.” The biblical Hebrew אֲרִיֶּל (ari’él), literally translated as “lion of God,” was a poetic name for Jerusalem, used several times in Isaiah 29. A reference of this type could be expected from ministers like John G. Fee or Gabriel Burdett, a Black USCT enlistee who became Fee’s assistant and later minister of the church.

102. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 16.
103. Winston J. Davie, *Kentucky: Its Resources and Present Condition* (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Yeoman, 1878), 237.
104. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g>.
105. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 95.

A few Kentucky newspapers of 1864-1865 carried news of Camp Nelson on the same page as reports about the steamship *Ariel* (1855).¹⁰⁶ Built in New York for magnate Cornelius “Commodore” Vanderbilt, the S.S. *Ariel* was a wooden-hulled ship with side paddlewheels and three sailing masts. She was built to run the Atlantic half of the New York-to-San Francisco route via the isthmus of Panama, the shortest means of passage until the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869.¹⁰⁷ The *Ariel* was chartered by the Department of War from 1861 to 1865. In 1862, en route from New York to Aspinwall (now Colón, Panama) with United States Marines, arms, and ammunition, the *Ariel* was captured by the screw sloop-of-war C.S.S. *Alabama* (1862). The Confederate troops seized the arms and ammunition and extorted bonds for \$228,000 before releasing the ship.¹⁰⁸ After the Civil War, the *Ariel* was used for transatlantic service by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. In October 1873, she struck a sunken reef 110 miles off Yokohama, Japan, and sank.¹⁰⁹

The name “Ariel” as applied to the community seems to have fallen out of use in the 1890s in favor of the broader name Camp Nelson.¹¹⁰ While Ariel Academy had been renamed Camp Nelson Academy in 1884, the old name appears in references as late as 1898. An 1898 county history describes the village of Camp Nelson as including the former Fitchport or Boone’s Knob settlement (camp Nelson on the Kentucky River)

106. *Louisville Daily Journal*, 27 June 1864, c8; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 9 September 1865, 3, c7; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 3 October 1865, 3, c2.
107. This leg ran between New York and Aspinwall (now Colón, Panama), the Atlantic terminus of the Panama Railroad (opened 1855). Passengers and cargo disembarked and travelled across the isthmus via the railroad, before taking another ship from Panama City to San Francisco.
108. “The Alabama Still at Work,” *Gallipolis Journal* (Gallipolis, OH), 1 January 1863, 2.
109. “Steamer Ariel,” The William Steinway Diary 1861-1896, Smithsonian Institution, accessed 25 July 2020, <https://americanhistory.si.edu/steinwaydiary/annotations/?id=887>; <https://americanhistory.si.edu/steinwaydiary/annotations/?id=887>; “S.S. Ariel (+1873),” Wreck Site, last updated 21 March 2016, <https://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?224897> <https://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?224897>.
110. The name “Ariel” reportedly appeared on an 1893 deed for the Williams property at 1395 Hall Road. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7jsx647c7b>.

1 at the north end of the covered bridge over the
 2 Kentucky River, Camp Nelson National Cemetery,
 3 and Ariel College.¹¹¹ The name Ariel was still in
 4 occasional use as of 1910, when a newspaper
 5 described “the negro settlement, Ariel” being
 6 “about a mile north-west of Camp Nelson” on
 7 the river.¹¹² Residents interviewed in the 1994 oral
 8 history project, most born between the 1890s and
 9 the 1930s, were generally unfamiliar with the name
 10 “Ariel,” suggesting that it had fallen out of use by
 11 their childhoods. The name Camp Nelson appears
 12 to have remained in use as an umbrella term
 13 encompassing the village on the river, the village of
 14 Ariel, and Poortown for the next century.

15 Ariel was widely known as “the Hall” by the 1930s.
 16 Several residents interviewed in 1994 noted that it
 17 was always “the Hall” and never simply “Hall.”¹¹³
 18 A 1940 Louisville *Courier-Journal* article about
 19 Marion Carpenter refers to “his home at Halls,
 20 near Camp Nelson, on the Kentucky River...”¹¹⁴
 21 Some speculate that the name was derived from
 22 the Benevolent Hall on Main Street, home of
 23 the general store and the second-floor public
 24 hall used for dances and other events.¹¹⁵ Richard
 25 Sears, who conducted extensive research on
 26 Camp Nelson and John G. Fee, suggests that the
 27 name may have honored Captain Theron E. Hall
 28 (1821-1880), a white abolitionist who served as
 29 assistant quartermaster of Camp Nelson from
 30 1863 to 1864 and superintendent of the Refugee
 31 Home from 1864 to 1865.¹¹⁶ [Figure 16] A native



Figure 16. Captain Theron E. Hall, 1863. Assistant quartermaster of Camp Nelson from 1863 to 1864 and superintendent of the Refugee Home from 1864 to 1865, Hall was known for his humane and sympathetic support for formerly enslaved people, both Black enlisted men and refugees. Hall was arrested for trying to stop the expulsion of refugees in 1864. He then broke the chain of command to report the mistreatment of the wives and children of USCT soldiers; as a result of Hall's actions, the expulsion order was rescinded, the officer who gave the order was removed from command, and Hall was placed in charge of the care of the refugees (Richard D. Sears, “A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man”: John G. Fee and the Camp Nelson Experience (Berea, KY: Berea College Press, 1986), 8-10, 12.). The village's present name of Hall may have been chosen to recognize his early support for the community. (Source: “Captain Theron E. Hall, A.Q.M., Acquia Creek, Va., February 1863.” February. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002698067/>)

77 of Massachusetts, “Hall solicited Fee’s help in
 78 providing religious, educational, and practical
 79 services for the black population of Camp Nelson.
 80 Hall especially wanted all the noncommissioned
 81 officers taught to read and write as soon as
 82 possible.”¹¹⁷ Hall was known for his humane and
 83 sympathetic support for both Black enlisted men
 84 and the formerly enslaved people in the refugee
 85 camp.¹¹⁸

86 Population

87 The village of Ariel, Camp Nelson, or Hall was
 88 unincorporated, and its population was rarely
 89 recorded in census data or other sources. An 1898
 90 history of Jessamine County reported of Camp
 91 Nelson—which appears to have included Ariel
 92 and the village at the north end of the covered
 93 bridge over the Kentucky River—“The population
 94 of the village is, at this time, about 200, mostly
 95 colored people, who have settled on the cliffs and

- 32 111. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 185.
- 36 112. “Camp Nelson,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 May 1910, 6.
- 38 113. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>; Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.
- 48 114. Howard Hardaway, “At 100 He’s Ready for a Pension,” *Courier-Journal*, 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.
- 50 115. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.
- 55 116. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

- 96 117. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 5.
- 98 118. Richard D. Sears, “A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man”: John G. Fee and the Camp Nelson Experience (Berea, KY: Berea College Press, 1986), 8-10, 12.

hills near the Kentucky river.”¹¹⁹ Estimates of the community’s population in period documents vary widely; some of this variation may be attributed to varying definitions of the boundaries of the village. Kim A. McBride and W. Stephen McBride, who conducted documentary research, archaeological investigation, and an oral history project in the community, report that the community’s population remained roughly stable into the 1920s at about forty households.¹²⁰

The village’s population may have been somewhat larger during its first decade. Membership statistics for the Fee Memorial Church may provide a proxy for the community’s population. The congregation fluctuated between 168 and 191 members between 1871 and 1876. The departure of Gabriel Burdett and other residents for Kansas in 1877 likely accounts for the drop from 191 to 146 and from one hundred to sixty-five Sunday school scholars; another drop between 1879 and 1880—from 146 to 111 members—may reflect the departure of additional members of the community seeking freedom and opportunity in Kansas. This forty-two percent decline in the congregation and a twenty-four percent decline in the Sunday school between 1876 and 1880 may suggest that the community’s population saw a comparable decline. During the 1880s, the congregation reported a steady membership of 111 and Sunday school attendance of seventy-six. Between 1908 and 1920, the congregation ranged between twenty-eight and fifty-one members and between forty and sixty-one Sunday school attendees. Although membership of the congregation as a proportion of the village population is not known, and the church likely drew members from outside the village, these changes reflect a decline of nearly eighty percent from a peak in the 1870s to the village’s apparent peak of development around 1910.

Despite a lack of clear documentation, patterns in available census documentation offer hints at the village’s population. Individuals known to have resided in the community typically appear together in consecutive blocks of households composed entirely of people whose race was recorded as “Black” (1900 through 1920) or “Negro” (1930 and 1940).¹²¹ The 1900 census includes a consecutive block of 148 persons whose race was listed as “Black,” in twenty-one families residing in twenty-one dwellings, giving an idea of the possible size of the village at the turn of the twentieth century.

The 1910 census includes a block of 178 persons whose race was listed as “Black” or “Mulatto,” with forty-three families residing in forty-three dwellings.¹²² A December 1912 article estimated the town’s population at about 400.¹²³ Forms for the 1920 census record a consecutive block of “Black” households on Camp Nelson Main Street and Camp Nelson Pike. This included 126 persons in thirty-five dwellings and thirty-five families. Six of the dwellings are noted as being farms.

Forms for the 1930 census record a consecutive block of “Negro” households on Camp Nelson Road and Hall Pike with a total of ninety-one persons in twenty-six families and twenty-six dwellings. Notes on the 1940 census forms indicate the beginning and end of the enumeration of the unincorporated town of Camp Nelson, part of which lay along U.S. Highway 27. The town included 146 residents, with a consecutive block of 67 white persons followed by a consecutive block of 79 “Negro” persons.

119. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 185.

120. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28; W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, “Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky,” in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 162.

121. From 1850 to 1920, the United States census recorded races including “White,” “Black,” and “Mulatto” (mixed Black and white ancestry). Beginning with the 1930 census, enumerators were instructed to list all people with any Black ancestry as “Negro,” following the “one drop rule” pervasive in Jim Crow era racial ideology.

122. Two white households, each in its own dwelling, are within this block but have not been counted in these totals.

123. “Fee Memorial Institute,” *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 671.

1 The following table presents population estimates
 2 from period documents and estimated from census
 3 forms.

Year	Est. Population	Dwellings	Families
1891			41
1895	200		
1900	148	21	21
1902			44
1910	178	43	43
1912	400		
1915	300		
1920	126	35 (6 farms)	35
1930	91	26	26
1940	146 (79 "Negro")	43 (24 "Negro")	43 (24 "Negro")

Landmarks

The histories of key landmarks in the village of Ariel / Hall provide context for the church and school buildings.

Public School

A county public school for African Americans was established in Ariel in 1874.¹²⁴ The public school stood across Row Street from the Baptist Church, on the parcel that is now 175 Church Street.¹²⁵ [Figure 17] It was next to the George Lewis House, which later burned.¹²⁶ A 1937 aerial photograph indicates that the school was a gable-front building that measured about 30 feet wide by 45 feet long. Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929 in Camp Nelson), daughter of Eva Bright Steele and Robert Steele, attended the public school, which she later described as a little one-room frame building with

a stove serving grades one through eight.¹²⁷ Around 1936 or 1937, the public school moved to Vineyard, less than a mile walk from the Hall.¹²⁸ The school building was demolished sometime between 1956 and 1979.

Two of the school's teachers are known, Miss Cordie Payne and Miss Betty Frye.¹²⁹ Cordelia "Cordie" Overstreet Payne (1879-1949), daughter of William Overstreet, was born in Ariel / Hall, attended the local public school, and went to Berea College for her teacher's certificate at about age eighteen. She was listed as a teacher in the common schools on the 1900, 1920, and 1930 censuses.¹³⁰ Bettie M. Frye (1867-1947) appears to have taught in several schools in Jessamine County. At the

124. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28.

125. Donald S. Carter, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt76m902209d>.

126. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

127. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.

128. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.

129. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

130. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

time of the 1920 census, she was living in Wilmore and teaching in a public school. By 1930, she had moved to Nicholasville and was teaching in a county school, possibly the school in the Hall. The 1940 census lists her as a teacher at an adult school.

Benevolent Hall

The Benevolent Hall was a two-story wood-frame building fronting Main Street (now Hall Road). A 1937 aerial photograph indicates that it stood on the southwest corner of the lot west of the Payne House (1360 Hall Road), facing Hall Road with its west side along the alley (Spring Street). [Figure 17] The first floor contained a general store, and the second floor contained a public hall. To date, no photographs of the building have been located.

The 1930 census lists Charles Clay, born in about 1856 in Kentucky, as a merchant with a retail store. Patricia R. True Walker (1928-1998), who spent most of the summer of 1938 with her grandmother in Poortown, remembered the Benevolent Hall as “a big two-story building” with clapboard siding that had weathered gray as if it had never been painted. She remembered going to the store to buy candy from Mr. Charlie Clay with pennies and noted that the nearest store was Kaufman’s large general store in Camp Nelson on the river. True also recalled going to an event, possibly a dance or a political rally, in the second-floor hall with her parents. The room was lit by coal oil lamps mounted on the walls and a crowd of people sitting in chairs in lines around the walls.¹³¹ The Benevolent Hall appears to have been demolished in the 1940s.¹³²

131. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.
132. It appears to be gone on a 1950 aerial photograph. In a 1994 interview, John W. Robertson Jr. reported that the store next to the Payne House was gone by the time that he came to Hall (ca. 1949-1955). John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride, 22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54>.

Camp Nelson Baptist Church

The Camp Nelson Baptist Church was organized about 1900 and appears to have been on the north side of Row Street since at least 1905.¹³³ [Figure 17] The congregation dedicated a building on Sunday, November 28, 1954.¹³⁴ The church burned in July 1968; the origin of the fire was never determined, but this fire occurred during a period when many Black churches were burned by those who sought to stop the progress to the Civil Rights Movement. The congregation served the lunch at the Homecoming of the Westminster Presbyterian Church that year, “with funds for the church building that burned.”¹³⁵ A new building was complete by June 1969. In 1974, a small community center building was built northwest of the Baptist Church. The Baptist Church had about six members in 1994.¹³⁶ The church underwent an expansion and remodeling during 2017-2018 under the leadership of Rev. R. P. Gates Sr.

Maggie & Marion Carpenter House, 1331 Hall Road

The surviving house at 1331 Hall Road provides a connection to one of the village’s earliest and longest-lived residents. The life of Marion Carpenter (1840-1942) provides context for the experience of the generation of families who settled the town of Ariel/Hall. Part of his life story is known from interviews conducted in 1937 and 1940, when he was ninety-six and one hundred years old, respectively, and much of it can be corroborated by documentary evidence. Marion was born July 10, 1840, in Somerset, Kentucky, to enslaved parents named Jane and Louis. Jane and her children were owned by Henry Davenport. Louis was owned by Joel Clifton and was a skilled miller and distiller who was usually hired out. During the late-1840s, he ran John Tate’s grist mill on the South Fork of Casey Creek.

In the late-1840s or early-1850s, Davenport died in debt and Jane and her eight children were sold

133. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28.
134. “Camp Nelson Baptist Church To Be Dedicated Sunday,” *Lexington Leader*, 26 November 1954, 3.
135. “Notes and Obituaries,” *Lexington Leader*, 21 July 1968, 12.
136. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g>.

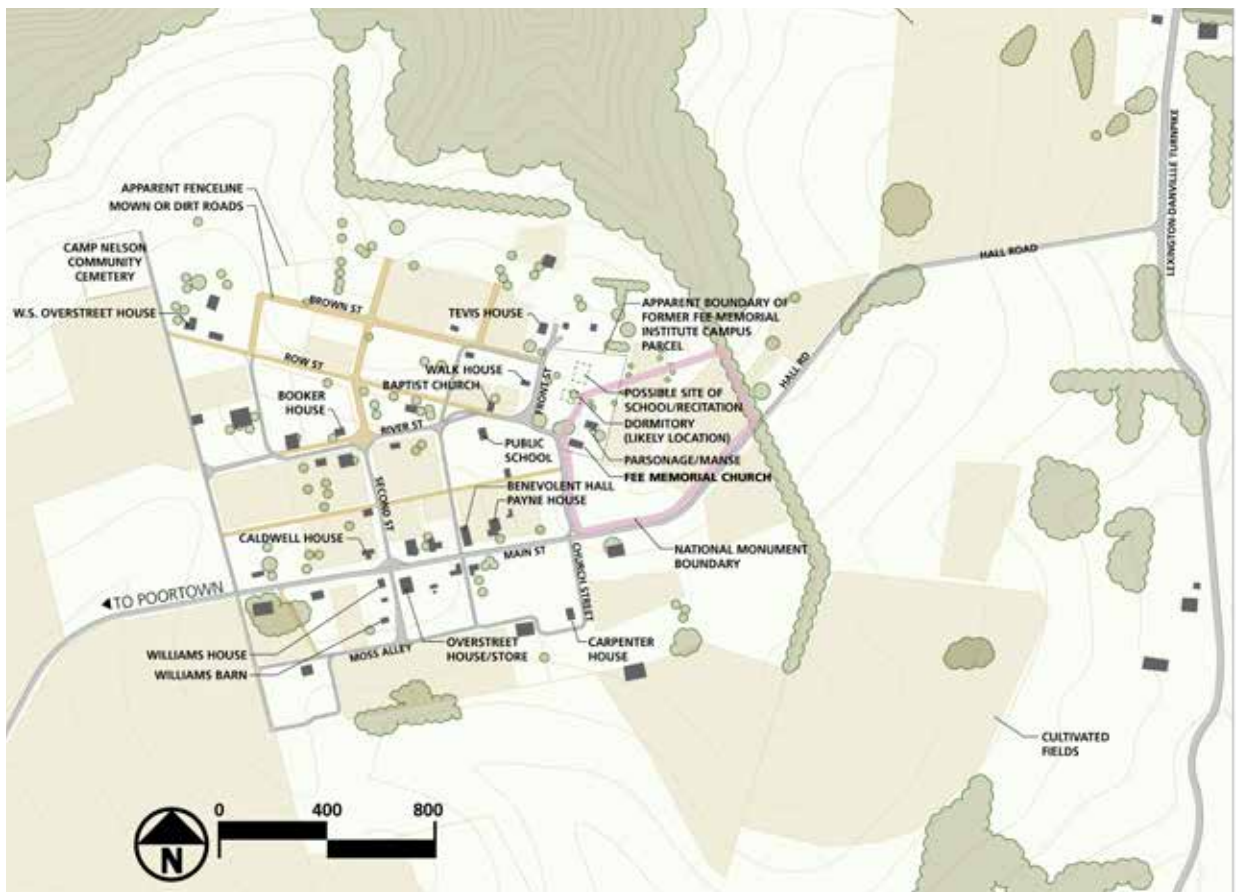


Figure 17. Map of the Hall (formerly Ariel), Kentucky, ca. 1937. Adapted from a 1937 aerial photograph with building and street labels derived from other documentary sources. The former Fee Memorial Institute campus is at right. Although the village's peak of development in the 1910s had passed and it had seen nearly twenty years of out-migration, this map gives a sense of the relative density that remained as of the late-1930s. (Source: WLA Studio) See Appendix B, Sheet 10 for enlarged version.

at auction to settle the estate's debts.¹³⁷ The story that Jane later related to Marion was that a white man named John Carpenter (1803-1865), who lived miles away in Casey County, came to the mill to talk to Louis about a plan to keep Jane and her children together. Carpenter would purchase Jane and the children, promising to ensure that their ownership remained in his immediate family so that Jane and her children would remain in the same neighborhood. Louis acted as intermediary between Carpenter and the auctioneer—also the town blacksmith—forming a secret agreement to arrange the transaction. During the auction, Carpenter bid a specific amount that matched the Davenport estate's debts. Before anyone else could bid, the auctioneer declared the family sold. When

slave dealers—including a wealthy man capable of outbidding Carpenter—who had planned to sell some of the children South objected, the auctioneer said that the sale was closed, and he could not reopen the bidding. Carpenter thus purchased Jane and her children for a relatively low price while agreeing to keep the family together. Marion later recalled, "I was just a little fellow then and one of Mr. Carpenter's sons carried me to our new home in front of him on his horse."¹³⁸

Around 1860, John Carpenter decided to divide the family, now numbering eleven, among his sons who

137. The 1850 census slave schedules for Casey County, Kentucky, list a Henry Davenport owning four enslaved people including a twenty-three-year-old woman and three children between the ages of one and six. This is likely the "H. Davenport" (born ca. 1840 in Kentucky) listed in Casey County in the 1850 census.

138. Howard Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension," *Courier-Journal*, 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.

all lived in the neighborhood.¹³⁹ Based on Marion's recollection, this occurred sometime between the death of Henry C. Carpenter in March 1859 and William A. Carpenter's twenty-first birthday in December 1861; other memories suggest that it occurred before the death of Dorinda Ann Carpenter in April 1859. As Marion recalled, Henry had died and Will was not yet of age to inherit property; Jacob "Jake" and John McDowell "Mack" Carpenter objected to the practice of slavery and declined to accept ownership of members of the family, leaving Owen and George Carpenter to inherit members of the family. Ownership of Marion and one brother passed to Owen, while his mother and the other six siblings passed to George.

The 1850 census slave schedules show that John Carpenter of Casey County District One owned fourteen enslaved people, including ten children. The 1860 census slave schedules for Casey County show that John Carpenter owned eighteen enslaved people, Owen S. Carpenter owned ten enslaved people, and George S. Carpenter owned eight enslaved people. They also show that Jacob Carpenter owned seven enslaved people and "John M.D. Carpenter" owned two enslaved people; Marion's later memory of their objection to slavery may have been inaccurate or they may have reached this conclusion sometime between 1860 and 1865. None of the Carpenters is listed as owning a man whose age would correspond with Marion's in 1860.

Owen Sutherland Carpenter (1828-1888) married Dorinda Ann Elliott (1835-1859) sometime between 1850 and 1853. In a later interview, Marion remembered the couple as "Old Marse" ("Old Master") and "Miss Dorinda Ann." Marion reported that the Carpenters treated the family

139. The 1937 article suggests this happened at John Carpenter's death, but documentary evidence and the 1940 article indicate that it occurred before Carpenter's death in 1865. On the night of May 1, 1865, "four or five ruffians went to the residence of Mr. John Carpenter, of Casey county, one of the most respected citizens of the county, and called him out and shot him dead, firing three balls through his body, either of which would have proved fatal. They then entered the house and robbed it of several hundred dollars and made off with their booty." A period newspaper report states that a Captain Penn who investigated found that four white men with blackened faces had committed the murder. "A Cowardly Murder," *Louisville Daily Journal*, 11 May 1865, 3.

kindly overall. Owen had a temper and would sometimes threaten to whip Marion, while Dorinda Ann was "a godly woman" who was "kind and gentle. If I had done something Old Marse didn't like and he was getting after me with a switch, she would come along and just take it out of his hand, never saying a word. And that would be the last of it. She saved me from many a whipping when I was young."¹⁴⁰ Dorinda Ann died of typhoid fever on April 24, 1859; this story suggests that Marion was living with Owen's family for some time before her death.¹⁴¹ A local oral tradition recorded by Kim McBride in 1994 stated that Marion's former owner came to apologize to him sometime after the Civil War, but that Marion did not recognize him. If true, this story would appear to refer to Owen and would have taken place sometime between 1865 and 1888.

In 1864, Marion went to Camp Nelson and enlisted in the US Army. He came down with typhoid fever the night of his enlistment and was largely unconscious for six weeks. His long recovery prevented him from entering service before the end of the war. He married Margaret "Maggie" Hergin/Hergins (1852-1918), daughter of Lucinda Hergin/Hergins, in the 1860s and the couple had seventeen children, of whom fifteen survived as of 1900. Some of these children appear to have attended Ariel Academy / Camp Nelson Academy / Fee Memorial Institute.

After the Civil War, Marion remained in the Camp Nelson neighborhood and would live there until 1940. He initially worked as a shoemaker, but later began stone and brick masonry and concrete work. This is reflected in census records. Marion does not appear to have been recorded in Jessamine County in the 1870 census. By 1880, he was listed as a stone mason. The 1900 census lists him as a mason, and the 1910 census lists him as a bricklayer. "He became a contractor and did much of the work on the immense Curley distillery."¹⁴² Marion may have been responsible for the stone

140. Joe Jordan, "Marion Carpenter, 96, Once Sold on Auction Block, Has Vivid Memories of Slave Time and Conflict that Closed It," *Lexington Leader*, 3 January 1937, 3.

141. An unnamed white infant, apparently a child of O. S. Carpenter, had died of typhoid fever on March 24.

142. Joe Jordan, "Marion Carpenter, 96, Once Sold on Auction Block, Has Vivid Memories of Slave Time and Conflict that Closed It," *Lexington Leader*, 3 January 1937, 3.

1 masonry foundations of the dormitory at Camp
2 Nelson Academy and the manse/parsonage as well
3 as the concrete foundation of the Fee Memorial
4 Church. He built several houses including the
5 two-story house at what is now 1331 Hall Road,
6 where he lived with his daughter and son-in-law
7 in 1940. Marion's wife Maggie held a candle while
8 he worked nights to complete the house: "All of
9 this inside work was done by candle light after
10 we had both been busy all day."¹⁴³ The house
11 features an L-shaped plan and likely dates from
12 sometime between 1880 and 1910. The Carpenter
13 House survives as of 2020 and is among the most
14 historically significant buildings remaining in Hall.

15 Between 1890 and 1925, most of Marion
16 and Maggie's children left Camp Nelson for
17 northern cities and the promise of employment
18 opportunities and reduced racial hostility. Their
19 stories reflect the larger trends of the Great
20 Migration, as African Americans left agricultural
21 work in the rural South. Mary Carpenter (1871-
22 1966) married David L. Younger about 1891
23 and moved to Cincinnati. Emma Carpenter
24 (born 1883), then a student at Camp Nelson
25 Academy, travelled to New York City with the
26 Camp Nelson Jubilee Singers in 1897.¹⁴⁴ She later
27 settled in Indianapolis, where she worked as a
28 domestic servant and cook for private families.
29 George Albert Carpenter (1875-1956) moved
30 to Indianapolis about 1906, where he married
31 Florence Ann "Fannie" White. From at least 1908
32 to 1915, George and Florence lived in the basement
33 of the Illinois Flats at 624 N. Illinois Street, where
34 George served as the buildings' janitor.¹⁴⁵ Social
35 news in the *Indianapolis Recorder*, the city's Black
36 newspaper, between 1909 and 1915 documents
37 that Florence visited her in-laws in Camp Nelson
38 and that Maggie Carpenter visited George and
39 Florence in Indianapolis and other relatives in
40 Cincinnati.¹⁴⁶ Marion Bond Carpenter (1895-1986)
41 moved to Columbus, Ohio, between 1910 and
42 1915, working as a porter, chauffeur, and mechanic.
43 Pearl A. Carpenter (born 1892) moved to

54 Cincinnati around 1916. Robert Lewis Carpenter
55 (1869-1950) followed in his father's profession as
56 a mason, with his occupation listed as stone mason
57 on the 1900, 1910, and 1920 census. He moved
58 from the Camp Nelson area to Indianapolis about
59 1923, where he worked as a concrete finisher and
60 bricklayer until his death.¹⁴⁷ By 1937, fifteen of the
61 couple's seventeen children were living and most
62 of their seventeen grandchildren lived in Indiana
63 and Ohio.

64 According to the *Lexington Leader* in 1937, "Uncle
65 Marion is held in high respect by his neighbors,
66 white and colored. He has a reputation in the
67 community for honesty and industry." The reporter
68 found that Marion had a clear, alert mind and
69 reported that he remained fairly vigorous and
70 healthy. He attributed his health and longevity to
71 cleanliness. The reporter also noted that Marion
72 possessed "a grace and politeness so natural" and
73 that he "accompanied his interviewer to the door
74 with expressions of thanks for the interest taken in
75 him."¹⁴⁸ In 1940, Marion's one hundredth birthday
76 was celebrated with a large party including his
77 children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and
78 many of his twelve great-great grandchildren. He
79 was reported to be "singularly active—has perfect
80 eyesight and perfect hearing. In appearance he
81 could well pass for 70. He has his full set of teeth.
82 Not only has he never lost one—he has never had
83 to have one filled."¹⁴⁹

84 In December 1940, Marion moved to Indianapolis
85 to live with his daughter, Emma Carpenter Bausley.
86 During the early-1940s, Emma's husband George
87 W. Bausley worked as the janitor of the Illinois
88 Flats, the same building where her brother George
89 Carpenter lived and worked thirty-five years
90 earlier. Marion remained in excellent health until
91 a fall two weeks before his death on April 21,
92 1942.¹⁵⁰ Marion Carpenter's funeral was held at the
93 First Baptist Church in Camp Nelson, and he was
94 buried in the family lot. At the time of his death,
95 he was survived by four sons, Robert and George

44 143. Howard Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension," 96
45 *Courier-Journal*, 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2. 97
46 144. "Jubilee Singers," *Lexington Herald*, 27 November 98
47 1897, 2. 99
48 145. "George A. Carpenter," *Indianapolis Star*, 4 March 100
49 1956, 2:12. 101
50 146. "Personal and Society," *Indianapolis Recorder*, 102
51 18 September 1909, 4; "In Society," *Indianapolis* 103
52 *Recorder*, 28 May 1910, 4; "Irvington, Ind.," 104
53 *Indianapolis Recorder*, 13 November 1915, 6. 105

147. "Robert L. Carpenter," *Indianapolis News*, 13 March
1950, 25.
148. Joe Jordan, "Marion Carpenter, 96, Once Sold on
Auction Block, Has Vivid Memories of Slave Time and
Conflict that Closed It," *Lexington Leader*, 3 January
1937, 3.
149. Howard Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension,"
Courier-Journal, 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.
150. "101-Year-Old Veteran Buried," *Indianapolis News*, 27
April 1942, 8.

1 Carpenter of Indianapolis, Henry and Marion
2 Carpenter of Camp Nelson; three daughters, Mary
3 Younger and Charlotte Thomas of Cincinnati
4 and Emma Bausley of Indianapolis; eighteen
5 grandchildren, twenty-seven great-grandchildren,
6 and ten great-great-grandchildren.¹⁵¹

7 **Matilda & Alex Williams House (ca. 1893/1984), 1395**
8 **Hall Road**

9 The Williams House stands at the southwest corner
10 of Main Street (Hall Road) and Second Street
11 (Overstreet Lane/Bowles Street). The property
12 was purchased by Alex Williams in 1893 and
13 the house is believed to have been built around
14 that time. This is among the best-documented
15 properties in the community and its story appears
16 to be representative of many of the village's other
17 residential properties.

18 Alexander "Alex" Williams (1864-1931) was born
19 in Clark County, Kentucky, to Solomon Williams
20 and Caroline Bryant. He married Matilda Harriet
21 "Tillie" Burnside (1871-1956) about 1888 and
22 the couple had five children: Mary Williams
23 (born 1889, died between 1900-1910), Caroline
24 "Carrie" Williams Overstreet (1891-1978), Susie
25 Elizabeth Williams Tardif Harris (1894-1956),
26 James Solomon Williams (1895-1972), and Nellie
27 Allen Williams Ison (1898-1973). The Williams
28 family were members of the Presbyterian Church.
29 Alex was listed a farm laborer on the 1900 and
30 1920 census forms, but the forms for 1910 and
31 1930 list him as a farmer. He was a farm laborer
32 at the time of his death. His funeral, conducted
33 by Dr. J. P. Miller and Dr. H. W. McNair, was held
34 in the Presbyterian Church.¹⁵² Alex conveyed the
35 property to Matilda in 1929.

36 The house was occupied by Carrie Williams
37 Overstreet after Matilda's death in 1956. It
38 passed to Carolyn Christine Ison Mitchell (1917-
39 1997), daughter of Nellie Williams Ison and
40 granddaughter of Alex and Matilda Williams, in
41 the 1970s. Christine graduated from Louisville
42 Municipal College for Negroes, the segregated
43 branch of the University of Louisville, in 1940 and
44 moved to Washington, D.C.; she spent her career
45 as a secretary in Washington and married Louis

49 A. Mitchell in there 1946.¹⁵³ The Williams House
50 reportedly sat vacant for about ten years before
51 Christine sold it to Nancy and Danny McKinney
52 in 1984. The McKinneys looked at the house in
53 February; by the time they closed on the property
54 in June, the house was heavily overgrown. They
55 renovated the house and lived there from 1984
56 to 1991. A 1994 oral history interview with the
57 McKinneys provides the detailed documentation
58 of the house's configuration, construction, and
59 later history.¹⁵⁴

60 A photograph of the house, found in the house
61 by the McKinneys, may show Alex and Matilda
62 Williams and their five children on the front porch
63 of the house. [Figure 18] The photograph appears
64 to date from between about 1905 and 1910; Mary
65 Williams, who may be one of the young women
66 in the photograph, died sometime between June
67 1900 and May 1910. To date, this is the only known
68 photograph showing a house or other building
69 in the village during this period. The McKinneys
70 reported that older neighbors had told them that
71 the Williams House was a "showplace of its time"
72 in the village.

73 In the photograph, the house was one-and-one-
74 half stories in height, with a side-gabled roof and
75 a façade divided into three bays. The center bay
76 contained the front door, while each of the outer
77 bays contained a two-over-two double-hung
78 window at the first and second floors. The second-
79 floor windows cut through the eave line and rose
80 into simple gabled dormers. The space between the
81 windows contained a hipped-roof porch featuring
82 turned posts and turned and scroll-sawn fretwork.
83 A brick chimney was centered on the ridgeline of
84 the wood-shingle roof. The photograph suggests
85 that the house may have had a paint scheme of
86 at least three colors, with the siding registering
87 as a medium color, the trim as a light color, and
88 the window sash and door registering as a dark
89 color. The windows were fitted with lace curtains
90 and roller shades. A wood picket fence composed
91 of pickets of varying width and height lined the
92 front of the lot, with a gate on axis with the front

46 151. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 25 April 1942, 11.

47 152. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 14
48 December 1931, 12.

93 153. "Dr. Wesley Gives Address at Municipal College
94 Finals," *Courier-Journal*, 6 June 1940, 17.

95 154. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21
96 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
97 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
98 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7jsx647c7b>.
99



Figure 18. Matilda & Alex Williams House (ca. 1893), 1395 Hall Road, ca. 1905-1910. This may show Alex and Matilda Williams (presumably the seated man and woman) and their five children. Mary Williams, who may be one of the young women in the photograph, died sometime between June 1900 and May 1910. To date, this is the only known photograph showing a house or other building in Ariel during this period. The house was extensively remodeled in 1984 but the porch remains recognizable as of 2020. (Source: W. Stephen McBride)

door. The Thompson-Bowles House, one block to the north at the southwest corner of River (Church) and Second (Bowles) Streets, appears to have originally reflected the same overall façade configuration.

The house's foundation was of "Kentucky marble" dry-laid on grade. The central chimney was made of broken pieces of brick; according to Dee Allen Overstreet (1914-1993), whose parents and grandparents owned the house next door, Alex Williams worked in a brick yard and was allowed to take home broken pieces that he used to build the chimney, using mud for mortar. The walls were of "boxed construction," the same method used for the construction of the adjacent Overstreet House and the Caldwell House that once stood across Main Street. This method, also used for the Civil War-era buildings built on the Refugee Home site in 1865, used minimal corner and intermediate wall framing and relied on vertical wall boards to serve

a structural function.¹⁵⁵ In the case of the Williams House, the tongue-and-groove vertical "boxing" was covered with wood weatherboard siding at the exterior and with layers of newspaper at the interior. Dee Allen Overstreet reported that the yellow poplar lumber was cut locally from huge poplar trees (*Liriodendron tulipifera*, also known as the tulip tree). The ceilings were of tongue-and-groove beadboard.

The front wing contained two rooms, a living room to the west and a bedroom to the east. The chimney served back-to-back fireplaces in the living room and bedroom and in the two second-floor bedrooms. The original staircase ran up one wall of the living room and was enclosed by a door. The staircase had very shallow treads and steep risers and required a turn at the top. The second floor had ceilings that followed the roofline, rising from about 4 feet at the north and south to about 6 or 7 feet at the ridge. Second floor furniture found

155. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 143.

1 in the house in 1984, including a bed and a mirror,
 2 had been cut down to fit under the low ceiling.
 3 A lean-to kitchen was attached to the rear of the
 4 house behind the living room, along with a back
 5 porch. The house contained two corner cupboards.
 6 A cistern was under the living room floor.

7 The house was filled with furniture and other items
 8 left behind by the Williams family, including “all
 9 kinds of pictures.” During the decade of vacancy, it
 10 had been broken into several times and ransacked,
 11 and mice and snakes had moved in. A deed for
 12 the property dated 1893, partially eaten by mice,
 13 was found in the house. Other items in the house
 14 included a large number of pictures and postcards
 15 of Abraham Lincoln and other signs that the family
 16 was “very patriotic.” The McKinnies reported
 17 that the house looked “identical to” the historic
 18 photograph except that the fence was gone.

19 The house was in worse condition than the
 20 McKinnies anticipated. Boards around the
 21 chimney on the second floor were scorched and
 22 the kitchen showed signs of at least two different
 23 fires. Their 1984 remodeling included raising
 24 the house up and installing a new foundation,
 25 removal of the original roof and rear kitchen wing,
 26 the addition of a gable-front gambrel roof, the
 27 addition of a new rear wing containing a kitchen
 28 and den, removal of the original staircase and
 29 replacement with a new stair on the other side of
 30 the wall, replacement of missing or damaged porch
 31 components, and replacing the porch’s hipped roof
 32 with a gable-front roof. Demolition of the porch
 33 roof revealed three layers of roofing, including
 34 wood shingles and the standing-seam metal roof
 35 that appears in the historic photograph.

36 The property retained many of the Williams’
 37 plantings in 1984. Trees included an apple orchard,
 38 a cherry tree, and many hackberries, as well as
 39 the stump of a poplar tree approximately 4 feet
 40 in diameter in front yard. Old flowers included
 41 red peonies, many bulbs, and a sweet autumn
 42 clematis (*Clematis terniflora*) that the McKinnies
 43 believed to be the same vine visible in the historic
 44 photograph—they tried to kill it for six years before
 45 giving up. Blackberries grew in the back yard. The
 46 McKinnies reported that the lot had unusually
 47 rich, fertile soil where flowers and vegetables
 48 flourished. During their occupancy, rain would
 49 cause rocks and metal tools to float up out of the
 50 ground. A wood-frame barn toward the rear of the

51 property along Second Street was built with posts
 52 set into the ground. The frame was of locust tree
 53 limbs. It had been used to hand tobacco until 1983.
 54 The barn was leaning about 2 feet in 1984; it was
 55 demolished in 1985. The property also included a
 56 coal shed or garage that was demolished around
 57 this time.

58 **Caldwell House, 1396 Hall Road**

59 This house, at the northwest corner of Main
 60 Street (Hall Road) and Second (Bowles) Street
 61 was owned by Maggie Caldwell, sometimes
 62 pronounced as “Colwell” or “Cowell.” The house
 63 had a dry-laid foundation of large pieces of shaped
 64 white limestone. The one-and-one-half-story
 65 house was clad in one-by-six boards. Descriptions
 66 recorded in the 1990s indicate that it may have
 67 been a hall-and-parlor or double-pen house.
 68 The façade included one door and one window
 69 about the same size as the door. Helen Booker
 70 Stewart remembered that the interior of the house
 71 included a kitchen on one side and a staircase
 72 and living room on the other. The attic contained
 73 two bedrooms. A rear addition was built in the
 74 1930s. Stewart believed it was the only house in
 75 Hall that had an underground root cellar, which
 76 was accessed by exterior entrance. The house was
 77 abandoned, with all of its windows broken out, by
 78 1984. During the 1980s, a neighbor would strip the
 79 house’s clapboards to burn them. One night in the
 80 mid-to-late 1980s, the front porch collapsed. By
 81 1994, the house was dilapidated and concealed by
 82 overgrowth. The house was demolished, and a new
 83 house built on the site in 2000.¹⁵⁶

84 **Old Cemetery, 1459 Hall Road**

85 The plat of the town of Ariel completed about 1891
 86 labels a small area at the northwest corner of this
 87 lot as “Graves.” According to a 1994 oral history
 88 interview with Nancy and Danny McKinney,
 89 who lived in the Williams House at 1395 Hall
 90 Road from 1984 to 1991, Miss Payne, a deceased
 91 neighbor, remembered that a small cemetery on
 92 this lot contained headstones with angels and other

93 156. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19
 94 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 95 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 96 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z>;
 97 Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21
 98 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 99 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 100 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7jsx647c7b>.

1 symbols. The cemetery was no longer visible by
2 1994.¹⁵⁷

3 The deed for John G. Fee's purchase of the 130
4 acres from Joseph M. Moss and Matilda H. Moss
5 on February 29, 1868, includes a reference to
6 "measuring out nine rods for [the] grave yard
7 where it now stands."¹⁵⁸ Because features of the
8 Refugee Home were not mentioned in the deed,
9 this may have been a Moss family cemetery that
10 predated the construction of the Refugee Home.
11 The description of carved headstones featuring
12 angels and other symbols could refer to a family
13 cemetery. This may also explain the "Graves"
14 noted on the ca.1891 plat.

15 **Camp Nelson Community Cemetery, Payne Lane**

16 This cemetery, sometimes known as the Camp
17 Nelson Family Cemetery, is at the northwest edge
18 of the village. Marked burials date from 1893 to
19 2021, but the cemetery is believed to contain many
20 more unmarked graves.

21 **Associated Communities**

22 The village known as Ariel, Camp Nelson, or the
23 Hall was part of a group of small communities
24 in southern Jessamine County. Documentation
25 from at least the 1890s through the 1950s suggests
26 that the boundaries of these communities were
27 somewhat fluid. The communities were sometimes
28 seen as separate villages but were often classed
29 together under the broader name of Camp Nelson.

30 **Boone's Knob / Fitchport / Camp Nelson on the 31 Kentucky River**

32 *1783-1865 Twin Villages*

33 This village was established on the cliffs above the
34 north bank of the Kentucky River, below a stone
35 outcropping known as Boone's Knob.¹⁵⁹ The knob
36 took its name from nearby Boone's Cave, where
37 Daniel Boone spent the winter of 1769. William

52 Hickman settled near the site and nearby Hickman
53 Creek was named for him. In 1783, the Virginia
54 legislature established a tobacco warehouse
55 at the mouth of Hickman Creek, and a public
56 ferry began operation there in 1785.¹⁶⁰ Villages
57 developed around the ferry landings on both sides
58 of the river around the time Kentucky entered
59 the United States as the fifteenth state in 1792. A
60 distillery known as Boone's Knob was established
61 in the north village about 1820 and would evolve
62 over the next century.¹⁶¹ By the late-1830s, the
63 community was known as Fitchport after Philonzo
64 S. Fitch (1810-1877), a New York-born farmer who
65 operated the ferry landing.

66 In 1838, a double lane covered bridge, commonly
67 known as the Hickman bridge, was built to carry
68 the Lexington, Nicholasville, and Lancaster
69 turnpike across the river at Boone's Knob. Erected
70 by noted bridge builder Louis B. Wernwag
71 (1769-1843) for \$30,000, the bridge was part of a
72 statewide infrastructure investment in railroads,
73 canals, and turnpikes. Built in six months by
74 approximately eighteen workers, the bridge was
75 fabricated in sections above the site and floated
76 down river on rafts for fitting together in place.
77 At 240 feet long, it was reported to be the longest
78 cantilevered wooden bridge built in the United
79 States. Wernwag was no stranger to innovative
80 bridge construction; born in Germany, he built
81 notable bridges in Pennsylvania and Maryland,
82 including the Lancaster Schuylkill Bridge (1812-
83 1813, burned 1838)—also called the "Colossus of
84 Fairmount"—near Philadelphia, and was based on
85 Virginus Island in Harper's Ferry, (West) Virginia,
86 from 1824 until his death. By the 1860s, the
87 Kentucky River bridge was known as the Hickman
88 Bridge for its location just above the mouth of
89 Hickman Creek.

90 The bridge appears to have forged a closer
91 connection between the villages on either side of
92 the river, as evidenced by the frequent relocations
93 of the post office between the two sides. Post
94 offices operating in the community included the

38 157. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21
39 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
40 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
41 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7jsx647c7b>.

43 158. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Brian R. Eades,
44 *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community*
45 *at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A*
46 *Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation &*
47 *Restoration Foundation* (1995), 25-26.

48 159. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County,*
49 *Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*
50 (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898),
51 151.

95 160. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County,*
96 *Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*
97 (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 37;
98 Lisa Power, "My Old Kentucky Home on the Block,"
99 *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 21 April 1985, magazine section,
100 12.

101 161. Andy Mead, "Fire destroys former distillery in
102 Jessamine," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 12 August 1986,
103 B1.

1 Fitchport post office at the south end of the bridge
 2 from 1839 to 1842, the Boone's Knob post office
 3 at the north end from 1843 to 1849, the Jessamine
 4 post office on either side at various times from 1853
 5 to 1863, and the Camp Nelson post office on either
 6 side at various times from 1863 until its closure in
 7 1920.¹⁶² By 1861, the village around the bridge's
 8 northern toll house included a steam flouring mill,
 9 a store, and a post office.¹⁶³ During the Civil War,
 10 the Boone's Knob distillery was used as a hospital
 11 and headquarters for Federal soldiers from Camp
 12 Nelson stationed to guard this strategic crossing of
 13 the Kentucky River.¹⁶⁴

14 *1865-1919 Postwar Growth*

15 In 1867, the distillery was acquired by Campbell,
 16 Curley & Co., founded by investors including Irish
 17 immigrant Edward J. Curley (1836-1921), and was
 18 expanded and renamed the Blue Grass Distillery.¹⁶⁵
 19 By 1872, the firm was known as E. J. Curley & Co.
 20 An advertisement that year read in part, "This
 21 is a small distillery situated on the banks of the
 22 Kentucky river, near Camp Nelson, in the Blue
 23 Grass region of Kentucky. Its capacity is limited,
 24 more attention being paid to the quality than the
 25 quantity of liquor produced."¹⁶⁶

26 The villages on either side of the bridge seem to
 27 have developed separate identities by the 1870s.
 28 In 1877, the village of Camp Nelson north of the
 29 bridge included a combined store and toll house,
 30 the E. J. Curley & Company distillery, and other
 31 buildings.¹⁶⁷ An 1898 county history describes the
 32 village of Camp Nelson as including the settlement
 33 at the north end of the covered bridge, Camp
 34 Nelson National Cemetery, and Ariel College in

53 Ariel (now Hall).¹⁶⁸ In 1879, the village south of the
 54 bridge, known as Fitchport or Hickman's Bridge,
 55 included a combination store and post office,
 56 several houses, and the Hickman Hotel.¹⁶⁹ By 1901,
 57 the hotel had closed and the village contained a
 58 distillery and a gristmill.¹⁷⁰

59 The E. J. Curley & Company distillery ceased
 60 production in 1919 with the advent of Prohibition,
 61 and the Camp Nelson post office closed the
 62 following year. The Camp Nelson Covered Bridge
 63 was replaced by a new steel truss bridge in 1927-
 64 1928 and, despite a years-long preservation battle,
 65 was demolished in 1933. Whiskey production
 66 resumed following the end of Prohibition in 1933.
 67 From the 1910s to the early-1940s, the Kaufman
 68 family operated a large general store in the
 69 village.¹⁷¹

70 *1919-1972 Prohibition, Tourism, and Distilling*

71 In 1928, a group of investors including W. S. Square
 72 of Lexington and E. W. Cook of Fort Thomas
 73 formed the Daniel Boone Lodge Company and
 74 purchased the former E. J. Curley & Co. distillery
 75 complex, noting that "the spacious old stone
 76 structure overlooks the Kentucky river at a point
 77 rich in scenic beauty and historical appeal..."¹⁷²
 78 The group announced plans to convert the
 79 complex "into a modern hotel of old English
 80 style architecture."¹⁷³ The company promoted
 81 the plan for the Daniel Boone Lodge as part of a
 82 larger resort known as Palisades Park, including
 83 publication of a rendering of the remodeled
 84 distillery by Churchill & Gillig, architects, of

35 162. "Camp Nelson, Kentucky," *Kentucky Atlas &*
 36 *Gazetteer*, accessed 18 January 2021, <https://www.kyatlas.com/ky-camp-nelson.html>.

38 163. This map labels the post office "Fitchport."
 39 *Topographical Map of the Counties of Bourbon,*
 40 *Fayette, Clark, Jessamine, and Woodford, Kentucky*
 41 (New York: Smith, Gallup & Co., 1861), accessed 18
 42 January 2021, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2011588004/>.

43 164. Andy Mead, "Fire destroys former distillery in
 44 Jessamine," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 12 August 1986,
 45 B1.

46 165. *Evansville Journal* (Evansville, IN), 19 October 1867, 4,
 47 c2.

48 166. "Blue Grass Distillery," *Weekly Arizona Miner*
 49 (Prescott, AZ), 3 August 1872, 3.

50 167. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine and*
 51 *Woodford Counties, Ky.* (Philadelphia: D. G. Beers &
 52 Co., 1877), 64-65.

85 168. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County,*
 86 *Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*
 87 (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898),
 88 185.

89 169. *Map of Garrard and Lincoln Counties, Kentucky*
 90 (Philadelphia: Beers & Lanagan, 1879), accessed 18
 91 January 2021, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/4cb53640-3cc5-0135-cd08-7ddaff92996f>.

92 170. Joseph Thomas, ed., *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the*
 93 *World* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1902), 780.

94 171. "Brave Deed," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY),
 95 17 April 1916, 1; Patricia R. Walker, interview by
 96 Kim McBride, 19 September 1994, History of Hall,
 97 Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn
 98 Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky
 99 Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.

100 172. "Plan Camp Nelson Hotel," *Lexington Herald*, 10
 101 November 1928, 1.

102 173. "Plan Camp Nelson Hotel," *Lexington Herald*, 10
 103 November 1928, 1.
 104
 105

1 Lexington.¹⁷⁴ Construction was to begin in
 2 March or April 1929, with a cost of approximately
 3 \$200,000.¹⁷⁵ “The distillery will be converted into
 4 a large four-story hotel designed to represent
 5 an early American tavern, having every modern
 6 convenience in the form of plumbing, heating and
 7 fixtures. . . [and] furnished in colonial style.”¹⁷⁶ The
 8 main building would contain fifty guest rooms—
 9 thirty-five with private bathrooms—a main dining
 10 room and private dining rooms seating up to
 11 two hundred people, a basement garage for one
 12 hundred automobiles, and a “spacious lobby with
 13 large mezzanine and a half dozen open courts, sun
 14 parlors, and porches.”¹⁷⁷ The company purchased
 15 large tracts of land with plans for a private hunting
 16 preserve, a golf course, and sites for “scores of
 17 artistic bungalows.”¹⁷⁸ By 1929, several new log
 18 guest cabins had been erected, with plans for
 19 others to be built of local stone.

20 Like other tourism developments of the period, the
 21 Daniel Boone Lodge would offer a combination
 22 of local history and scenic beauty. The Colonial
 23 Revival movement cultivated interest in American
 24 history and antiques that intensified in the 1920s.
 25 The advent of mass automobile ownership,
 26 leisure time, and disposable income among the
 27 expanding middle class provided a ready market
 28 for travel to sites associated with history and
 29 those offering natural scenery. The influence of
 30 the Arts and Crafts Movement sparked further
 31 interest in preindustrial handicrafts like weaving,
 32 pottery, and furniture-making; and new attention
 33 was brought to the survival of these crafts in
 34 Appalachia. Plans for the Daniel Boone Lodge
 35 and associated development in the village reflect
 36 these trends. An antique shop was to be located
 37 off the hotel lobby, businesses planning to open
 38 in the village included a factory specializing in
 39 the reproduction of antique furniture and an art

53 pottery factory, and the celebrated Churchill
 54 weavers of Berea announced plans to relocate to
 55 Camp Nelson.¹⁷⁹

56 Construction proceeded into 1930, and H. W.
 57 Churchill of Churchill & Gillig, architects, noted
 58 that August that the hotel was to be completed in
 59 the fall.¹⁸⁰ The stock market crash of 1929 and the
 60 ensuing Great Depression seem to have sealed
 61 the fate of the Daniel Boone Lodge. In December
 62 1931, the incomplete hotel was sold to Edwin K.
 63 Creasey of Covington, Kentucky, for \$33,334.¹⁸¹
 64 The property seems to have remained vacant until
 65 it was sold at auction in October 1935. The lone
 66 bidder, the Belle of Anderson County Distilling
 67 Company, paid \$96,200 to purchase the complex
 68 for conversion back into a distillery.¹⁸²

69 Although the Daniel Boone Inn project was not
 70 realized, automobile-oriented tourist development
 71 continued in the area. The Daniel Boone’s Cave
 72 tourist court just north of the village at the
 73 intersection of the highway and Boone Cave Road
 74 reflects typical roadside tourist developments of
 75 the 1920 to 1960 period. The property included a
 76 restaurant and gift shop, service station, and guest
 77 cabins. A 1940 postcard view of the “rustic” round-
 78 log main building of the complex that survives at
 79 7492 Old Danville Road shows a series of signs
 80 on the porch reflecting the nature of automobile
 81 tourism market of the period: “Hand-Made
 82 Mountain Pottery / Souvenirs—Gifts / Coffee Shop
 83 / Food / Sandwiches / Cold Drinks.”¹⁸³ A 1951 sale
 84 notice for the property notes the “attractive log
 85 cabin restaurant with rustic counter and stools. . .
 86 [and a] very cozy dining room with open fireplace,”
 87 a four-room owner’s apartment upstairs, and five
 88 log tourist cabins.¹⁸⁴

89 The village saw extensive news coverage in
 90 1934, when armed bandits held up the Kaufman

40 174. “Daniel Boone Lodge,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville,
 41 KY), 13 May 1929, 1.

42 175. “To Start Work Soon on Camp Nelson Hotel,”
 43 *Lexington Leader*, March 1929, 2.

44 176. “Resort Will Be Opened in Fall,” *Lexington Herald*, 12
 45 May 1929, 1.

46 177. “Daniel Boone Lodge to be a Great Resort,”
 47 *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 18 October 1929,
 48 1; “Trip Taken by Progress Body,” *Courier-Journal*
 49 (Louisville, KY), 21 June 1930, 3.

50 178. “Daniel Boone Lodge to be a Great Resort,”
 51 *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 18 October 1929,
 52 1.

91 179. “Daniel Boone Lodge to be a Great Resort,”
 92 *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 18 October 1929,
 93 1.

94 180. “Local Doings,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 13
 95 August 1930, 1.

96 181. “Daniel Boone Lodge Sold,” *Kentucky Advocate*
 97 (Danville, KY), 23 December 1931, 4.

98 182. “Daniel Boone Lodge Properties at Camp Nelson,”
 99 *Lexington Herald*, 13 October 1935, 1.

100 183. “Daniel Boone’s Cave ~Main Building ~U.S.
 101 27~Kentucky,” 1940, Graphic5_Box19_314, Kentucky
 102 Historical Society, <https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Morgan/id/9433>.

104 184. “At Auction,” *Lexington Herald*, 4 March 1951, 22.

brothers' general store, injuring William G. "Will" Kaufman and killing George Kaufman.¹⁸⁵ A federal narcotics raid in April 1941 seized two hundred pounds of marijuana and led to the arrest of five Jessamine County men, three of whom lived in Camp Nelson. Coverage of this raid reported that "wild hemp, the leaves and flowers of which produce marihuana [*sic*], grows profusely along the river bottoms near Camp Nelson."¹⁸⁶

United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps appear to chart the evolving definition of Camp Nelson's geographic area. From 1905 to 1931, the village at the north end of the bridge over the Kentucky River was labeled as Camp Nelson. From 1953 on, the label was placed farther north, on a ravine just south of Poortown Road in the Poortown area.

The Belle of Anderson County Distillery became the Kentucky River Distillery in 1942 and was renamed the Old Fitzgerald Distillery in 1946. In 1949, a large whiskey storage warehouse west of the distillery, built in 1947 and containing eighteen thousand barrels of whiskey, was destroyed by fire.¹⁸⁷ By 1950 the village of Camp Nelson consisted primarily of the distillery on the west side of the road and the store on the east. Whiskey production ceased in 1971, but the distillery buildings were used as a bottling house until 1973.

In 1963, Fort Brannaum Inc. of Nicholasville hired the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corporation of Denver to build an aerial tramway to carry tourists 4,000 feet from Daniel Boone's Cave tourist court over Hickman Creek to the site of Fort Bramlette. News of its opening noted that the attraction was centered "in a veritable beehive of tourist attractions" in the Camp Nelson area. The tramway operated in 1964, but it was closed due to

safety concerns by 1966, when the owner sued the contractor alleging that the tramway was defective and had never worked properly. It appears to have never reopened.¹⁸⁸

A new Camp Nelson Bridge (Lloyd Murphy Memorial Bridge) was built between 1970 and 1974 as a part of the new US 27 divided highway. This highway was blasted through the top of Boone's Knob and the new bridge passed high above the village. The highway project bypassed the existing roadside businesses in the villages on both sides of the river, leading most to close.

1972-1986 CAP and Decline

In 1972, the Christian Appalachian Project (CAP), a non-sectarian group based in Lancaster, Kentucky, purchased land at Camp Nelson. The following year, the Norton-Simon Foundation, affiliate of the distillery's last owner, donated its property to CAP. The organization ultimately acquired 713 acres in and around the villages on both sides of the river, including the Daniel Boone's Cave tourist court. Lexington architect Paul Kissel was hired to prepare a master plan for the area while volunteers worked to clean and paint the community's remaining buildings. By 1975, CAP's investment had brought new life to the village, including a music hall, a mini-golf course, a restaurant, a marina, a post office, gas station, general store, campground, and a public swimming pool, all on the Garrard County side. CAP operated a museum in the distillery and made plans to rehabilitate the complex as a hotel. It also built the Louis Wernwag Historical Shrine, a gateway designed by Kissel to replicate the 1838 bridge's portal, located across the road from the distillery. A fire in May 1978 destroyed the Admiral's Table Restaurant, and a major flood that December destroyed the remaining commercial properties. The community never recovered from these events and CAP sold almost all of its holdings at Camp Nelson in 1985 and 1986.¹⁸⁹

185. "Danville Man Held as Suspect in Slaying of Camp Nelson Man," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 12 March 1934, 1; "Man Shot in Hold-Up is Removed to Home," *Lexington Leader*, 4 April 1934, 1; "Death Claims W. G. Kaufman," *Lexington Herald*, 29 April 1941, 8.

186. The only man arrested who might have had a connection to the Hall was "Penick Caldwell, 29, Negro." Others were Henry Cross (69) and his son Arthur Cross (30) of Nicholasville and Will Easley (65) and Perry Glass (39) of Camp Nelson. "200 Pounds of Marihuana Seized at Camp Nelson," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY, 13 April 1941, 4.

187. "Million-Dollar Fire Hits Distillery at Camp Nelson," *Lexington Herald*, 21 October 1949, 1.

188. "Aerial Tramway is Open at Fort Near Camp Nelson," *Lexington Leader*, 13 June 1963, 3; "Daniel Boone's Cave," *Lexington Herald*, 10 May 1964, 66; George Tilford, "Tilford's Tiller: Kentucky Kruise," *Indianapolis News*, 30 October 1964, 19; "Tramway Defective, Suit Says," *Lexington Leader*, 19 June 1966, 2. Brannum may have been a misnomer or derivative of Bramlette.

189. Sue Alexander, "I Wouldn't Let it Die," *Lexington Leader*, 9 November 1975, B16; Lisa Power, "My Old Kentucky Home on the Block," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 21 April 1985, magazine section, 9-10, 12-13.

1 In June 1986, Lexington resident Michael Foster
2 purchased the distillery and surrounding property
3 from the CAP and made plans to rehabilitate the
4 buildings as a residence. A large fire in August
5 1986 left only the stone walls of the distillery
6 buildings.¹⁹⁰ The ruins were demolished soon after.
7 In June 2021, it was announced that the E. J. Curley
8 & Company brand was to be revived and a new
9 distillery was to be built at Camp Nelson.¹⁹¹

10 *Architectural Character*

11 Photographs taken between the 1860s and the
12 1920s show that the village was dominated by the
13 limestone buildings of the E. J. Curley distillery
14 and a house adjacent to the bridge landing. These
15 buildings had a vernacular architectural character
16 reflecting the influence of the Federal style in their
17 divided-lite, double-hung windows and gabled
18 rooflines. They are comparable in character to
19 other stone buildings of the Bluegrass region
20 built between 1785 and 1830, including some at
21 the nearby Shaker community of Pleasant Hill in
22 Mercer County.¹⁹² The Daniel Boone Lodge era
23 remodeling of the distillery added Colonial Revival
24 elements including gabled dormers and covered
25 board-and-batten-sided walls with wooden
26 shingles of rustic profile. Wood-frame buildings
27 were present on both sides of the bridge, typically
28 clad in wood weatherboard siding and featuring
29 exterior stone chimneys on the gable ends. Barns
30 and warehouses were typically clad in vertical
31 board siding. Some buildings included vernacular
32 Italianate or Queen Anne influences—tall, two-
33 over-two double-hung windows or turned wooden
34 porch posts—but most were defined by their
35 overall form and simple exterior materials. Perhaps
36 the most elaborate building was a frame house
37 that stood opposite the distillery: the eave and
38 gabled center bay of its façade were trimmed by a
39 vernacular adaptation of Gothic Revival fretwork.
40 Kaufman Bros.’ general store was a typical rural

55 store building of the 1910 to 1950 period, a one-
56 story gable-front frame building with an entrance
57 and display windows sheltered by a front porch.
58 By the 1920s, historic hewn-log buildings were
59 seen as quaint and desirable relics of a storied past.
60 This period also saw the construction of new log
61 buildings, typically built with round logs.

62 **Poortown**

63 Poortown was an unincorporated rural community
64 that developed approximately one-half mile south-
65 southwest of the village of Ariel / Hall. Poortown
66 is not labeled on maps, but a loose collection of
67 buildings was present near the intersection of what
68 is now Poortown Road and Cleveland Ford Road
69 by 1905. By 1877, the lines of Poortown Road,
70 Cleveland Ford Road, and the west part of Hall
71 Road (Ariel’s Main Street) were present, forming
72 a C-shaped path extending clockwise from the
73 turnpike. By 1905, Hall Road had been extended
74 to the turnpike. Twentieth century residents of
75 the Hall often described these three roads as an
76 extension of the Hall’s Main Street that looped
77 through Poortown and back to US 27.¹⁹³ A 1937
78 aerial photograph indicates that the extension of
79 Poortown Road and the cliff-top dead-end roads
80 now known as Palisades Heights and the Palisades
81 Extension were present by that time. Poortown
82 then appears to have consisted mainly of a loose
83 grouping of farms along Poortown Road and
84 Cleveland Ford Road, with smaller parcels and
85 houses along the cliff-top roads. More houses
86 and outbuildings were built along the two main
87 roads after 1950, but the community retained the
88 appearance of a loose collection of rural properties
89 rather than a concentrated settlement.

90 In a 1994 interview, William Jacob “Jake” Payne
91 (1912-1998), son of Joseph and Cordelia Payne,
92 provided the following recollections of Poortown:

93 Up in the Hall was a colored section; down in
94 Poortown was a white section, and we would
95 play them sometimes at [base]ball, we all got
96 along fine together, but they had two different
97 schools [a Black school in the Hall and a white
98 school on U.S. 27] We would play ball
99 with them on the institution—that was Fee

41 190. Todd Kleffman, “Fire destroys old distillery at Camp
42 Nelson,” *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 11
43 August 1986, 1; Andy Mead, “Fire destroys former
44 distillery in Jessamine,” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 12
45 August 1986, B1; “Fire probed at historic distillery,”
46 *Paducah Sun* (Paducah, KY), 12 August 1986, A8.

47 191. Janet Patton, “New Kentucky bourbon distillery
48 bringing historic Camp Nelson site back to life,”
49 *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 25 June 2021, <https://www.kentucky.com/lexgoeat/bourbon/article252335063.html>.

50 192. Clay Lancaster, *Pleasant Hill – Shaker Canaan in*
51 *Kentucky: An Architectural and Social Study* (Salvisa,
52 KY: Warwick Publications, 2001), 32-39, 56, 59.

100 193. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
101 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
102 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
103 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

1 Memorial's grounds. John G. Fee gave so much
2 ground and it ran down in Poortown and we had
3 a diamond down there... and on the Jack Isom
4 place we had a ball diamond.¹⁹⁴

5 As a ten-year-old, Patricia R. True Walker
6 spent most of summer of 1938 living with her
7 grandmother in Poortown. She often walked to
8 the Hall to buy candy at the store on Main Street,
9 noting that the only other store in the area was
10 Kaumfan's large general store in Camp Nelson on
11 the river. Her family attended at least one event
12 in the Benevolent Hall, and she remembered her
13 grandmother's friendships with residents of the
14 Hall, noting connections between her family and
15 Black families from the Hall over several decades.¹⁹⁵

16 Architecturally, Poortown seems to have broad
17 similarities to the Hall community. Surviving
18 houses that appear to date from the period 1870 to
19 1930 are one-story wood-frame vernacular houses.
20 Some modest ranch houses of the 1955 to 1995
21 period are present, followed by mobile homes of
22 the 1965 to 2000 period, and then a range of larger
23 suburban houses built after 1980, primarily after
24 2000.

25 **Frogtown**

26 In a 1994 interview, William Jacob "Jake" Payne
27 (1912-1998), son of Joseph and Cordelia Payne,
28 recalled that Smith Kemper (1876-1953) "lived
29 in a little place we called Frogtown, down below
30 the school—considered part of Hall. Down below
31 the school, kind of down along the river."¹⁹⁶ This
32 may have been the area at the northeast part of the
33 platted portion of Ariel, where Front and Vinegar
34 Streets extended down into the ravine leading
35 down to the Kentucky River.

36 194. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
37 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
38 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
39 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

40 195. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19
41 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
42 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
43 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.

44 196. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
45 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
46 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
47 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

51 **Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson** 52 **Academy/Fee Memorial Institute**

53 **1864-1868 Camp Nelson School**

54 The school at Camp Nelson was established in
55 1864 by abolitionist and minister John G. Fee. In
56 October 1865, fifteen months after his arrival at
57 Camp Nelson, Fee wrote of the establishment of
58 the school:

59 At the suggestion of Capt T E Hall, I organised
60 schools for the instruction of the non-
61 commissioned officers in the various colored
62 regiments. We soon had a large school—some
63 thirteen teachers at one period. The schools
64 were ultimately extended to privates and to
65 children. Hundreds of these soldiers were
66 instructed. A considerable number learned not
67 only to read, but also to write; and now, from the
68 army in Texas, send letters to their families and
69 friends in this camp. . . .

70 Within this Refugee Home there has been a
71 school organized chiefly for the education of
72 the children within this Refugee Home. In this
73 school more than six hundred children have
74 been regularly taught & quite a number are
75 now reading—able to read the New Testament,
76 copies of which [we] have put into the hands of
77 such.

78 Much of this time of instruction I have had a
79 daily watch care over these children in the school
80 rooms. I do not believe any class of children learn
81 more faster than these—few schools of white
82 children [are] so good in behaviour. Submission
83 has been the habit of their lives. When kind
84 sympathizing teachers ask this submission it is
85 readily yielded. . . . These children will carry their
86 books and a knowledge of letters wherever they
87 shall go. These parents will carry sentiments
88 and truths which shall comfort their hearts and
89 mould their lives, wherever they shall be cast.¹⁹⁷

90 When the National Home for Colored Refugees
91 was developed during 1864-1865, the school was
92 provided with a two-story wood-frame building.
93 It remained in operation after the end of the

94 197. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865,
95 quoted in Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky:
96 A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of
97 Kentucky, 2002), 267-268.

1 Civil War. Among the other employees of the
2 American Missionary Association (AMA) working
3 at Camp Nelson was Rev. Abishai Scofield, a white
4 abolitionist who had come to the camp in 1864. In
5 October 1865, Scofield wrote that the school at the
6 Refugee Home was “now the only school in Camp.
7 Our large Hall is full, numbering over two hundred.
8 Some are making very commendable progress.
9 We intend to have an exhibition at the close of the
10 term.”¹⁹⁸ Just over a month later, Scofield reported,
11 “Our school has greatly increased and amassed
12 something over two hundred. Many more would
13 be glad to come.”¹⁹⁹ Scofield noted, “we could
14 not accommodate so many in the cold weather as
15 at other times,” and reported, “I think a Normal
16 School might be started here for the education
17 of colored teachers that would be productive of
18 great good—when the Camp, as a government
19 institution, shall be no more.”²⁰⁰ Fee returned to
20 Berea in 1866 but maintained an active connection
21 with the school in Camp Nelson until his death in
22 1901.²⁰¹

23 After the end of the Civil War, the passage of the
24 thirteenth and fourteenth amendments radicalized
25 many white Kentuckians and led to armed mobs
26 of “regulators” who terrorized Black Kentuckians
27 and their white allies in an effort to thwart federal
28 law. During the summer of 1866, Abishai Scofield,
29 another minister employed by the AMA who had
30 come to Camp Nelson in 1864, “set about making
31 Camp Nelson a social and economic center for
32 freedmen. Yet, with all the Freedmen’s Bureau
33 agents gone, the settlement found itself defenseless
34 against reprisals by the local population.”²⁰²

35 In September 1866, Scofield wrote, “A company
36 of robbers [*sic*] is prowling around us almost every
37 night robbing the colored people and threatening
38 ‘Old Scofield’ with terrible things. It looks a little

55 serious and without some protection it is doubtful
56 if we can remain. May the Lord direct and defend
57 us.”²⁰³ Scofield pleaded with Federal authorities in
58 Nicholasville to place soldiers to protect the village,
59 but the troops never arrived. On October 4, 1866,
60 Scofield wrote, “two wicked ‘Rebs’ have just left
61 our home, who threatened to ‘blow Hell out of old
62 Scofield’ and what had I done, why simply advised
63 or rather directed a poor abused black man to go
64 to the civil authorities and make complaint; for
65 this my life is threatened and our camp and school
66 house is to be burned down. They say all they need
67 is to know that I am not retained at home and my
68 life would not be safe an hour...”²⁰⁴ Freedmen
69 were posted on guard duty around the settlement,
70 but the watch was tiring and was abandoned after
71 two weeks with no activity. Brian Eades described
72 what happened next, based in part on Scofield’s
73 own account dated December 14, 1866:

74 On the evening of 19 November, a group of
75 twenty or thirty armed raiders descended
76 upon the camp and went directly to Scofield’s
77 residence. They dragged him outside and
78 threatened to kill him and his family if he did
79 not leave the area. Fearing for his life, Scofield
80 agreed to leave Camp Nelson. During this
81 frightful evening, the ruffians paid a visit to a
82 freedman’s residence. Upon arrival, they opened
83 fire through his front door and windows. One
84 black man escaped out the back door of the
85 house and ran for his life. The other occupant of
86 the house, John Burnside, located his weapon
87 and returned fire, mortally wounding one of the
88 attackers and slightly wounding another. The
89 outlaws quickly overpowered Burnside and
90 proceeded to administer a severe beating upon
91 his body. They then set fire to several barns and
92 building but soon left the village to care for their
93 wounded comrades. The blacks at Camp Nelson
94 quickly banded together and extinguished
95 the flames. A few days after this incident,
96 Gabriel Burdett arrived at the settlement and
97 successfully smuggled Scofield and his family

98 203. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History*
99 *of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine*
100 *County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp*
101 *Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995),
102 13.

103 204. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History*
104 *of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine*
105 *County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp*
106 *Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995),
107 13.

out of the dangerous area and away from the
bloodthirsty ruffians.²⁰⁵

Scofield was unable to identify the members of the
mob and the school remained closed for several
months.²⁰⁶

1868-1884 Ariel Academy

Ariel Academy, occasionally called Ariel College,
was established in early 1868, continuing the
work of Fee's Camp Nelson school. Planning for
the school had begun in 1865. On October 31,
1865, Fee, Gabriel Burdett, George Blakeman, and
Abishai Scofield wrote to Major General O. O.
Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau,

to request that the buildings of and all the
appurtenances to the Refugee Home in Camp
Nelson Ky be conveyed to us, and our successor
in office—to be used by us, as we now design,
for school purposes; and this on condition that
we in paying for the lands (farm) on which the
buildings are erected, shall satisfy Mr. Joseph
Moss for damages he now claims from the
government. . . . Also, we suppose it is best, and
desirable to have the lot of ground, buildings,
the school and its interest committed to a board
of trustees, as requested, rather than have the
houses and school under the guidance of an
agent of the Bureau or any Aid Society. . .²⁰⁷

This process would take more than two years to
complete. In December 1865, the camp's buildings
were advertised for sale and Fee "rode. . . in
extreme cold here from Berea to retain if possible
buildings for school purposes," finding that the sale
of the Refugee Home buildings had been delayed
until spring.²⁰⁸

Following their purchase of a 130-acre tract
containing the Refugee Home site from Matilda H.
and Joseph M. Moss on February 29, 1868, Matilda

and John G. Fee deeded two adjacent parcels to
Ariel Academy, one containing seven acres for use
by the school and one containing two-and-one-
half acres for use by the church. A deed of release
granted by Joseph M. Moss and Matilda H. Moss,
dated March 23, 1868, reports that its purpose was
"to free the nine and one half acres of land sold
by John G. Fee & Matilda H. Fee his wife through
their attorney James O'Heavey to John G. Fee,
Gabriel Burdett, James O'Heavy, George Blakeman,
Rev. T. A. Noble & David F. Newton, trustees of
Ariel Academy."²⁰⁹

In March 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau paid \$1,520
for three of the Refugee Home buildings. Letters
from the following month indicate that these were
the Head Dormitory (Building 75), which would
become a boarding house, and two of the four
flanking ward buildings, one of which became
the school and the other became the chapel. The
schoolhouse that had been completed in 1865 was
not purchased and, if the school had not already
vacated it, it must have relocated to the ward
building in early 1868. The 1875 annual report
to the AMA quotes from a letter by John G. Fee
recounting the acquisition of former Camp Nelson
buildings for use by the school and church that Fee
had established:

The Government erected quite a number of
cottages, and some larger buildings as hospital
wards and school rooms. In these, schools were
for a time sustained, and chiefly by the American
Missionary Association. At the close of the war
some of these buildings were bought by friends,
and three of the larger reserved for school and
church purposes. The church and school yet
live.²¹⁰

Richard Sears reported that "Both the village
and the academy had secured charters from the
state legislature. According to Fee, the charter
of the Camp Nelson school was exactly like

205. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 14.

206. "From Washington," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 4 February 1867, 3.

207. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 291-292.

208. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 303.

209. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 25-26.

210. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.

1 Berea's."²¹¹ In its first year, the school operated
2 under the patronage of the AMA and the Western
3 Freedmen's Union Commission.²¹² The AMA
4 would continue to supply teachers for the school
5 for many years.²¹³ A report dated January 1, 1869,
6 describes the school as follows:

7 *Ariel Academy*.—This school is an incorporated
8 institution, located in Camp Nelson, and
9 modeled after Berea College. Its buildings
10 consist of a school-house, chapel, and a large
11 two-story building, which will be used as a
12 boarding-house. At present the institution is in
13 its infancy. Mr. Newton and wife are in charge,
14 and report for the month of December [1868] 37
15 pupils.²¹⁴

16 The school's enrollment increased from thirty-
17 seven in 1868 to 106 in 1869 to 125 in 1870, with
18 two faculty members, one of which typically served
19 as both principal and minister to the congregation.
20 As of May 1869, the school's workers included
21 Gabriel Burdett, and Mr. and Mrs. Isaac M.
22 Newton.²¹⁵ The Newtons had come from Kinsman,
23 Ohio, late in 1868 and were primarily focused on
24 Temperance. In December 1869, Scofield wrote to
25 Fee that the Newtons had "fled Camp N.," having
26 been "indiscreet."²¹⁶

27 Rev. William H. H. Butler, born in 1849 to free
28 Black parents in Ohio, took charge of Ariel
29 Academy in 1870. The 1870 census was taken in
30 Jessamine County between June and September.
31 Ariel appears to have been within District 1,

50 which was enumerated in July and August.²¹⁷
51 Because the enumeration occurred during the
52 period when Ariel Academy was likely closed for
53 the summer, the census forms do not provide
54 documentation of the school. The only individual
55 with a known connection with the school was
56 William Butler, listed as a twenty-two-year-old
57 "mulatto" "Preacher." Among the families on the
58 same sheet was Amistad Wade, a seventy-year-old
59 Black "Preacher." In the spring of 1870, enrollment
60 increased from 16 to 106 within three months.²¹⁸

61 A later newspaper biography states that Butler
62 remained at Ariel for six years, but a January 1871
63 report listed Enoch Seales as the principal and
64 sole teacher.²¹⁹ The following month, Gabriel
65 Burdett reported, "We have a School now going at
66 this point though the number was not veary [*sic*]
67 large last month yet we have a great many more
68 this month than came lasst [*sic*] month[.] And our
69 sunday school is increasing. And o[u]r Church is
70 still growing some. And the temperance band or
71 band of hope is increasing."²²⁰ An 1871 report on
72 Freedmen's schools in the *American Missionary*
73 lists "*Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson, Ky.* Value of
74 property \$2,000, No. of Teachers 2, No. of Pupils
75 100."²²¹ Richard D. Sears provides an account of
76 the school's development in the early-1870s:

77 Seales was replaced by B. A. Imes, whom
78 Burdett described as "a splendid teacher from
79 Oberlin Ohio." Meanwhile, Burdett had begun
80 setting up local schools for black children,
81 taught by former students of Ariel, and had
82 launched himself into an enthusiastic career as
83 a prohibition speaker. Fee was very impressed

32 211. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
33 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
34 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151-152.

35 212. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools*
36 *for Freedmen, January 1, 1869* (Washington, D.C.:
37 Government Printing Office, 1869), 54.

38 213. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
39 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
40 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

41 214. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools*
42 *for Freedmen, January 1, 1869* (Washington, D.C.:
43 Government Printing Office, 1869), 47.

44 215. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
45 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
46 2002), lx-xli.

47 216. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
48 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
49 2002), lxi.

84 217. Jessamine County is not divided into townships. The
85 census forms are divided into the city of Nicholasville
86 and six districts. The Camp Nelson post office at
87 the village on the river is not listed on any of these
88 forms and Nicholasville is listed as the post office
89 for all sheets in District 1. The Hanly post office,
90 between Ariel and Nicholasville, appears in District
91 5, which also included the keepers of the Camp
92 Nelson National Cemetery. It is unclear which district
93 contained the village of Camp Nelson on the river.

94 218. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
95 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
96 2002), lx-lxi.

97 219. "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY),
98 24 July 1892, 3.

99 220. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
100 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
101 2002), lxi.

102 221. "Freedmen," *American Missionary*, Vol. XV, No. 1
103 (January 1871), 3.

1 with Gabriel's new mission: "White men who
2 are good judges tell me no man in the country
3 spoke with such power & effect as did Burdett
4 to immense audiences white & colored White
5 men opened [the] Court House then churches
6 & own tables to him—many of the best men of
7 [Garrard] County."

8 Throughout 1873, Burdett continued "getting
9 up Schools" for former Academy students to
10 teach in a ten or twelve mile radius around Camp
11 Nelson. In 1873, Burdett was the sole AMA
12 worker again (and so he remained until 1877),
13 although teachers continued to come to the
14 school under other auspices. A Quaker friend of
15 Levi Coffin (Coffin had been an Ariel Academy
16 trustee) and his wife were the new teachers early
17 in 1874.²²²

18 In 1874, Howard S. Fee (1851-1904), son of John
19 G. Fee, graduated from Berea College and "was
20 invited by the black people of Camp Nelson to
21 take charge of the school there."²²³ He arrived
22 that September. Sears calls Howard Fee, who had
23 taught soldiers in the Camp Nelson school as a
24 teenager, "the school's most popular and successful
25 teacher... Under his leadership, both the school
26 and church grew in numbers."²²⁴ According to
27 Brian Eades, "Under the leadership of Howard
28 Fee, both the student population and the quality of
29 the education increased. By August 1875, he hoped
30 to incorporate a high school into the curriculum
31 at Ariel Academy. As a result of this progress,
32 several blacks moved to Ariel to attend the 'normal'
33 school."²²⁵

34 In 1875, Gabriel Burdett reported that "our
35 school," which had 115 students, "is in better
36 condition than it has ever been."²²⁶ An 1875
37 account notes that the school "At Camp Nelson

54 there is still a large colored settlement, the most
55 moral, harmonious and hopeful in the State. The
56 school still continues, and is at present under the
57 superintendence of Howard S. Fee, a graduate of
58 Berea College."²²⁷ In an 1875 report to the AMA,
59 John G. Fee wrote,

60 You will remember that near the close of our late
61 war, there were gathered Into Camp Nelson, Ky.,
62 many thousands of colored soldiers; and that
63 these were followed by some three thousand
64 women and children.

65 For the shelter of these women and children,
66 the Government erected quite a number of
67 cottages, and some larger buildings as hospital
68 wards and school rooms. In these, schools were
69 for a time sustained, and chiefly by the American
70 Missionary Association. At the close of the war
71 some of these buildings were bought by friends,
72 and three of the larger reserved for school and
73 church purposes. The church and school yet
74 live.²²⁸

75 To help support this growing student body,
76 Eugene Fairchild, the son of the president of Berea
77 College, came to assist his friend Howard Fee. A
78 leaflet dated August 10, 1875, and printed by the
79 Lexington newspaper *American Citizen* advertised
80 the fall term:

81 ARIEL ACADEMY / NORMAL SCHOOL /
82 THE FALL TERM WILL COMMENCE

83 September 27th, and Continue 12 Weeks.

84 The School will be conducted by HOWARD
85 S. FEE, a graduate from Berea College, who
86 has had experience as a teacher; and is fully
87 competent to give instruction in Academic or
88 Normal Studies.

89 Special attention will be given to the Normal
90 Department—the work of preparing teachers
91 for the work of teaching.

92 It is important that each one who shall attend be
93 present at the beginning of the term, that they

38 222. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
39 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
40 2002), lxi.

41 223. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
42 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
43 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 95.

44 224. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
45 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
46 2002), lxi.

47 225. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
48 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,*
49 *Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson*
50 *Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 17.

51 226. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
52 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
53 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 95.

94 227. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati:
95 Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.

96 228. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American*
97 *Missionary Association* (New York: American
98 Missionary Association, 1875), 24.

may study with others advantageously and be fitted for examination and exhibition at the close of the term.

Parents from abroad who shall send their children may be assured that a careful oversight will be given to such by the Teacher and resident Trustees.

Tuition one dollar per month, in advance. Board can be obtained at very low rates. For particulars, address

Rev. GABRIEL BURDETT, / Camp Nelson, Ky.²²⁹

An 1877 map of Jessamine County includes a rough map of the town of “Ariel,” with dots representing buildings including “Colored Ch[urch]” and “Ariel Academy.”²³⁰ The years 1876 and 1877 brought challenges and disruptions to the school’s leadership. In 1877, Gabriel Burdett left Ariel, leading a group of Black families to resettle in Kansas, where they hoped to find a more conducive environment free from the oppression and violence presented by postwar Kentucky. Howard Fee suffered the loss of an infant daughter in December 1876 and soon stepped in to cover for many of Burdett’s duties. On December 12, 1877, he wrote, “we have 157 schollars [*sic*] enrolled and have never had less than one hundred in attendance since I came back this year. I have led their church services here for some months but my throat and lungs are failing me and I must be content to do just as little talking as possible.”²³¹ Sears reports,

In 1878 Berea College sponsored a pamphlet advertising the Normal School at Camp Nelson, addressed “To the friends of Christian Education”; President Edward Henry Fairchild of Berea extolled the work of Camp Nelson’s principal, H.S. Fee; John A.R. Rogers, professor at Berea, gave the Normal School work his imprimatur. And Fee himself, under the heading “Words of a Life Worker in the Cause of Freedom,” contributed the following reflection: “Camp Nelson was the rendezvous of soldiery and the birthplace of liberty to Kentucky. It is hallowed in the minds of thousands. I felt during the war and do now, that God has marked it out as a place for a school—a fountain of intellectual and moral good to the State. Faith and earnest effort can make it such.”²³²

Howard S. Fee remained in charge of the school until sometime before the summer of 1879, when he was living in California. In 1881, the faculty consisted of Rev. W. S. Overstreet and Miss Juan Kumler, who appears to have come from Oberlin, Ohio.

In March 1871, Elisha Hathaway (1800-1879) of Bristol, Rhode Island, and Cincinnati, Ohio, a white philanthropist and benefactor of the AMA, sold a property in Cincinnati, Ohio, to “Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.” The property was described as a “lot 16 7-12 by 76¼ feet, on the south side of Longworth street, 216 1/3 feet east of Hoadly street” and was transferred for “\$1 and other considerations.”²³³ This property, at 285 Longworth Street, contained the west half of a three-story brick double house that was built about 1859-1861. It appears to have been a typical Cincinnati urban double house of the period,

229. “Ariel Academy Normal School,” flyer, 10 August 1875, reproduced in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 27.

230. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, Ky.* (Philadelphia, D. G. Beers & Co., 1877), 64-65.

231. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

232. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), lxiii.

233. “Real Estate Transfers,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 31 March 1871, 7.

fronting the sidewalk line, with very narrow side yards, and featuring a metal cornice.²³⁴

Hathaway's support had been solicited by John G. Fee. An article written shortly after his death reported that "Father Hathaway" had made "large donations for the benefit of the poor of the South."²³⁵ In 1868, he had donated \$1,000 to the AMA to purchase land in Talladega, Alabama, to be divided into lots and sold to freedmen using a structure that would generate income to support teaching and missionary work.²³⁶ In 1871, after a visit to New Orleans, and "in view of the need of charitable institutions accessible to colored people," he donated \$25,000 to establish the Hathaway Home for the Poor and Friendless. Modeled on northern charitable institutions and operated by the AMA, it provided care for orphans and the elderly, free medical care, and vocational training.²³⁷ The 1871 donation to Ariel Academy likely followed a similar model to a gift made about 1876:

[Hathaway] donated a house and lot, located in Cincinnati, worth at that time \$5,000, for the benefit of the poor of Nashville. This property is committed to the care of a board of nine trustees, with a charter, all of whom reside in the city. They meet once a month and report he disbursements of the month, and make all

appropriations. The amount thus distributed amounts to upwards of \$300 per year.²³⁸

As with the Nashville arrangement, the house on Longworth Street appears to have provided rental income to support Ariel Academy.²³⁹ An 1895 article reported that, "from a Cincinnati man, Hathaway by name, Fee secured the income of \$8,000 worth of property, and this, added to smaller donations, kept the school in a prosperous condition.²⁴⁰ These funds may have assisted in the construction of new buildings on the Ariel Academy campus, including the large dormitory. A 1924 article mentioned that Fee had "secured large donations from capitalists of the East which made it possible to erect a large dormitory for girls, a school room, a church and parsonage" on the old Ariel campus.²⁴¹

Upon his death, Hathaway bequeathed about \$50,000 to the AMA and other charitable institutions. His daughter, Lydia C. Hathaway Bedell (1834-1899), contested the will, alleging that her father was insane.²⁴² Bedell sued the Camp Nelson Academy and the AMA, and the case was heard in the Superior Court of Cincinnati. At that time, the school's trustees were John G. Fee, Gabriel Burdett, David F. Newton, George Blakeman, James O. Harvey, and Levi Coffin.²⁴³

234. City directory listings for 283-285 Longworth Street go back to at least 1861 and the block seems to have seen much development between 1859 and 1861. In August 1859, the *Cincinnati Daily Press* noted that "Longworth-street, between Stone [Stone Chapel] and Hoadly [Linn], was graded about three months ago, and since that time fifteen brick dwellings have been erected on it." "City Matters," *Cincinnati Daily Press*, 20 August 1859, 3. The city paved the sidewalks along this block in 1860. "Board of City Improvements," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 20 June 1860, 2. The house was probably comparable to a house on the same block that appeared in an 1861 advertisement: "For Rent—A new three-story Brick House on Longworth-street, near Hoadley [Linn], containing nine rooms and modern improvements. For particulars inquire next door west." "For Rent," *Cincinnati Daily Press*, 30 March 1861, 3. A nearby house at 293 Longworth was described as "new" in 1865. "Local News," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, 6 March 1865, 2.

235. "A Contested Will," *Buffalo Weekly Courier*, 2 April 1879, 4.

236. "A New and Important Movement," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, WI), 5 December 1868, 4.

237. "Liberal Donation," *New Orleans Republican*, 25 February 1871, 1.

238. "Death of a Man Who Loved the Poor," *Public Ledger* (Memphis, TN), 12 March 1879, 2.

239. The house does not appear to have been used by the school; it appears to have been rented to a variety of white residential tenants between 1871 and 1880. During 1879 and 1880, before and after the quitclaim deed, the house was occupied by the family of Emma and Elliott McGowan and several boarders. The 1880 census, taken in June, lists the house's occupants as Elliott, a police officer, Ella, a piano dealer, their three children, and seven boarders. The house was demolished in the 1960s along with the rest of the block when the Hudepohl Brewing Company expanded to cover the site. Longworth Street was located between Fifth and Sixth Streets and was renamed Carlisle Avenue about 1884. Longworth/Carlisle Street ran east-west through the block now bounded by Sixth, Linn, and Hudepohl (Fifth) Street and Stone Chapel Lane.

240. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

241. "Fee Memorial School Moved [sic] to Jessamine," *Lexington Herald*, 2 October 1924, 2.

242. "A Contested Will," *Buffalo Weekly Courier*, 2 April 1879, 4.

243. Clipping in Legal and Financing Documents, Fee Papers, BCA, cited in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151, 204, note 6.

1 Ariel Academy's granting of a quitclaim deed for
2 the Cincinnati property to itself in April 1880
3 may have related to this lawsuit.²⁴⁴ An 1895 article
4 suggests that it lost this source of income around
5 1880: "At the death of Hathaway a law suit brought
6 by the heirs caused the school to suffer the loss of
7 the considerable income from his generosity, and it
8 fell into straitened circumstances."²⁴⁵

9 According to an 1895 article, following the loss
10 of the Hathaway property in Cincinnati, "Fee
11 again came to the rescue, and another Cincinnati
12 man, Simon Embry [Emerick], procured a
13 donation from the sale of 123 acres of land near
14 the academy. The income from this enabled the
15 school to continue its work.²⁴⁶ In 1881, the Trustees
16 of Ariel Academy purchased an adjoining farm
17 of 115 acres, increasing the school's holdings to
18 123.5 acres.²⁴⁷ This appears to have been funded
19 by Simon E. Emerick (1833-1898), a farmer who
20 resided in Alexandersville, Ohio, a village in Miami
21 Township, Montgomery County, just south of
22 Dayton and now part of West Carrollton. Emerick
23 also served as a trustee of the school by 1884.

24 1884-1903 Camp Nelson Academy

25 On March 11, 1884, the Kentucky General
26 Assembly approved an Act to incorporate Camp
27 Nelson Academy. John G. Fee, James O. Hervey,
28 John Tracy, Howard S. Fee, John Jackson, and
29 Simon Emerick formed original board of trustees.
30 The board was to elect a president, vice president,
31 and secretary from among its members. It was the
32 board's duty . . .

33 . . . to appoint the principal and teachers of the
34 academy, also a secretary and treasurer of the
35 same; fix their salaries, prescribe the course
36 of study, receive and disburse moneys, make
37 contracts, and transact all other business for the
38 benefit of the institution.²⁴⁸

51 The act also provided that,

52 . . . the name of Camp Nelson Academy, at
53 Camp Nelson, in the county of Jessamine, and
54 State of Kentucky, be substituted for the former
55 name of Ariel Academy, as it is set out in [its]
56 constitution.²⁴⁹

57 The school received a modest financial boost in
58 the mid-1880s from Philo Carpenter (1805-1886),
59 a prominent citizen of Chicago. Carpenter's
60 will specified a donation of \$250 to Camp
61 Nelson Academy, one of numerous bequests to
62 educational and religious institutions, including
63 much larger sums to Berea College, Oberlin
64 College, the American Missionary Association.²⁵⁰
65 In 1891, Camp Nelson Academy had "107 acres
66 of land"—perhaps a reference to the area of the
67 115-acre farm under cultivation—"and two good
68 buildings," one of which may have been the large
69 dormitory.²⁵¹ Any Civil War era buildings on the
70 Camp Nelson Academy campus appear to have
71 been replaced before September 1895. An article
72 published that month included an engraving of
73 the "Only Government Building Left," depicting
74 one of the double cottages matching those seen
75 in 1860s photographs of the Home for Colored
76 Refugees.²⁵² The article provided a description of
77 the school as it was in the mid-1890s:

78 W. S. Overstreet, a colored graduate of Berea, is
79 the principal, and a Mrs. M. M. Robe, a white
80 lady from Ohio, is the matron. For the past eight
81 years she has given her time and attention to the
82 general work of the institution without asking
83 a thing in return. The buildings, aside from the
84 120 acres of land, are worth about \$5,000. The
85 Sunday-school and Christian Endeavor Society,
86 the choir and the youthful musicians all give
87 evidence of the usefulness of the institution
88 that has arisen from the dust of crumbling
89 battlements.²⁵³

39 244. "Real Estate Transfers," *Cincinnati Daily Star*, 10 April
40 1880, 6.

41 245. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal*
42 (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

43 246. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal*
44 (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

45 247. Edward P. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The*
46 *Assembly Herald*, Vol. XII, No. 11 (November 1903)
47 561.

48 248. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth*
49 *of Kentucky* [1883], Vol. I. (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky
50 Yeoman, 1884), 680-681.

90 249. Ibid.

91 250. Henry L. Hammond, "Philo Carpenter: A Settler of
92 Chicago in 1832," in *Chicago Historical Society's*
93 *Collection, Vol. IV: Early Chicago and Illinois*, ed.
94 Edward G. Mason (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company,
95 1890), 128.

96 251. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
97 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
98 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

99 252. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal*
100 (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

101 253. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal*
102 (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

By 1896, Joshua Crenshaw, a Black man, had become principal of Camp Nelson Academy. In July of that year, he delivered “an earnest plea for industrial education” for Black students at the annual meeting of the State Teachers Association of Kentucky.²⁵⁴ Crenshaw’s advocacy reflected a wider societal shift toward vocational and domestic science training, an approach that came to dominate American secondary education at the turn of the twentieth century. Crenshaw’s approach appears to have been successful; an 1897 article refers to “Camp Nelson Industrial School. This school has flourished, and next to the Berea School is the most important negro educational institution in the South. The Bible is regarded as predominant to any other study, and consequently these boys and girls educated at this school have received a good religious training. Their reputations as singers were established rather suddenly and in a rather novel manner.” The article was focused on a group known as the Camp Nelson Jubilee Singers:

The most unique, and for that reason probably the most interesting, branch of the Salvation Army in the world were raised and dwell in the negro village of Camp Nelson, in this country. It is composed of three negro boys and ten negro girls, between the ages of 10 and 20 years, and are known as the Camp Nelson Jubilee Singers... Their reputations as singers were established rather suddenly and in a rather novel manner... Their home, the village of Camp Nelson, is inhabited entirely by negroes.²⁵⁵

In 1897, Frank L. Williams, chair of mathematics at Louisville High School, served as one of the school’s trustees.²⁵⁶ An 1898 history of Jessamine County reported, “Ariel College is located at Camp Nelson. This is an institution for the education of colored men and women. It is officered by white teachers, and has been the source of great good and help to the colored people.”²⁵⁷ Two articles published that year give some indication of the relationship between white teachers at the

school, the Ariel community, and white residents of Jessamine County. One stated, “At Ariel, in Jessamine county, the white people have never taken to the school, and if any whites ever attended with the negroes, they were not from Jessamine county.”²⁵⁸ Another reported,

John G. Fee... established a negro school with white teachers, men and women, at Ariel, near Camp Nelson in this, Jessamine county. It was supposed that matters were moving on smoothly as the whites gave no opposition. The white teachers lived with the negroes and taught them. The teachers were women, northern women. They did not try to get admission to white society and they may have taught social equality except by example. They were not molested but were looked upon as harmless cranks. No white pupils ever attended this negro scho[o]l taught by white people.²⁵⁹

In 1897, John G. Fee left the Congregational Church for the Christian Church, the strain of the Restoration Movement that had been led by Alexander Campbell and was later to become the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).²⁶⁰ In 1898, Fee proposed that the Christian Church acquire Camp Nelson Academy. One newspaper article provides commentary on proposed changes to the school in Ariel and the possible segregation of Berea College:

Preacher John G. Fee, who had made himself a martyr to the move, gave a blow to the cause he had kept alive by strange fanaticism when he changed his religion, and how he is about to give up the anomalous social arrangement as a failure[.] Fee, who was a Congregationalist, was converted to the church which Alexander Campbell has distinguished—Christian or reform church, and now he wants this church to buy up Ariel and make of it an industrial school for negro boys and negro girls while Berea will get rid of the negroes as fast as possible and in their stead will take in poor mountain boys the ‘Brother in White’ only, from Kentucky and

254. “Colored Instructors,” *Courier-Journal*, 5 July 1896, 12.

255. “Melodies,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 December 1897, 9.

256. W. D. Johnson, *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky* (Lexington: Standard Print, 1897), 36.

257. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 185.

258. “The Deal Declared Off,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 16 July 1898, 3.

259. This paragraph is transposed in the middle of “American Horse Wanted Abroad” on the same page. “Won’t Mix in Old Kentucky,” *Crittenden Press* (Marion, KY), 30 June 1898, 2.

260. “Co-Education Dropped,” *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 23 June 1898, 4.

1 Virginia, and educate them for the ministry. With
2 all the zeal of a new convert to his newly found
3 faith, he has interested the rich congregations at
4 Louisville, and will doubtless success in his new
5 undertaking.

6 The deal is about to be consummated. His church
7 at Louisville he wants to experiment with negro
8 education, and sent a board to Ariel to make a
9 proposition. Fee owns ten lots and one hundred
10 and fifteen acr[e]s there, but the school and 140
11 acres is in the hands of a board of trustees[.]
12 Elder R. G. Frank, of Nicholasville, with Elders
13 Dorsey and Smith, made a proposition to pay
14 \$4,475 to the board and it was accepted, now
15 to be ratified by the church at Louisville[.] Thus
16 the deal will doubtless be consummated and it
17 virtually means a collapse of coeducation of
18 races and sexes under one roof.²⁶¹

19 Coverage of the negotiations noted, "The idea
20 is for the church to put more money into the
21 institution so it will be able to do a larger work.
22 Like Berea, it will be open to negro pupils as well
23 as whites."²⁶² The idea of integrated education
24 seemed far from possible to many Kentucky
25 journalists. One, writing of Berea, stated, "The
26 white women and white men who went there were
27 seldom Kentuckians, and the few that did were of
28 the poorer class of mountain converts who studied
29 for the ministry."²⁶³

30 The Christian Church dropped its plans to buy
31 "Ariel College" in July 1898. Coverage of the story
32 in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* provides context
33 on the school's existence in the context of the new
34 era of Jim Crow segregation.

35 The article published exclusively in the
36 [Nicholasville] Democrat, several weeks ago,
37 about the [plans of the] Christian church at
38 Louisville to experiment with negro education,
39 created a decided sensation among students of
40 sociology and students of the co-education of
41 races. The article was copied in full in some of the
42 Louisville papers, where, outside of a committee
43 of the church, it was a profound secret.

50 Elder John G. Fee, of the mixed school at
51 Berea, in Madison county, wanted the church
52 with which he had united to buy up the negro
53 school here in Jessamine county, near Camp
54 Nelson, known as Ariel, and the church thought
55 favorably of the proposition. The church would
56 try for an industrial and training school for
57 negro boys and girls. They communicated with
58 Elder R. G. Frank, of the Nicholasville Christian
59 church, and put him on a committee, with two
60 other preachers, to visit Ariel and confer on
61 the matter. The Fee people made a proposition
62 to sell out for about \$3,000, and the church
63 people accepted it, to be ratified by the church at
64 Louisville. Now there is a hitch, and Elder Frank
65 stated to the Democrat reporter that he had
66 made several trips to see Prof. Fee recently, who
67 wanted to dictate to the church how the school
68 should be conducted, and that he was so cranky
69 on the subject that the church had dropped the
70 matter for good, and it was somewhat of a relief
71 to him. The whole transaction was off.²⁶⁴

72 The article includes a lengthy digression on Jim
73 Crow era ideas about the imperative to separate
74 the races. The idea of United States acquisition
75 of Puerto Rico in the ongoing Spanish-American
76 War is discussed, suggesting that the "idea of
77 negro colonization in Porto Rico is taking definite
78 shape"²⁶⁵ The article continues,

79 The negro problem all over the South is more
80 pressing for solution than the Spanish war, and
81 something must finally be done to separate
82 the races. The negro here is, and will remain,
83 a menial and the opportunity to get away from
84 the superior race who has the better of him is
85 one that he ought to be quick to take advantage
86 of and build up his own people that they may
87 finally have a Government and own property.²⁶⁶

88 Fee did not give up on plans for the school. In
89 September 1898, the *Kentucky Advocate* of Danville
90 reported, "Rev. John G. Fee, the celebrated
91 president of Berea College, was in Danville to-day
92 enroute [*sic*] to Camp Nelson, where he went to

44 261. "Won't Mix in Old Kentucky," *Crittenden Press*
45 (Marion, KY), 30 June 1898, 2.

46 262. "No Change of Policy," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
47 KY), 3 July 1898, 5.

48 263. "Co-Education Dropped," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville,
49 KY), 23 June 1898, 4.

93 264. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
94 KY), 16 July 1898, 3.

95 265. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
96 KY), 16 July 1898, 3.

97 266. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
98 KY), 16 July 1898, 3.

55 examine the Academy for Negroes. He went to
56 make extensive improvements.”²⁶⁷

57 Fee continued to look for opportunities to sustain
58 Camp Nelson Academy. In February 1900, the
59 *Courier-Journal* reported, “The Louisville Bible
60 School will not be able to accept the Camp Nelson
61 Academy property on account of some of the
62 conditions in the offer.”²⁶⁸

63 John G. Fee died at home in Berea on January
64 11, 1901, having maintained his connection with
65 the Camp Nelson community since the day of his
66 arrival there in 1864. His obituary noted, “Father
67 Fee, or ‘Brother Fee,’ as he loved to be called,
68 had been suffering from the infirmities of age,
69 increased by a fall when he last visited his school
70 at Camp Nelson. But he had rallied and shown
71 great courage and enjoyment of life during the last
72 few weeks.” The obituary mentions Fee’s work
73 during the Civil War, “particularly at Camp Nelson,
74 where a colored school still exists to commemorate
75 his labors.”²⁶⁹ Fee’s death marked the passing of
76 Camp Nelson Academy’s founder and most ardent
77 supporter over its thirty-two years of operation.
78 Richard D. Sears has observed, “Eventually, he
79 was the only person associated with the wartime
80 work at the camp who was still engaged there, still
81 engaged in the project of trying to help former
82 slaves enter the mainstream of American society.
83 Rev. John G. Fee, the first missionary to arrive at
84 Camp Nelson, was the last to go.”²⁷⁰

85 With its most prominent advocate gone, the
86 school’s future remained uncertain. Sears wrote of
87 the precarious situation of the school at this time:

88 When Fee made his will, the church and academy
89 at Camp Nelson were still in operation, but in
90 1901 (the year of his death), the Camp Nelson
91 work was very near failure. In 1902, the trustees
92 of the school at Camp Nelson ‘made overtures’
93 to Berea College—evidently Ariel Academy was
94 in need of financial support and students—and
95 its trustees wished that institution to become part

1 of Berea. Rogers urged President Frost of Berea
2 not to accept the proposal from Camp Nelson
3 on the grounds that it might lead black people of
4 Kentucky to think of ‘Camp Nelson. . . [as] the
5 colored part of Berea College.’ In fact, it seems
6 that Ariel’s trustees wanted precisely that—for
7 their institution to become the repository of
8 Berea’s black students when the Day Law was
9 passed. Given Camp Nelson’s history, such a
10 move would not have been unreasonable, and
11 some Berea trustees supported it.²⁷¹

12 Fee’s will stipulated that his remaining property
13 at Camp Nelson be sold and that “the proceeds
14 [should] go to the benefit of the Camp Nelson
15 Academy. If it shall not then be in operation
16 as an academy it shall go to the benefit of the
17 church there. . . if it is still undenominational.”²⁷²
18 He bequeathed a small selection of his books
19 and other miscellaneous items to Camp Nelson
20 Academy. His heirs finally sold the last lot in
21 1904.²⁷³

22 In the spring of 1903, Mrs. C. C. Thompson, the
23 cousin of Mrs. F. S. Black, was serving as matron of
24 Camp Nelson Academy.²⁷⁴

25 1903-1934 Fee Memorial Institute

26 During the summer of 1903, the trustees of
27 Camp Nelson Academy approached the Board
28 of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian
29 Church in the United States of America (PCUSA)
30 about taking control of the school. The church
31 associated with the school had associated itself
32 with the PCUSA in 1902. The PCUSA, established
33 in 1789, was often known as the “Northern

96 267. “Personal Mention,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville,
97 KY), 2 September 1898, 4.

98 268. “Congregational Notes,” *Courier-Journal*, 5 February
99 1900, 10.

100 269. “John G. Fee,” *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 17 January
101 1901, 4.

102 270. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
103 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
104 2002), lxiv.

34 271. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
35 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
36 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 152.

37 272. Quoted in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in*
38 *Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea,*
39 *1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996),
40 204, note 1.

41 273. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
42 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
43 2002), lxiii.

44 274. Thompson’s cousin appears to be the Mrs. Adelia B.
45 Black who served as secretary of the Colored Teachers
46 Institute of McLean County in 1903; her husband,
47 F. S. Black, attended Berea and was principal of the
48 Calhoun public school. The 1910 census lists Ferd S.
49 Black as a postal clerk in the Chicago Post Office, with
50 his wife Adella B. Black working as a hairdresser. Both
51 were born in Kentucky and their race was listed as
52 “mulatto.” “Local and Personal,” *The Citizen* (Berea,
53 KY), 12 March 1903, 4; “Berea and Vicinity,” *The*
54 *Citizen* (Berea, KY), 10 September 1903, 4.



A GROUP OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE CARE OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS FOR FREEDMEN OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PITTSBURGH, PA

Figure 19. "A group of schools under the care of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Pittsburgh, PA." The large dormitory of the Fee Memorial institute is pictured at right in the second row from the top; this is the same photograph published in 1903 (Figure 29). This collage shows the wide range of buildings used by other schools, seminaries, and colleges sponsored by the PCUSA at the time that the Fee Memorial Institute came under its care. (Source: "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (April 1904), 199)

Presbyterian Church" following an 1861 split over slavery, politics, and theology. Churches in states that had seceded formed a separate denomination called the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. Kentucky remained part of the United States throughout the Civil War and most congregations remained part of the PCUSA.²⁷⁵ The Board of Missions for Freedmen sought to address the lack of educational provision for African Americans in the South during the Jim Crow period by operating schools for Black children and young adults. [Figure 19]

By early August, Rev. Donald McDonald, a white minister from Danville, Kentucky, was engaged in negotiations on behalf of the Board of Freedmen for the purchase of the school's property, "the John G. Fee estate" "near Camp Nelson... originally purchased by Mr. Fee for a school similar to that of Berea" and containing "130 acres with some buildings;" it would be sold for about \$12,000. An early newspaper report stated that "the sons of Mr. Fee, who reside in Indiana, have for a long time wanted a school build upon the place and have at last made the deed over to the church."²⁷⁶ In August 1903, the *Kentucky Advocate* of Danville announced the results of this discussion:

275. The Southern denomination renamed itself the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) in 1865. The two denominations reunited in 1983 to form the Presbyterian Church (USA).

276. "Big Colored School," *Danville News* (Danville, KY), 11 August 1903, 3.

1 After protracted negotiations between the Camp
 2 Nelson Academy Trustees and Dr. MacDonald
 3 [sic], of this city, involving trips to Indiana and
 4 Pittsburg, Pa., the transfer of the Camp Nelson
 5 buildings and farm was effected. The papers
 6 were sent to the Board at Pittsburg last week,
 7 and Camp Nelson will not be conducted as a
 8 farm school for the industrial training of colored
 9 youth. It is likely, under the auspices of the
 10 Freedmen's Board of the Presbyterian church,
 11 that Camp Nelson will be made the base for all
 12 the industrial, religious and educational work
 13 for the colored people in the Synod of Kentucky.
 14 The likelihood is the colored school in Danville
 15 may be consolidated with the work at Camp
 16 Nelson, and the name of the Rev. Jas. A. Boyden,
 17 of Danville, has been mentioned in connection
 18 with the Principalship of the new enterprise.²⁷⁷

19 The Louisville *Courier-Journal* echoed this account
 20 and stated "it is believed that an institution quite
 21 similar to the Booker Washington School [Tuskegee
 22 Institute] at Tuskegee, Ala., may be established."²⁷⁸
 23 Rev. McDonald and Edwin S. Fee, executor of the
 24 estate of John G. Fee, wrote to the *Courier-Journal*
 25 in early September to clarify that the Fee heirs did
 26 "not receive a single cent for the Camp Nelson
 27 school transfer" and that McDonald had made no
 28 purchase, rather "the Board of trustees of Camp
 29 Nelson Academy transferred the whole plant
 30 under their control to the Presbyterian Board of
 31 Freedmen to be conducted under their supervision
 32 as [an] industrial school to do the same kind of
 33 work as formerly, only upon an extended scale."²⁷⁹
 34 This transfer occurred around the same time that
 35 John G. Fee's residence and personal property
 36 were sold at auction in Berea.²⁸⁰

37 In November 1903, Edward P. Cowan, secretary
 38 of the Board for Freedmen, announced "A New
 39 Enterprise" at Camp Nelson:

40 During the lifetime of Mr. Fee the school
 41 enjoyed the benefit of his support and fostering
 42 care. In later years the work had met with
 43 various vicissitudes and during this last summer
 44 a proposition was made to the Board of Missions

52 for Freedmen to take the institution under its
 53 care and manage it as a Presbyterian Normal and
 54 Industrial School for Colored People, and the
 55 Board after examining into its past history and
 56 into its present condition and future prospects
 57 agreed to undertake a new work at that point
 58 on the condition that the entire property be
 59 turned over to its ownership and care, which
 60 proposition has been readily agreed to by the
 61 existing Trustees of the former institution. . .

62 The Presbyterian Church has but a small work in
 63 Kentucky and it is hoped that our Presbyterian
 64 churches in Kentucky will become greatly
 65 interested in this enterprise. There are 285,000
 66 colored people in Kentucky and the Presbyterian
 67 church at large has not in the past been doing
 68 what it should do for the evangelization and
 69 education of this large element in that State.

Rev. J. A. Boyden, who has been in charge of a
 colored Presbyterian church in Danville for
 the last ten years and at the head of a small
 school connected with this church, has been
 appointed principal of the new enterprise at
 Camp Nelson. . . Mr. Boyden will take charge
 of the church work, open a day school and
 look after the management of the farm and get
 everything in readiness for a good beginning in
 this department of the work in the early spring.

The school will be meant especially for boys, but
 will not be opened for boarders before next fall.
 The boys will be expected to work the farm and
 the products of the farm will go as far as possible
 toward the support of the school.

Rev. Donald McDonald, D. D., Synodical
 Superintendent of Home Missions for Kentucky,
 has been greatly interested in this proposed new
 educational institution for colored people in his
 State, and to him we are indebted more than
 to anyone else for the securing of this plant at
 Camp Nelson for the founding of what we trust
 will grow into a large and useful enterprise for
 the benefit of the colored race.

277. "Camp Nelson Academy," *Kentucky Advocate*
 (Danville, KY), 17 August 1903, 3.

278. "An Industrial School," *Courier-Journal*, 19 August
 1903, 5.

279. *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 10 September 1903, 1, col. 2.

280. "For Sale," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 3 September 1903,
 3.

The name of the school will be changed to “Fee Memorial Institute” in perpetuation of the name and influence of Mr. John G. Fee, its original founder.²⁸¹

The Board of Missions for Freedmen did not usually take over an existing institution started by groups outside the PCUSA. The Board’s annual report for 1904 documented the reasons for its decision to take over the Camp Nelson Academy.

The second case in which we have taken over an outside enterprise is that of the Camp Nelson School in Kentucky. It consists of school buildings and farm land estimated to be worth altogether about \$10,000. The property was made over to the Board without conditions. The effort to establish it as an undenominational boarding school managed by a Board of Trustees did not succeed. The main consideration which moved our Board to accept this trust was the fact that we have no other school in the whole state of Kentucky where there are something more than 280,000 colored people. Friends of our work in Kentucky were anxious to establish a school in that state, and the hope of the Board is that the Kentucky churches, favorable to our work, will make this school the special object of their benevolence, and that interest in the work in that region will increase their gifts to the cause more than enough to reimburse the Board for all it may expend in setting this enterprise in motion.²⁸²

The transfer of the school property did not occur until January 20, 1904, when Edwin S. Fee, executor of the estate of John G. Fee, deeded two tracts to the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen, the Trustees of Camp Nelson Academy, and the AMA for \$1.00, the required minimum for a property transfer. The first tract included nine-and-one-half acres, seven for the school and two-and-one-half for the church. These were the same parcels deeded in 1868. The transfer was not to affect the right of the Church of Christ in the use of the church parcel or in hitching privileges. The

second tract was the 115-acre farm that the trustees of Ariel Academy had purchased in 1881.²⁸³

The Fee Memorial Institute initially operated as an elementary or primary school offering grades one through eight. During the 1903-1904 school year, approximately forty students from the village attended the day school. A July 1904 article by Rev. J. A. Boyden laid out the school’s advantages and plans for the fall 1904 term. “The school is situated in the midst of a colored population, in a healthy locality, free from the temptations of a city, or of a small town. There are no saloons, nor dives to allure the young to destruction.” The Presbyterians had begun to repair the facilities, which had likely suffered deferred maintenance during the preceding decade. “Our property consists of a dormitory and a recitation building, also used for religious services. Repairs have been made on the property at a cost of nearly three hundred dollars within the past few weeks.” The board planned to “open the boarding department” for the fall 1904 term and “to develop a school for boys, permitting girls to attend as day pupils.” The 115-acre farm “will be cultivated wholly, or in part, by student labor. . . We propose to develop industrial training as speedily as the means will permit. Sewing will be taught the girls, and gardening and farming, the boys.”²⁸⁴ [Figure 20] The school appears to have been in search of new teachers in September 1904, when the following note appeared in *The Assembly Herald*: “A new boarding school for boys will be opened this year, at Camp Nelson, Kentucky. Two teachers in addition to the principal will be needed to meet the requirements of this work—an industrial teacher and a matron.”²⁸⁵

In March 1904, the Day Law, “An Act to Prohibit White and Colored Persons from Attending the Same School,” was signed into law by Kentucky Governor J. C. W. Beckham. Berea College, the only integrated college in Kentucky, was directly targeted by the law, which also prohibited a school from operating segregated branches within twenty-five miles of each other. The passage of this Jim Crow segregation law recalled the 1902 discussion of Camp Nelson Academy becoming “the colored

281. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606-607.

282. Quoted in Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 289-290.

283. Jessamine County Deed Book 21, 190.

284. J. A. Boyden, “A New Enterprise,” *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXV, No. 30 (27 July 1904), 15-16.

285. Mrs. V. P. Boggs, “Outline of Work for 1904 and 1905,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. X, No. 9 (September 1904), 613.



1 **Figure 20.** Scenes from classes at industrial schools under the care of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in
2 the United States of America. Sewing, domestic science, and carpentry classes at the Fee Memorial Institute probably looked
3 something like those seen in these photographs. The photograph at lower left might possibly show the carpenter shop in the
4 basement of the large dormitory at the Fee Memorial Institute. (Source: "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol.
5 XVIII, No 1 (January 1912), 55)

part of Berea College;" the two campuses were approximately thirty-five miles apart.²⁸⁶ Berea College was criminally convicted of violating the Day Law and appeals of the conviction ultimately made it to the United States Supreme Court. The 1908 verdict in *Berea College v. Kentucky* upheld the rights of states to prohibit chartered private educational institutions from racially integrating.²⁸⁷

In 1905, the school was staffed by Rev. Boyden and Rev. W. C. Hargrave, pastor of two churches near Burdick, Kentucky, with an enrollment of seventy-four pupils.²⁸⁸ By 1906, the school was staffed by Rev. Boyden, who served as both minister and teacher, as well as two other teachers, Miss O. B. Feimster and Miss M. D. Spellman, and had eighty-three pupils.²⁸⁹ On April 24, 1907, the AMA deeded their interest in the nine-and-one-half acres to the Presbyterian Church for \$1.00.²⁹⁰ This transfer marked the end of the AMA's forty-three-year relationship with the school. By October 1908, the Fee Memorial Institute was offering a variety of vocational training courses but was also struggling against a lack of resources.

There is a farm in connection with the school. Cooking, dressmaking, and printing, to a limited extent, are now taught in connection with a course of study aimed to qualify its graduates for public school teaching. The Board is very anxious to develop other industries in connection with this work, but is held back for the lack of the necessary means... But further developments will have to wait, unless some kind friends come to our relief.²⁹¹

286. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 152.

287. The Day Law would be amended in 1950 to allow voluntary integration. It was struck down by the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

288. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 290.

289. Edward P. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XII, No. 11 (November 1906) 561; Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 290.

290. Jessamine County Deed Book 21, 194.

291. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481.

In 1909, Rev. and Mrs. Boyden were assisted by Miss Francis Alexander and Miss A. Spellman and instructed eighty pupils. In 1910, enrollment declined to fifty and Miss Spellman was no longer employed.²⁹² The Board of Missions for Freedmen described the development of the school in its 1910 annual report.

Mention was made in our last report of the generous offer of \$5,000 toward work among the colored people of Kentucky, if the churches of that state would carry out the resolution passed, in their Synod that year, to contribute \$1,500 toward our work within the bounds of their state. Circulars were sent out to the Kentucky churches stating the case, and before the next meeting of the Synod the whole amount and a little more, was sent into the Board, for the improvement and enlargement of our school at Camp Nelson, Ky., known as the John G. Fee Memorial Institute. On the announcement that \$1,500 had been received, Mr. John A. Simpson, of Covington, Kentucky, promptly sent us his check for \$5,000, to be invested permanently, the interest of which is to go to the promotion of the work at Camp Nelson; or should that fail, to any other similar work within the bounds of Kentucky, to which the Board might in the future wish to appropriate it.

The agricultural feature of the Camp Nelson School is being developed this year. The farm is being stocked with necessary implements, and portions of land are being assigned to different boys, who are put in communication with the right authorities, at Washington, D. C., who are offering prizes to boys and young men who succeed best in their efforts at practical farming. A healthy impatience grew up in the minds of the boys during the winter, in their eagerness for the time to come when they could begin their competitive efforts at cultivating the soil.²⁹³

A 1910 newspaper article reported, "About a mile north-west of Camp Nelson [the village on the river] is the negro settlement, Ariel. Ariel

292. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 290-291.

293. Quoted in Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 291.

Academy... has always had one or more white teachers who come from somewhere north of the Ohio river and made their homes in that village.”²⁹⁴ While this was true of some teachers, most of the school’s principals since the 1870s appear to have been Black. During the 1910-1911 school year, the Fee Memorial Institute had seventy pupils and the following faculty were employed by the Synod of Kentucky for the durations noted: Rev. J. A. Boyden (twelve months of service), Mrs. J. A. Boyden (seven months), Miss Kate Ross (seven months), Miss Irene Boyden (seven months).²⁹⁵

In 1910, John A. Simpson of Covington, Kentucky, offered to donate \$5,000 “toward work among the colored people of Kentucky” on the condition that Presbyterian churches of the Kentucky Synod would contribute \$1,500 toward this work. “The whole amount, and a little more, was sent in to our Board, for the improvement and enlargement of our school at Camp Nelson, Ky., known as the John G. Fee Memorial Institute.”²⁹⁶ Simpson’s contribution was to be invested permanently and the interest payments were to support the work of the Fee Memorial Institute. This fundraising may have supported the construction of the present Fee Memorial Church and the adjacent house.

In 1911, the school reported seventy pupils and four teachers employed by the Synod of Kentucky. Rev. J. A. Boyden was employed for twelve months of service, while Mrs. J. A. Boyden, Miss Kate Ross, and Miss Irene Boyden were employed for seven months. The property was valued at \$10,000 and the Board held a note and mortgage on the property for \$150.²⁹⁷ Agricultural education was being further developed at that time.

The agricultural feature of the Camp Nelson School is being developed this year. The farm is being stocked with necessary improvements,

294. “Camp Nelson,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 May 1910, 6.

295. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 48.

296. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 11.

297. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 22, 25, 48.

and portions of land are being assigned to the different boys, who are put in communication with the right authorities, at Washington, D. C., who are offering prizes to boys and young men who succeed best in their efforts at practical farming. A healthy impatience grew up in the minds of the boys during the winter, in their eagerness for the time to come when they could begin their competitive efforts at cultivating the soil.²⁹⁸

J. C. Gill was employed to teach scientific agriculture in 1912. An article published that December recounted a “Farmer’s Institute” conference held in the new Fee Memorial Church and described Gill’s work. “In the new church building I found about one hundred people assembled, a farmers’ conference was in charge of the extension committee from the State University located at Danville, Ky.”²⁹⁹ After instructive lectures on “stock raising,” “the proper treatment and development of the soil,” and “the raising of fruit,” “we went to the school building where we found the exhibit. It consisted of chickens, corn, pumpkins, potatoes of all kinds, canned fruits, etc. We have never seen the quality of the exhibit excelled.”

From the school building we went out to the farm, which is but a short distance removed from the campus property. Here we inspected the new farmer’s house which has just been erected for the use of Mr. Gill, the teacher in Scientific Agriculture.³⁰⁰

In addition to his classroom instruction on the theory of agriculture and the cultivation of a two-acre model garden, Gill oversaw two agricultural clubs. One was a Farmers’ Club consisting of “about twenty men engaged in farming on their own lands.” Gill instructed them in “seed selection, rotation of crops, ploughing, etc.” At the Fee Memorial Institute, a Boys’ Corn Club cultivated about four acres of ground under his direction.

We next visited some of the fields and were especially interested in the corn field. The boys

298. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 11.

299. “Fee Memorial Institute,” *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670.

300. *Ibid.*

had been divided into corn clubs, and each boy was permitted to plant ten rows of corn, and then to care for the same. The one having the best corn to receive a prize. The corn field was truly a work of art, and the corn shows that it had received expert attention. Mr. Gill has been giving lectures to the students and the farmers in the community in the evenings on the general subject of agriculture, in addition to his class room work and work on the farm.³⁰¹

The farm's produce used by the school included "Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, cabbages, sweet corn, tomatoes, snap beans, lima beans, pumpkins, etc."³⁰²

Between 1912 and 1915, the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America sold off portions of the former Camp Nelson Academy property. The first was sold to Charles Clay for twenty-five dollars in 1912 and the last was sold to Jack Isom for thirty dollars in 1915.³⁰³ Both were residents of Ariel/Hall and were farmers during the 1910s.

In 1913, Rev. J. A. Boyden and Mr. J. C. Gill were employed for twelve months of service, while Mrs. J. A. Boyden, Miss M. A. Watt, and Miss Susie Williams were employed for seven months.³⁰⁴ In 1914, Rev. J. A. Boyden and Mr. J. C. Gill were employed for twelve months of service, while Mrs. J. A. Boyden and Miss M. A. Watts were employed for seven months. Sixty pupils were enrolled.³⁰⁵ A 1914 report by the Kentucky Department of Education gives a sense of the course offerings at that time:

The instruction given covers the common school course of the State, with a short high school course. In addition to this, industrial education

is also encouraged. Domestic economy receives attention. Sewing and cooking and general care of the home are important elements of each girl's training.

For boys, farming, printing, carpentry, and broom making are provided. Special attention is given to agriculture. The farm attached to the institution affords ample opportunity for practical work on the farm. Boys' corn club work has created considerable interest among the people. Farmer's club for discussion of problems, and conferences held under the auspices of the State University, Lexington, Ky., have done much to help the community interest in farming.³⁰⁶

Rev. Boyden resigned after eleven years of service as leader of the school.³⁰⁷ Rev. H. W. McNair, a Black minister, succeeded Boyden as principal of the Fee Memorial Institute the fall of 1914; he would remain for twenty years and was the school's longest-serving leader. The school was again struggling against limited resources. A March 1915 visit conducted as part of a federal report on the status of "Negro education" in the United States identified the Fee Memorial Institute as a "small elementary school with a seven month term" and "37 pupils... doing low-grade work." Financial records were found to be inadequate, but Principal McNair reported that the school's budget was \$1,000, of which \$850 came from the Presbyterian Board of Missions and \$150 from tuition; most of the budget was expended on salaries. The 150 acres of property was "practically all cleared" and had an estimated value of \$3,000. "Though an excellent demonstration plot is maintained, little educational value is derived from the work." The report described two buildings valued at \$2,250, "a two-story frame structure used for [a] dormitory and for the principal's home," with Mrs. McNair supervising the six female students then boarding, and "a one-story frame building with two rooms used as classrooms." The inspector reported, "The buildings are in poor repair and they were in disorder at the time of [the] visit. The fences and outhouses are also in bad repair." The lack

301. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670-671.

302. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 671.

303. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), lxiii.

304. *One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1913), 49.

305. *One Hundred and Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1914), 50.

306. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.

307. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 291.

of mention of the Fee Memorial Church or the adjacent house may indicate that they had been classified as property of the church and not the school, although it is clear that the McNair family was living in the dormitory. The inspector noted that the school lacked “sufficient schoolroom equipment” and that “only a few dormitory rooms are provided with necessary furniture,” with movable equipment valued at \$200. The inspector also noted, “In the town of Camp Nelson the public school is low in grade and the term is short. Effort should be made to bring about cooperation with the Fee Memorial Institute so that duplication of elementary work can be avoided.”³⁰⁸ The report further recommended that the Fee Memorial Institute “be combined with the public school to form a county training school.”³⁰⁹

An April 1915 article, probably written by McNair, laid out the Fee Memorial Institute’s approach to “checking the rush to the cities” that marked the first years of the Great Migration. The article noted, “Our facilities are inadequate to meet the needs and demands of the negroes in this section, but we are trying to use every means in our power to advance them morally, spiritually and intellectually.”

Fee Memorial Institute, like all schools fostered by the Freedmen’s Board, helps the youth to discover themselves and better their condition and the condition of those among whom they later go to live. If a boy wishes to make a business of farming we try to make him a better farmer. If a girl desires to be a seamstress we try to make her a better seamstress.³¹⁰

Is the Fee Memorial Institute making good? When I tell you that the school has been the means of checking the mad rush to the cities you will agree with me that even if it has done no more, it has done a great work for the colored people. We can name more than twenty families who will declare that had the school not been here they would have gone to the city, but with the school and church here they are satisfied

308. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.

309. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.

310. “Checking the Rush to the Cities,” *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.

to remain on the farm, most of them trying to purchase humble homes.³¹¹

[W]e are trying to instill in the minds of the colored people... that their future welfare centers in the farm... but [we] must help them to make conditions on the farm such that they will have no desire to rush to the city... If we have checked the rush to the cities with our limited facilities what would the outcome be with facilities increased?³¹²

By January 1916, McNair had overseen significant work on the campus: “the number of boarding students has been increased, a new [dormitory] building for the boys has been erected”—actually a remodeling of an older building—and the main building and recitation building have been given a fresh coat of paint.”³¹³ In March 1916, a debate and singing contest between Fee Memorial Institute and Lancaster High School (colored) was held at the “colored Baptist Church” in Lancaster. “Both sides were well represented,” with Elbert Coleman and Dewey Tracy of Camp Nelson taking the affirmative side of the debate resolution, “That the United States Policy of Preparedness is an Incentive to War.” Georgia Carpenter entered the solo contest. Students from Camp Nelson won the “Essay Oration and Declamation” and “the audience enjoyed the exercise . . . considerable interest was manifested and will serve as an encouragement to other boys and girls.”³¹⁴ Later that year, the Fee Memorial Institute added a normal school program to train teachers.

Presbyterian churches near Binghamton, New York, appear to have been working to help meet the needs of the Fee Memorial Institute in 1916. In April, the Presbyterian Missionary Thimble Circle of Binghamton held a “sewing bee” that included “sewing for the Red Cross Society and . . . hemming towels for the Fee Memorial School.”³¹⁵ That December, the members of the Presbyterian

311. “Checking the Rush to the Cities,” *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.

312. “Checking the Rush to the Cities,” *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.

313. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January 1916), 9.

314. “Lancaster High School, Colored, Wins,” *Central Record* (Lancaster, KY), 2 March 1916, 4.

315. “Immanuel Presbyterian,” *Binghamton Press*, 1 April 1916, 5; “Thimble Tea is Given for Guest from Holland,” *Binghamton Press*, 6 April 1916, 3.

54 church and Sunday school in nearby Endicott,
55 New York, were “making arrangements to send
56 a Christmas box to the Fee Memorial School at
57 Camp Nelson, Ky.”³¹⁶

58 In 1917, the Fee Memorial Institute received a
59 “new ‘Domestic Science Outfit,’ part of it from
60 women of Kentucky, as well as mules for plowing
61 the farm and other farming implements” to
62 support the scientific agriculture program.³¹⁷ The
63 United States’ entry into World War I in 1917
64 may have drawn recruits from the Camp Nelson
65 community. A 1918 article reported that “Fee
66 Memorial Institute... is standing the war-time
67 conditions bravely.”³¹⁸

68 In 1921, at the seventh annual opening of the
69 Fee Memorial Institute, Dr. Thomas W. Rainey,
70 associate editor of the *Lexington Leader*, delivered
71 an address. Exercises began at 10:00 AM. At 7:30
72 PM, a students’ and teachers’ supper and reception
73 included talks by Prof. J. H. Ward of Louisville,
74 a Sunday school missionary; Prof. H. E. James of
75 Danville, a Sunday school missionary; and Rev.
76 Walter Payne Stanley, pastor of the Ferguson
77 Memorial Church of Louisville.³¹⁹

78 Comparatively little is known of the school’s
79 operations during the early-1920s. In August 1922,
80 Rev. H. W. McNair announced his plan to conduct
81 “a great camp meeting... on the campus of Fee
82 Memorial Institute... A grand program has been
83 arranged and free dinners will be served to all who
84 attend. Many from Lexington are expected. The
85 school bus staring at 8:45 o’clock will meet all cars
86 from Lexington.”³²⁰ In 1924, the Fee Memorial
87 Institute relocated to Nicholasville, abandoning its
88 campus in the Hall. Most of the old property was
89 sold in September 1924, at the same time that the
90 school purchased its new property in Nicholasville.

1 1924-1934 Fee Memorial Institute in Nicholasville
2 In September 1924, the Fee Memorial Institute
3 sold most of its property in the Hall and purchased
4 property at the east city limits of Nicholasville. This
5 twenty-acre property included the residence of
6 the late Dr. J. T. Hervey and the adjoining property
7 of Jesse Stultz on the Sulphur Well Road (now E.
8 Maple Street); it was purchased for \$10,000.³²¹ Dr.
9 James T. Hervey (1852-1924) was a dentist who
10 practiced in Nicholasville for thirty years and had
11 died in May 1924.³²² The property, located at what
12 is now 499-601 E. Maple Street, contained the
13 Hervey and Stultz houses and other improvements.
14 The Fee Memorial Institute announced plans for a
15 \$35,000 investment in the new campus.³²³

16 The groundbreaking for a brick classroom and
17 chapel building was held on September 24, 1924,
18 and construction began the following week.³²⁴
19 An apparent press release from the Fee Memorial
20 Institute published in the *Louisville Leader* in
21 October 1924 reported:

22 Nicholasville, Ky., Oct. 3.— Fee Memorial
23 Institute, for more than fifteen years located
24 in the village known as Camp Nelson, has
25 purchased a beautiful site of fifteen acres in the
26 city of Nicholasville and will become a high class
27 school for girls and young women. The new site
28 is six blocks from the interurban station, eight
29 blocks from the Louisville and Nashville railway
30 station and nine blocks from the Southern
31 station. We shall employ teachers of character,
32 scholarship and Christian integrity. We have
33 under construction a brick building of all
34 modern improvements. It contains a beautiful
35 chapel and class rooms. We shall soon begin a
36 girl’s dormitory of all modern conveniences.
37 Our school opens October 1. As we are changing
38 locations, we must limit our number for the time
39 being. Girls and young women of character,
40 willing to study and desiring a good literary
41 training, thorough course in domestic arts,

91 316. “Endicott to Have Older Boys’ Rally,” *Binghamton*
92 *Press*, 16 December 1916, 14.

93 317. *One Hundred Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board*
94 *of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the*
95 *United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian
96 Building, 1917), 214.

97 318. “A Patriotic Meeting,” *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol.
98 LXXXIX, No. 11 (13 March 1918), 8.

99 319. “Heard About Town,” *Lexington Leader*, 4 October
100 1921, 4.

101 320. “Colored Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 24 August 1922,
102 9.

42 321. “Ground for College,” *Lexington Leader*, 12
43 September 1924, 11.

44 322. “Dr. J. T. Hervey Dies,” *Lexington Leader*, 19 May
45 1924, 10.

46 323. “Fee Memorial School Moved [sic] to Jessamine,”
47 *Lexington Herald*, 2 October 1924, 2.

48 324. “Fee Memorial Grounds at Camp Nelson Sold,”
49 *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 23 September
50 1924, 2; “College Property at Camp Nelson is Sold,”
51 *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 24 September 1924, 2;
52 “Work on New School,” *Lexington Leader*, 2 October
53 1924.

vocal and instrumental music, will do well to consider Fee Memorial Institute. Good board and a school run on the order of a well regulated home. Board and tuition, \$10 per month, which covers everything save personal clothing and books. For further information write: H. W. McNair, Principal. Nicholasville”³²⁵

The school appears to have initially operated out of the Hervey and Stultz houses until the completion of the school and chapel building. In April 1925, the school hosted the convention of the Lincoln Presbytery Synod of Kentucky of the Presbyterian Church, with Rev. McNair in charge of the program. At the Jessamine Court Day sale in February 1926, the Fee Memorial Institute purchased a house and lot in Nicholasville, implicated in the case of W. R. Smith committee against Eugenia Stolls, for \$1,250.³²⁶ This acquisition may have expanded the campus.

A 1977 history of the school reports on initial tensions with the white population of Nicholasville that dissolved as the school came to be seen as an asset to the community.

When the school moved in from the country, the white population of Nicholasville felt that they were being swamped by the “colored folks.” This attitude gradually changed to one of sincere acceptance as the school created a pleasing atmosphere in a suburban section of the town. A prominent white citizen whose property joined that of the school apologized for his criticism and placed his farming tools at the disposal of the school without any cost.

The campus became one of the most beautiful spots in the community. The Fee Memorial Institute gradually earned the warmest regards of the population of Nicholasville and the highest respect of the Board [of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA]. The plant was expanded and the school’s curriculum enriched. Training in elementary and high school work, offered thirty-six weeks annually, was of the highest quality for both day and boarding students.³²⁷

325. *Louisville Leader*, 4 October 1924, 4 October 1924, 4.

326. “Jessamine Court Day Sales Made,” *Lexington Herald*, 17 February 1926, 3.

327. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 292.

In 1927, a new cottage was built on the campus; it contained a dining hall, kitchen, and dormitory space.³²⁸ After the move to Nicholasville, Principal H. W. McNair, serving as librarian for the school, began reporting the school’s statistics to the Kentucky Library Commission. In 1927, the school reported six hundred volumes; this increased to nine hundred by 1929.³²⁹

In June 1928, the Fee Memorial Institute hosted “a conference for Negro women” put on by the Woman’s Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church. Approximately fifty delegates attended, plus a number of local women.³³⁰ That September, the school opened “with the greatest number of girls it has ever had at an opening.” The school reported having to turn away almost as many students as it admitted due to lack of room. Mrs. McNair was to travel to “points in Ohio where she will make several addresses in the interest of the school,” including “a gathering of white women in Piqua, Ohio.” The school’s goals were to be “an accredited school this year. A junior college with the beginning of next term. An ‘A’ grade college for women in five years.” Ongoing activities included a campus quintet that was to travel to New York and a girls’ basketball team.³³¹ In December 1928, the school petitioned the Board of Missions for Freedmen to expand the trustees of the Fee Memorial Institute from men and women living in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to include “prominent men and women of Lexington, Louisville and Nicholasville.”³³²

In 1929, the school’s enrollment consisted of thirty-six boarding students and eighteen day students.³³³ In September 1929, the school was taking in about fifteen more girls compared with

328. “Courthouse Remodeled,” *Lexington Herald*, 12 January 1927, 47; “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 21 June 1931, 22.

329. *Kentucky Library Commission Ninth Biennial Report 1925-1927* (Frankfort: State Journal Company, 1927), 13, 40; *Kentucky Library Commission Tenth Biennial Report 1927-1929* (Frankfort: State Journal Company, 1929), 44.

330. “Hold Conference for Negro Women,” *Lexington Leader*, 22 June 1928, 19.

331. “Fee Memorial Institute,” *Lexington Herald*, 16 September 1928, 10.

332. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 2 December 1928, 16.

333. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 292.

1 the previous year, “as we are erecting a large
 2 sleeping room which was made possible by the
 3 gift of a good friend.” Mrs. McNair described a
 4 vision she had had of the campus: “In her dream,
 5 she saw a large and spacious dormitory, an
 6 administration building, a building for domestic
 7 science, a modern hospital and several teachers’
 8 cottages.” Students were to wear school hats
 9 of blue with gold letters, following the school
 10 colors, and would go to meals wearing all white.
 11 ³³⁴ A campus newspaper called the *Fee Echo* was
 12 published that semester. In December, the school
 13 announced the launch of a six-month campaign
 14 to raise \$100,000 for a building and endowment
 15 fund. A pamphlet relating the history, present
 16 conditions, and future vision for the Fee Memorial
 17 Institute was under preparation. Rev. McNair still
 18 served as principal and the newly arrived Rev. W.
 19 T. Byrd, also a Black minister, served as dean. The
 20 board was considering whether the school might
 21 become coeducational next year.³³⁵ In January
 22 1930, the school reported, “much comment is
 23 given to our sunken garden which is, for the most
 24 part... a contribution of the girls of the school,
 25 costing about \$175.” The school quartet was to
 26 tour Michigan, performing in white churches and
 27 gatherings in Allegan, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Flint,
 28 Sturgis, Bad Axe, Lapeer, and Kalamazoo; “a good
 29 white woman is sponsoring the trip.”³³⁶

30 In April 1930, a federal census enumerator
 31 recorded the Fee Memorial Institute as a single
 32 dwelling on Sulphur Well Street (E. Maple Street).
 33 This dwelling contained two families. That of
 34 Henry W. McNair contained his wife Mary E., son
 35 Henry W. Jr., four teachers and seven students. The
 36 four teachers were Wallace Strader, Edna Scott,
 37 Carrie Pullen, and Lula Stephson. The students
 38 were Juanita Gibson, Violetta Wilkins, Alice
 39 Tedford, Helen Washington, Louise Griffey, Lettie
 40 White, and Mollie Moore. The second family was
 41 that of William Byrd, containing his wife Mattie

48 and children William Jr. and Myrtle. All were listed
 49 as “Negro.”³³⁷

50 Although information on the Fee Memorial
 51 Institute’s operations and its students is
 52 comparatively scarce for this period, some
 53 information is known about three students in the
 54 class of 1930, Juanita Gibson, Violetta Wilson, and
 55 Alice Tedford. Juanita Gibson and Violetta Wilson
 56 were both born about 1912 and came to the Fee
 57 Memorial Institute from Bell County, Kentucky.
 58 Both made the honor roll in November 1929.³³⁸
 59 Alice Tedford was born about 1915 near Evarts in
 60 Harlan County, Kentucky, in the Cumberland hills
 61 region of the state’s eastern coal fields. She came
 62 to the Fee Memorial Institute as a seventh grader
 63 and completed the four-year high school course
 64 in 1930. During her senior year, Tedford received
 65 honorable mention for her grades and sponsored
 66 “a sacred play on the Sabbath.”³³⁹ In October 1930,
 67 the school reported,

68 Alice Mae Tedford, a graduate of the class of
 69 1930, spent a few hours on the campus this
 70 week. She was on her way from Evarts, Ky., to
 71 New York, where she had accepted a position
 72 in one of the wealthy homes. We were asked to
 73 send one of our best girls and we were fortunate
 74 in inducing her to accept the position. This
 75 makes five of our girls we have placed during
 76 the last three months. We had another call for a
 77 good girl this week but we have exhausted our
 78 supply, for the present time.³⁴⁰

79 The Fee Memorial Institute’s 1930-1931 school
 80 year opened with sixty-three girls enrolled and
 81 eight faculty employed.³⁴¹ That year, the school was
 82 accredited as a “Class B” “Colored High School,”
 83 according to a report by the Kentucky Negro

84 337. From 1850 to 1920, the United States census recorded
 85 races including “White,” “Black,” and “Mulatto”
 86 (mixed Black and white ancestry). Beginning with the
 87 1930 census, enumerators were instructed to list all
 88 people with any Black ancestry as “Negro,” following
 89 the “one drop rule” pervasive in Jim Crow era racial
 90 ideology.

91 338. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*
 92 (Lexington, KY), 24 November 1929, 4.

93 339. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*
 94 (Lexington, KY), 24 November 1929, 4; “Fee Memorial
 95 Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald* (Lexington, KY), 26
 96 January 1930, 6.

97 340. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*
 98 (Lexington, KY), 5 October 1930, 14.

99 341. “Colored Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 18 September
 100 1930, 6.

42 334. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 22
 43 September 1929, 5.

44 335. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 1
 45 December 1929, 6.

46 336. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 19
 47 January 1930, 6.

53 Educational Association.³⁴² The school announced
 54 plans to become a coeducational high school,
 55 adopting the motto “Two dormitories, second
 56 to none,” and announcing a goal of building
 57 a separate library, a laundry, gymnasium, and
 58 football stadium.³⁴³

59 A surviving letter from Rev. H. W. McNair,
 60 apparently written during the 1930-1931 school
 61 year, includes biographical information about
 62 several students, including Tedford, Gibson, and
 63 Wilson. This letter gives a sense of the types of
 64 careers that these students sought, the qualities
 65 and actions valued by the Fee Memorial Institute’s
 66 faculty, and the framing McNair used when
 67 communicating the school’s work to its supporters.

68 FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

69 Nicholasville, Ky.

70 Dear Sunday School Stockholders:

71 Fee Memorial Institute fills a place in this section
 72 that few schools fill. Being situated as we are,
 73 the bulk of our girls are from such sections
 74 where the school term is very short. Too, we
 75 receive many girls from the mountains. To be
 76 a mountaineer means that one’s advantages
 77 have been few. Roads are bad and in winter it is
 78 difficult to travel.

79 Mollie Moore, a typical mountain girl, came
 80 to us two years ago with high aims and a noble
 81 ambition. Although being crude in every way,
 82 she was willing to learn and was willing to learn
 83 to work with her hands. So willing was she until
 84 it was not very long before she had taken the lead
 85 in all work on the campus, in the buildings and
 86 in the dining hall. Cooking seems to be a part
 87 of her. After being in school about five months,
 88 she was placed over the cooking and oversees
 89 three meals per day. She had never been late
 90 for a single meal. She has decided to become an
 91 expert cook and hopes to enter a school where
 92 she can become an expert after finishing Fee this
 93 coming May. She is a good Christian and takes
 94 the lead in all religious work on the campus.

95 342. “Colored High Schools—Kentucky, 1930-31” *The*
 96 *K.N.E.A. Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1 (October-November
 97 1931), 23.

98 343. “Fee Memorial Institute Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 16
 99 November 1930, 5.

We had a girl complete our course last term
 whose career is worth noting. This girl is Alice
 Tedford. Alice comes to us from the Cumberland
 mountains. She was one of the crudest girls ever
 entering our school. When she came to us her
 voice could be heard all over the campus. It only
 took about two days to get that voice down to a
 whisper. However, she was willing to learn and
 stuck until she finished. She came from a large
 family and her parents had to undergo many
 sacrifices to keep her in school. Alice was a
 very determined girl and was very ambitious.
 She selected as her life work domestic science.
 After completing Fee Memorial Institute last
 May, she began to work in [a] white family in
 the mountain[s], hoping to save enough money
 to pay her way through school next term. The
 summer has been hard for Alice and she wrote
 us about mid-summer that she was not going to
 be able to save enough to pay her way through
 school this coming term. She said that she had
 decided to work another year and perhaps she
 could save enough. However, just when she
 reached this decision, a very wealthy man who
 once lived in a section near our school and who
 had moved to New Jersey wrote the school for a
 girl to come to New Jersey and take charge of his
 home. He wanted an honest girl, punctual, swift,
 neat and a truthful girl. Our mind immediately
 fell on Alice Tedford. Alice has decided to go to
 New Jersey and work in this home. She is now
 on her way and hopes to save enough money to
 pay her way through school this coming term.

One of our most interesting girls is Pauline
 Combs. Pauline is a girl from the eastern
 mountains of Kentucky. Pauline lost her parents
 when but an infant. When she had reached the
 age of sixteen some one told her of Fee Memorial
 Institute. She desired to enter, but because there
 were two or three children younger than herself,
 her way looked dark. But eventually she took up
 courage and came to us. She was not a very bright
 girl, but her honesty, ambition, noble purpose
 and other high qualities made up for this lack.
 Pauline stuck with us until she managed to finish
 her course. During the summer, she would work
 in the homes of white people. She had to divide
 her means between a younger sister and herself.
 She placed her younger sister in our school and
 paid what we charged for herself and sister.
 Each summer she worked until completing her
 course. It was with Pauline as it was with many

of our best girls. Just about the time when the girls were thinking of returning to school, we received a call from one of our Presbyterian families for one of our best, honest girls to come and work in Ohio. We wrote Pauline and she was too glad to accept the place. She is now working in this home and making an honest servant. This is the fourth Presbyterian family in which we have been successful in placing Pauline. Each family is loud in her praises. The families are always sorry when the time comes for her to leave. When she takes work in a home, she is able to do everything that is needed. She is a good cook, good housekeeper and her laundry work surpasses that done by a steam laundry. Pauline has asked us on more than one occasion to tell her what we thought her life work should be. We tell her that she is so well versed in domestic work that we believe it should be her life work. We are sure that she has selected this as her life work. Pauline has never worked in a single family that did not pay her more than the contracted price after she was with them a month.

We have two girls who were recently graduated from our school and we feel like speaking of them in pairs. They were not related, but came to us from the same mountain sections and had the same ambition. These girls are Juanita Gibson and Violetta Wilkins. Both came from Bell County, Kentucky, a typical mountain section. Both were of humble parents and barely were able to go through school. But not a single day passed that these girls did not come to us and talk over their lives' work. Juanita wanted to be a teacher and Violetta wanted to be a nurse. We often told them that the greatest men and women came from the most humble homes. Our school has never had girls more honest, more ambitious and more willing to sacrifice. They were willing to wear the very cheapest garments. The clothing sent us from our friends, they made over into Sabbath garments as well as garments for every day wear. Although both came from the most humble homes, no one can ever remember a single day when either of these girls wore a frown. They were always cheerful and brought sunshine to the entire campus. Violetta is now in Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, pursuing her nurse training course and Juanita is a student in Barber-Scotia College, Concord, North Carolina, preparing herself for teaching. She made us promise her to give her a place on

our faculty when she has completed her course in school. She wants to return and repay us for what we did for her. Violetta wants to complete her course and return to us as a nurse and assist us with our work of health.

We want to thank our many friends for their gifts and prayers during the past years.

Sincerely,

Rev. H. W. McNair,

Principal³⁴⁴

Alice Tedford worked for Col. E. R. Bradley during the early-1930s. Edward Riley Bradley (1859-1946) was a gambler and businessman who established Idle Hour Stock Farm near Lexington in 1906, breeding thoroughbred racehorses. Bradley and his wife Agnes Cecelia Curry Bradley (1878-1926) had multiple residences, including Idle Hour Farm and "Pleasant View" in West Palm Beach, Florida. Tedford appears to have been hired to manage the Bradleys' New York home. The couple had no children and, following Agnes' death, Bradley began donating to a variety of charitable causes in her memory. One of these appears to have been a new dormitory for the Fee Memorial Institute, the Bradley Memorial Building (1931).

During the winter of 1930 and 1931, New York architect A. G. Lamont visited the campus and prepared two different designs for a proposed girls' dormitory.³⁴⁵ Archibald Garfield Lamont (1881-1951) specialized in the design of churches and served as superintendent of the Office of Architecture and Construction for the Divisions of Buildings and Property of the Presbyterian Church in the USA during much of the 1920s and 1930s.³⁴⁶

344. Rev. H. W. McNair to Sunday School Stockholders, typewritten letter, ca. 1930-1931, Record Group 301.10, Box 1, folder: "Fee Community Station and Memorial Institute, Nicholasville, KY, 1932-34," Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

345. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 21 December 1930, 21; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 1 February 1931, 17; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 8 February 1931, 19.

346. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Third Series, Vol. IV (1925), Part II (Philadelphia: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1925), 298.



Figure 21. Bradley Memorial Building (1931, Archibald Garfield Lamont, architect), 501 E. Maple Street, Nicholasville, Kentucky. The building was funded by a donation from Col. E. R. Bradley of Lexington. Alice Tedford, a 1930 graduate of the Fee Memorial Institute, was employed by Bradley in the early-1930s. Bradley was so impressed with Tedford's ability to manage his household that he wished to support the Fee Memorial Institute's programs for young African American women. This is the last surviving building of the Fee Memorial Institute's campus in Nicholasville, in operation 1924-1934. (Source: WLA Studio, 2020)

Construction began in June 1931 and the two-story brick dormitory was dedicated that October as the Bradley Memorial Building, honoring the donation of Col. E. R. Bradley of Lexington.³⁴⁷ [Figure 21] This new dormitory was to be used by all girls in the high school grades and above.³⁴⁸ Located near the center of the property, Lamont's design took the form of a simply-detailed Georgian Revival double-pile house. The building stands on a stone foundation and is clad in reddish-orange brick. Its five-bay façade features one double-hung window in each bay per floor except the center first-floor bay, which contains an entrance sheltered by a wooden porch with Tuscan columns and a low hipped roof. The east and west side elevations are each divided into three bays, with one window per bay on each floor. Basement windows were also provided in each bay. A simple cornice begins at the heads of the second-floor windows and the building is topped by a hipped roof.

As the Bradley Memorial Building neared completion, the Fee Memorial Institute announced that planning was underway for a future Administration Building containing a spacious chapel, eight "modern classrooms," offices, a library, a "standard gymnasium," and "other

347. "Dedication at Fee School," *Lexington Leader*, 27 September 1931, 28; "Negro High School Site Sought at Nicholasville," *Lexington Herald*, 22 June 1947, 2.
348. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 21 June 1931, 22.

necessary rooms."³⁴⁹ A letter from Rev. and Mrs. H. W. McNair to "the women of the missionary societies" of the PCUSA in February 1932 provides information about current students and an account of former student Alice Tedford's role in securing the Bradley Memorial Building's donation.

APRIL MISSIONARY LETTER

February 15, 1932

Dear Friends:

Those who attended the Biennial in Pittsburgh will remember that it was from Fee Memorial Institute that the gavel used by the presiding officers came. Our girls made it out of wood grown on the campus and sent it as an expression of good will. We are happy to write the women of the missionary societies and tell them more of the work of this school for Negro girls.

Most of our girls come from the Cumberland mining sections, noted for backwardness among Negro youth. In addition to our regular high school students we have some women from nineteen to thirty years old, who never had an opportunity to go to school when young, enrolled here in a courageous effort to make up for their lack of training. They rightly feel, better late than never. Our courses in practical industries, such as laundry and the principles of housekeeping, so thoroughly prepare them that they readily find work in many states. Our girls are in great demand. A New Jersey resort has employed several of our pupils for five consecutive summers. Fee Memorial is just twelve miles from Lexington, a city of 55,000, and when the white people have company in their homes and desire to have good meals prepared, neat waitresses and honest help, they come to us.

The girls in our school delight in making over old clothes into garments that appear as though they have just come out of the factory. In our millinery department old hats are remodeled so skillfully that local people have purchased from us instead of going to the stores!

349. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 21 June 1931, 22; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 18 October 1931, 21.

The story of how we got our new dormitory reads like a fairy tale. It all began with Alice Tedford, a typical Cumberland girl who came to us when she was in the seventh grade. After completing a four year course she returned to her mountain home, planning to teach and improve conditions in that community. When a request came to us for a reliable girl to take charge of a white man's house, we thought of Alice Tedford, the girl who had made good in her school work, the girl who was converted at a weekly prayer service, and who became one of the most efficient girls we had ever graduated. The outcome of it all was that Alice went to New York. In less than three weeks reports came to us that her employer was delighted with her services. Never before had he had such excellent help.

We thought the matter ended there. But in another three weeks a stranger, who concealed his identity, visited the campus. After he had gone all through the buildings, after he had looked at the pool in the sunken garden which the girls had themselves constructed, transforming an old excavation into such a thing of beauty that a Better Homes prize was awarded them, and after he had heard them sing their spirituals, he made himself known. He thought that a school that sent out such a reliable and resourceful girl as Alice Tedford should be given larger quarters so that other needy and worthy girls could be trained. On account of this crude mountain girl, who was transformed by Christian contacts, the friendly Catholic gave us a much needed brick dormitory which was opened this fall. Alice Tedford, from the Cumberland hills, was the cause of it all.

We wish to thank all of our friends for their interest in Fee Memorial.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Rev. and Mrs. H. W. McNair³⁵⁰

An athletic field or stadium was built during the summer of 1932; "The work was donated by the local young men who use the same for baseball purposes and other sports."³⁵¹ The school opened its 1932-1933 year opened "with the brightest prospects of its history. Our student body represents the best families of this and other states. There are more applicants on the waiting list than we have had for years."³⁵² All rooms were to be full and three new teachers and one staff member had been hired. Recurring plans to become coeducational do not seem to have been realized. A December 1933 report mentions the "Fee Memorial Institute, [a] Presbyterian girls' school at Nicholasville."³⁵³

Facing financial constraints several years into the Great Depression, the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA drastically cut back in its operation of schools in 1933.³⁵⁴ In July 1934, principal H. W. McNair announced that the Fee Memorial Institute had been consolidated with the Ingleside Seminary (sometimes spelled Engleside) of Burkeville, Virginia. Ingleside Seminary was established in 1892 as a school for African American girls in Virginia's Amelia and Nottoway Counties and was also funded by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA.³⁵⁵ In 1894, it became a normal school to train teachers and was known as the Ingleside Training Institute. The school's large brick building burned in the spring of 1906, but it reopened in a new building in 1907.³⁵⁶ [Figure 22] The consolidated school was to be renamed Ingleside – Fee Seminary for Young Women and the faculty was to be transferred to Burkeville.³⁵⁷

351. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 18 September 1932, 11.

352. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 18 September 1932, 11.

353. "Second Presbyterians Arrange Yule Services," *Lexington Leader*, 23 December 1933, 9.

354. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 292.

355. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 67, 70.

356. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1908), 70.

357. "Fee Institute Closes," *Lexington Herald*, 7 July 1934, 5.

350. Rev. and Mrs. H. W. McNair, April (1932) Missionary Letter, 15 February 1932, typewritten letter, Record Group 301.10, Box 1, folder: "Fee Community Station and Memorial Institute, Nicholasville, KY, 1932-34," Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



Figure 22. Ingleside Seminary, Burkeville, Virginia. In 1934, during the Great Depression, the Fee Memorial Institute merged with Ingleside and ceased operations in Kentucky. The Ingleside – Fee Memorial Institute school offered an accredited high school course and up to two years of college courses. The school closed in the 1940s or early-1950s. This building was completed in 1907 after the previous building burned in 1906. It was demolished about 1956. (Source: “Board for Freedmen,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XIV, No. 11 (November 1908), 542)

Notice of the closure in Nicholasville reported that the “local school will be operated her[e] next school year by private teachers,” but this does not seem to have occurred.³⁵⁸

The McNairs and other faculty seem to have moved to Virginia in 1934, but the Byrds remained in Nicholasville. By 1940, the Ingleside – Fee Memorial Institute school offered an accredited high school course and up to two years of college courses. The school closed in the 1940s or early-1950s. Its building was demolished ca.1956 and replaced by the Negro Ingleside Elementary School (1956-1958), a segregated elementary school. The site is now occupied by Burkeville Elementary School.³⁵⁹

The former campus in Nicholasville became the Fee Memorial Community Center, under the management of Rev. and Mrs. Byrd, from

September 1934 until at least 1942.³⁶⁰ The center hosted various local and regional African American organizations, including church conferences, and 4-H clubs, and choirs. A ca.1934 typewritten letter from Mattie M. Byrd provides detailed documentation of the Center’s early programs.

Fee Community Station / Nicholasville, Kentucky

Dear friends of the work:

In September 1934, the Fee Community Center began its activities. Religious Education is stressed and a thorough course in Home Economics is given. The girls of the high school department constitute our regular classes in cooking and sewing. The work for women is done through evening clubs, because the majority of them work out the greater part of the day. In addition to class work for the girls we have organized them into two very nice clubs. The Swastika Culture Club and the Clover Leaf Art Club. Our emblem, the four leaf clover represents the four-fold development of our girls—Mind, Soul, Body, and Race. They pledge

358. “Fee Institute Closes,” *Lexington Herald*, 7 July 1934, 5.

359. “Nottoway to Open Burkeville School Bids on June 29,” *Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), 10 June 1958, D5; “New School is Dedicated at Burkeville,” *Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), 24 March 1958, 4; “Ingleside Training Institute,” HMdb, the Historical Marker Database, last updated 16 June 2016, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=31042>.

360. “Colored Notes,” *Lexington Herald*, 29 October 1934, 10; “We Buy Wheat,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 July 1935, 4.

to do their best— “Honor God, cultivate my mind, keep by body clean and healthy, and lift my race as I climb.” And right here I must tell you that the shower baths will be such an asset in teaching the value of a clean healthy body to the boys and girls. A group of small girls who have been organized by a lady who lives in the town are making pillos cases and dresses. This lady asked to be given an opportunity to help in this way because she realizes what the work is going to mean to the children, young people, and adults in this town. The boys are organized in club work also and a group is known as the Community Band. These boys are under the leadership of the Mr. Byrd.

In appreciation of the spiritual and social benefits they are now deriving from contact at the Center, the citizens helped to supply the kitchen and pantry with useful cooking utensils, dishes and glassware. Our color scheme for the kitchen is ivory and green and the gifts all carried out the color idea. Our dish towels are made of sugar sacks and we enjoy using them because they leave no lint on the glassware and give a perfect polish. They make dish cloths of the small sugar sacks. Here and in some of the homes the idea of painting coffee cans as food containers is being accepted. I feel that ideas as these which can be of daily use in homes should be emphasized and soon it will be noted that they become of general use.

I am happier by far than ever in this new venture here. I feel that true Social Service is for just the type found in this town. They are beginning to know that Good seeks the unsaved through us and it is a blessed fact to know that no human life is so hopelessly lost that God cannot minister to them through us if we are His true disciples. The Master’s errands to His little ones are always first duties. We dare not neglect them nor can we postpone them, for they cannot wait our leisure. So it is in our Sabbath afternoon meetings that the boys and girls find real pleasure rather than running the streets.

We ask your prayers for us here in this work.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mattie M. Byrd

Note: With the merging of the Fee and Ingleside Schools, the Fee plant was transformed into a community center, with Rev. and Mrs. Byrd, former teachers, in charge. The buildings, equipment, and campus are ideal for this type of work. Mr. and Mrs. Byrd are especially fitted to carry on such a program.³⁶¹

The 1940 census records the Byrd family living on Maple Street, with a note that the house was furnished to Rev. Byrd by his employer. He was listed as the caretaker of an institution, while Mattie M. Byrd was listed as a music teacher. Rev. Byrd’s 1942 draft registration card lists his residence address and place of employment as the “Fee Memorial Community Center” in Nicholasville, with his employer listed as the Presbyterian Church USA (156 Fifth Avenue, New York City). A 1944 news article notes that a Black Boy Scout troop in Nicholasville was screening a movie “in the Fee Memorial gymnasium in Nicholasville.”³⁶² The Center appears to have closed in the mid-1940s.

As of 1947, the eight-acre property owned by the Presbyterian Board of Missions contained four buildings, including the Bradley Memorial Building and the Dr. J. T. Hervey House.³⁶³ A 1948 advertisement listed an eleven-acre parcel for sale, including buildings formerly used for school purposes, along with “a fine athletic field, a small orchard, some good tillable land, and a considerable street frontage.”³⁶⁴ The property was purchased that year by the Jessamine County Board of Education, which planned to remodel the buildings “for use of the Negro school in agricultural and other projects.”³⁶⁵

The campus appears to have been added to the facilities of the nearby Rosenwald-Dunbar School, located on the opposite side of Maple Street. The Dunbar School opened in 1920 in a four-room

361. Mattie M. Byrd to “friends of the work,” typewritten letter, Record Group 301.10, Box 1, folder: “Fee Community Station and Memorial Institute, Nicholasville, KY, 1932-34,” Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

362. “Colored Notes,” *Lexington Leader*, 2 April 1944, 12.

363. “Negro High School Site Sought at Nicholasville,” *Lexington Herald*, 22 June 1947, 2.

364. “Valuable Nicholasville Property for Sale,” *Lexington Leader*, 29 January 1948, 11.

365. “Rise in Jessamine Enrollment Predicted by Superintendent,” *Lexington Herald*, 29 August 1948, 5.

brick building named for poet Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906). By 1930, with the aid of funding from the Rosenwald Fund, established by Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Company, the school expanded to include a four-year high school curriculum and was renamed the Rosenwald-Dunbar School.³⁶⁶ The Bradley Building became home to Rosenwald-Dunbar High School.³⁶⁷

During 1954-1955, the Board of Education constructed a building on the front portion of the former Fee Memorial Institute campus. The Channing Coolidge Building, honoring Nicholasville native E. Channing Coolidge, contained a combination auditorium, gymnasium, and cafeteria as well as classrooms including a music and speech room and a commercial course room.³⁶⁸

The Rosenwald-Dunbar School closed in 1963 upon the integration of Jessamine County Schools. The 1920 Dunbar School building was abandoned for educational purposes and had been converted into apartments by 1983.³⁶⁹ This building is extant but altered, with the present address of 712 E. Chestnut Street, although it originally fronted Maple Street, with the north façade visible from the corner of Dunbar Street and Lincoln Heights. A new integrated school known as Rosenwald-Dunbar Elementary was built on the west side of Nicholasville in the 1990s. The Channing Coolidge Building was remodeled into an administration building for the School Board, with a community gymnasium, in 1963 and is now used by Nicholasville – Jessamine County Parks & Recreation. It stands at 499-501 E. Maple Street. As a part of the 1963 integration program, the Bradley Building was converted into “a maintenance building to serve the entire Jessamine County school system” and as a supply storage warehouse.³⁷⁰ It still stands as of 2021. Buildings at

the southeast corner of the campus, on the parcel that is now 601 E. Maple Street, were demolished between 1965 and 1971.

1924-2021 Disappearance of Ariel / Hall Campus

In September 1924, J. S. Price of the retail clothing firm of Duncan & Price purchased the grounds and buildings of the Fee Memorial Institute at Camp Nelson. James Samuel Price (1874-1946) was a white banker, clothing merchant, and accountant in Nicholasville.³⁷¹ The purchase included five buildings and more than one hundred acres but excluded the two-acre tract containing the church and parsonage.³⁷² This tract may have been the 115-acre farm purchased in 1881 and may or may not have included the seven-acre parcel containing the campus and its buildings; the five buildings may have included the school or recitation building, the large dormitory, the boys’ dormitory, the farmer’s house, and barns or outbuildings associated with the farm.

The Fee Memorial Institute retained some of its former land as of 1927, when the school added a camping program. According to an article from that year,

A new feature has been added to the school. At the close [of the spring term], the older girls will go camping for a few days. This year 14 of the older girls camped in Camp Nelson, accompanied by Mrs. Sallie Cotton, Miss E. Guyn, Miss Rosa Graves and Mrs. [M. E.] McNair. The grounds in Camp Nelson belongs [*sic*] to Fee Memorial Institute and we are advocating the idea of the spot being set aside for an annual camping ground for the girls of Nicholasville and Vicinity.³⁷³

The two-acre tract containing the church and parsonage and an adjacent five-acre tract to the east, both part of the land conveyed by the Trustees of Camp Nelson Academy to the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA in 1904,

366. Elizabeth Schaller, “Dunbar Schools,” in *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 152.

367. “Jessamine County Education Board Submits Amended Plan,” *Lexington Leader*, 2 July 1963, 2.

368. “Gibson is Awarded Contract for School,” *Lexington Leader*, 7 November 1954, 3; “School Building to be Dedicated,” *Lexington Leader*, 6 November 1955, 30.

369. Carol Marie Cropper, “A lot of class: First school reunion tests memories of alumni,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 10 July 1983, 11.

370. “Jessamine County Education Board Submits Amended Plan,” *Lexington Leader*, 2 July 1963, 2.

371. “James S. Price Dies After Illness of Week,” *Lexington Herald*, 20 June 1946, 10.

372. “Fee Memorial Grounds at Camp Nelson Sold,” *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 23 September 1924, 2; “College Property at Camp Nelson is Sold,” *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 24 September 1924, 2.

373. “Fee Memorial Institute Holds Daily Vacation Bible School,” *Lexington Herald*, 5 August 1927, 15.

1 were transferred to Jack Ison, C. B. Westminster
2 Clay, and Albert Tracy, Trustees of Westminster
3 Presbyterian Church in April 1932, to be held
4 in trust for the benefit of the Westminster
5 Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson.³⁷⁴

6 A 1994 oral history project recorded several
7 accounts of the campus and buildings after their
8 abandonment. William Payne (1912-1998), who
9 grew up near the campus, reported that the
10 dormitory buildings were demolished in the 1930s.
11 “They tore them down and sold the lumber. After
12 the school was moved to Nicholasville, they tore
13 them down.”³⁷⁵ Norman Overstreet (1917-1995)
14 remembered the school; “I remember the building.
15 But when I got big enough to—to know it, the
16 building and things [that] was there, they moved”
17 the school to Nicholasville.³⁷⁶ Carrie Mae Tevis
18 Burdette (1932-1997), daughter of Maude Booker
19 Tevis and James Tevis, remembered playing in the
20 abandoned Fee Memorial Institute dormitory with
21 other children. The Tevis family lived across the
22 street from the campus, on the northwest corner of
23 Front and Brown Streets, at what is now 101 Isom
24 Street. The children were not allowed to play in the
25 building, but “we just slipped over and done it. We
26 played in the building, but it was a big dormitory,
27 three stories, they had these bannisters and we all
28 used to go in and slide down the bannisters. No, we
29 weren’t allowed to. I got many a scolding about it.”
30 Burdette remembered going into all three floors.
31 Based on her memories, she thought that the
32 first-floor rooms might have been used for classes
33 and the upper-floor rooms as living spaces. When
34 asked if the building still contained furniture,
35 she remembered school “benches and things,”
36 but was unsure if individual desks were present.

56 Burdette moved away from Camp Nelson in 1946,
57 suggesting that this memory occurred between the
58 late-1930s and 1946.³⁷⁷

59 During an interview with her husband John
60 W. Robertson, Floretta Robertson related the
61 following: “I used to hear them say that there was
62 a college, and I think that the college was right
63 there on the grounds up above the Presbyterian
64 parsonage.” John believed that the building
65 was gone by the time he came to Camp Nelson
66 (between 1949 and 1955), but Floretta continued,
67 “The school was there, but it was rotting—it wasn’t
68 in existence—it was a rotten building there... wasn’t
69 no windows in it. . . me and my first husband came
70 to a homecoming over there and we parked up
71 in the yard there.”³⁷⁸ If this memory is correct, it
72 would date to after her first marriage in 1966.³⁷⁹
73 Aerial photographs from 1950 and 1956 do not
74 appear to show buildings on the property aside
75 from the church and house, but a ruin could
76 possibly have been present on the site of the
77 dormitory.

78 A 1937 aerial photograph, the earliest aerial
79 available for the area, appears to show a roughly
80 rectangular parcel on the site of the former Fee
81 Memorial Institute campus. This parcel extended
82 northeast of Front and Row Streets (now Church
83 Street) and West Front (now Isom) Street, with a
84 south extension including the church. It contained
85 approximately two acres. Aerial photographs
86 indicate that portions of the former campus parcel
87 visible on the 1937 aerial became overgrown
88 between 1950 and the early-1980s. The area
89 northeast of the hill became forested during this
90 period and the forest spread into this corner of
91 the campus. The center of the site, including
92 the likely site of the dormitory, was covered by
93 several trees by the mid-1950s. Some of the trees
94 and undergrowth were removed after 2000 and
95 the former campus parcel is comprised mainly of
96 mowed lawn as of 2021.

374. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the
Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County
Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National
Monument archives.

375. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

376. In the interview, Overstreet referred to the Fee
Memorial Institute’s new home being “right up
over there across the road” from his house at 723 E.
Chestnut Street, which was located one block south
of the Nicholasville campus. Norman Overstreet,
interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994,
History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B.
Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky
Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt79cn6z0338>.

377. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 2.

378. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride,
22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54>.

379. Floretta Prentice (born 1944), daughter of Elizabeth
Jane Prentice, married Price Daniel Mitchell Jr. (1936-
2018) in 1966 and Floretta Mitchell married John W.
Robertson in 1986.

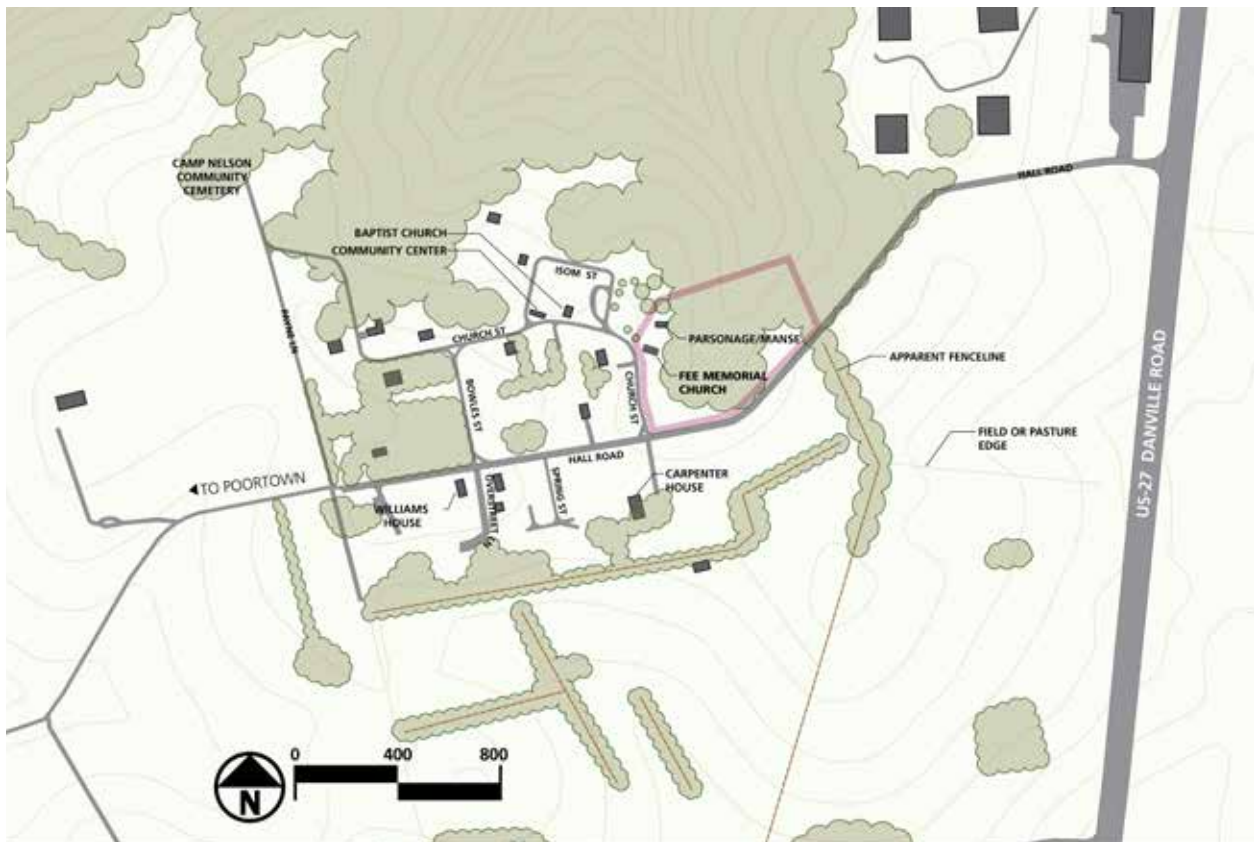


Figure 23. Map of the Hall (formerly Ariel), Kentucky, 1998. Adapted from a 1998 aerial photograph with building labels derived from other documentary sources. Comparison with the ca. 1937 map shows the loss of buildings over about 60 years of continued outmigration from the village. The light pink outline shows the approximate location of the present national monument boundary. The Fee Memorial Church and Manse had been abandoned since 1991 and Jessamine County was then preparing to renovate the church as a part of the Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park. (Source: WLA Studio)

In 1993 and 1994, the Jessamine County Fiscal Court applied for funds from the Inter-modal Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) and was awarded \$750,000 toward the purchase and preservation of the site of Camp Nelson; soon after, it purchased a seven-acre parcel in Hall that included the Fee Memorial Church and the adjacent house associated with the church and school.³⁸⁰ An archaeological investigation in 1995 found that the land around the church and the former campus “contained a moderate density of both nineteenth- and twentieth-century materials. [Figure 23] These were primarily nails, window glass, brick and limestone fragments, and

other architectural indicators, but also included considerable bottle glass.”³⁸¹

As of 2021, most of the former campus site, including the likely site of the dormitory and school/recitation hall, is within an adjacent two-acre parcel owned by the Payne Estate of Lebanon, Tennessee. The campus site appears to have been the most developed portion of the nine-and-one-half acres deeded to Ariel Academy by Matilda and John G. Fee in 1868 and occupied by the school until 1924. The school’s farm appears to have been outside of the boundaries of this parcel.

380. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, “Archaeology and the Creation of a Civil War Park: Experiences from Camp Nelson, Kentucky,” in *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* ed. M. Jay Stottman, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 118.

381. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, “Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky,” in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 164.

Campus & Buildings

This section provides information on the campus and buildings of the Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute except for the Fee Memorial Church. The campus and its buildings provided the original context for the church.

Campus & Farm

The initial campus deeded to Ariel Academy by Matilda and John G. Fee in 1868 consisted of two adjacent parcels, one containing seven acres for use by the school and one containing two-and-one-half acres for use by the church. In 1881, the Trustees of Ariel Academy purchased an adjoining farm of 115 acres, increasing the school's holdings to 123.5 acres.³⁸² At the time the Camp Nelson Academy was acquired by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in 1903, the school's property included a farm of 120 acres "said to be fairly good land. About twenty-five more acres contiguous to the farm is divided into village lots."³⁸³

Between 1912 and 1915, the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America sold off portions of the former Camp Nelson Academy property. The first was sold to Charles Clay for twenty-five dollars in 1912 and the last was sold to Jack Isom for thirty dollars in 1915.³⁸⁴ Both were residents of Ariel/Hall and were farmers during the 1910s.

In a 1994 interview, William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) described the campus as containing "about four acres," with the church, a boys' dormitory, "a girls' building that would house about ninety or one hundred young ladies" (the large dormitory), a minister's house, and a school building. The community had no parks and Payne recalled that people would picnic on the grounds of the Fee Memorial Institute: "they had a place for a ball diamond, and they had a place for picnics. And it was all down in beautiful bluegrass." Albert Tracy (1872-1953) maintained the grounds. Payne recalled, "we enjoyed going down there, as a kid you know, after Sunday School we went down on

this ground, they'd have egg hunts and general just a general outing for children." Payne thought that the "Institution grounds" contained about four hundred acres stretching down to Poortown. He remembered both adult and children's baseball teams using the school's baseball diamond. "We would play ball with [white people from Poortown] on the institution—that was Fee Memorial's grounds. John G. Fee gave so much ground and it ran down in Poortown and we had a diamond down there . . . and on the Jack Isom place we had a ball diamond."³⁸⁵ Payne also remembered portions of the school that were likely part of the farm: "They had a stable down there [for horses and mules]. And they had hogs, and they had horses, and, of course, they kept the grass eat down."³⁸⁶

A 1937 aerial photograph, the earliest aerial available for the area, appears to show a roughly rectangular parcel on the site of the former Fee Memorial Institute campus. This parcel extended northeast of Church (Front) and Isom (West) Streets, with a south extension including the church. It contained approximately two acres.

When walking along Church Street during a 1994 interview, Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003), indicated that a road was once present on the other side of the campus: "This ground up here is the Fee Memorial ground. . . It came all the way back to where the road was. I don't even know where the road was now—it has grown up."³⁸⁷ It is unclear whether this was a reference to a road along the east or north side of the campus. She also remembered that another portion of the "Fee ground" was on the other side of the fencerow from the Camp Nelson cemetery on the northwest side of town.

382. Edward P. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XII, No. 11 (November 1903) 561.

383. Edward P. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606.

384. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), lxiii.

385. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

386. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

387. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z>.



Figure 24. View northwest along the south street of double cottages (Buildings 85) at the National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. (Image used earlier as Figure 8.)



Figure 25. View of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing southeast, 1865 (Image used earlier as Figure 12.)

Donald S. Carter (born 1936) reported that Fannie Blakeman, his father's sister, owned the farm behind Mrs. Booker. This property was called "the institute field;" it contained a large spring and Carter remembered it being used for hunting after it grew up after its agricultural uses were abandoned.³⁸⁸ This was probably part of the property now comprising the Jim Beam Nature Preserve on the north side of the Hall; much of this land returned to forest between the 1950s and the 1980s.

Early Buildings

The United States Army constructed the original buildings of the Ariel Academy between November 1864 and April 1865 as a part of the National Home for Colored Refugees (Refugee Home). In its complete form, the Refugee Home included 121 buildings, of which ninety-seven were double cottages intended to house ten to twelve persons. [Figure 24] The cottages measured 32 feet by 16 feet and each cost \$306 to build. Some were provided with stoves, while others were not.³⁸⁹ Photographs of the camp taken in 1864-1865, a period sketch map, and a map dated February 1866 show a group of eight wood-frame buildings arranged perpendicular to one end of the rows of refugee cottages and tents. [Figure 25] These buildings appear to have been built with uniform

components, including nine-over-six double-hung windows and scalloped bargeboards and eave trim. All were raised above the ground on wooden posts with diagonal bracing, and most had some form of wooden skirting to enclose the area between the first floor and grade.

At the center was the two-story Head Dormitory (Building 75, 75 feet by 30 feet and containing eighteen rooms), which also served as the office and headquarters of the Refugee Home and was sometimes called the Superintendent's House. [Figure 26] The east façade was divided into seven bays, with one window per bay per floor except at the center first-floor bay, which contained a vernacular Greek Revival entry composed of a door with a transom and sidelights. The door was sheltered by a hipped-roof entry porch with four square posts across the front, steps up to the center bay, and a railing built like a picket fence of the period. The north and south gable ends were divided into two bays per floor, with one window per bay. A stovepipe chimney rose from near the center of the roof. This was the only building in the photographs not fitted with the scalloped trim.

The Head Dormitory was flanked by two buildings (Buildings 74, 75 feet by 25 feet) at either side, all arranged lengthwise to form a line. [Figure 27] Fences aligned with the east elevations connected the buildings. The four flanking buildings were one-story, divided into four bays on their long sides and three on the gable ends, with doors in the center bays of the gable ends and one window per bay elsewhere. The northern two were hospital wards for the sick and the southern two were reception wards. These wards, similar in design to

388. Donald S. Carter, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt76m902209d>.

389. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 145.



Figure 26. View of the Head Dormitory (Building 75) of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing north, 1865. (Image used earlier as Figure 9.)



Figure 27. Students and teachers from the Camp Nelson school in front of one of the ward buildings (Buildings 74) at the National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. (Image used earlier as Figure 10.)

barracks, with rows of beds along the long walls, were designed to provide temporary housing for approximately 120 women and children.³⁹⁰

Immediately west of (behind) the Head Dormitory, roughly on axis with the end of the northern street of refugee cottages, was the U-shaped Dining Hall (Building 79, 130 feet with wings 50 by 30 feet). [Figure 25] The front wing contained a large dining room, also used for sewing, while the wings contained kitchen, laundry, and workshop facilities.³⁹¹ The area below the north wing was enclosed down to grade. The north and south sides of the wings were divided into four bays, with one window per bay, while the west gable ends each contained a single door per floor. The west elevation of the east wing within the courtyard contained at least one door and one window.

The one-story Commissary and Warehouse (Building 83, 75 by 25 feet) was oriented east-west and roughly aligned with the south end of the southernmost ward building. The two-story School House (Building 78, 100 feet by 30 feet and containing seven rooms) was oriented east-west and aligned roughly with the north end of the

northernmost ward building. [Figure 11, Figure 25] Its long sides were divided into six bays and its gable ends into three, with a door at the center first-floor bay of the gable end and windows in the other bays.

East of the northern ward buildings was a quadrangular hospital complex composed of four buildings. The north side was formed by the Hospital Dining and Cooking Hall (Building 77, 72 feet by 25 feet), which also included cooking facilities, the east by the Store House (Building 81, 10 feet by 30 feet) and Surgeon's Quarters (Building 80, 20 feet by 40 feet), with the southeast corner defined by the Drugs Room (Building 76, 18 feet by 22 feet). Fences between the buildings enclosed the rest of the quadrangle.

In March 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau purchased some of the Refugee Home buildings for use by Ariel Academy.³⁹² An internal letter from Ben P. Runkle to Gen. O. O. Howard on April 10, 1868, reported on the Bureau's work in Kentucky during the previous month; the following was reported under the category "Schools":

In obedience to your orders I proceeded to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, and purchased Aerial [sic] Academy for the sum of \$1,520. It will require about \$800 to put these buildings in order. / Aerial [sic] Academy consists of one large two-story building 75 by 35, containing

390. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 144.
391. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Huts and History: The Archaeology of Civil War Housing*, ed. Clarence Geier & Matthew Reeves (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 145.

392. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

12 rooms, to be used as a boarding house; one wing, five rooms, 75 by 25, to be used as a school-house, and one wing, 75 by 25, to be used as a chapel. . . . The buildings could not have cost less than \$6,000 when new. Altogether it is an excellent investment.³⁹³

Although one of the listed dimensions varies 5 feet from other period documents, the “large two-story building” appears to be the Head Dormitory (Building 75). Runkle describes the chapel and schoolhouse as “wings,” but the dimensions he provides match those of the four detached wards (Buildings 74) that flanked the Head Dormitory. A letter from Fee dated April 9, 1868, indicates that the purchase consisted of the Head Dormitory (“one large building 75 feet long & 30 broad, 2 stories high – 18 rooms”) and “the two wards, 75 by 25 feet each,” although he did not specify which two out of the four ward buildings. One of the wards became the schoolhouse and the other the chapel. The schoolhouse that had been completed in 1865 was not purchased and, if the school had not already vacated it, it must have relocated to the ward building in early 1868. A description of Ariel Academy in December 1868 reported that “Its buildings consist of a school-house, chapel, and a large two-story building, which will be used as a boarding-house.”³⁹⁴ Head Dormitory may be the “large building” on the campus that was undergoing repairs in December 1873.³⁹⁵

A plat from around 1891 titled “Map of the Town of Ariel” shows symbols for generic houses along Front Street (now Church Street). [Figure 28] These symbols, commonly seen on maps of the 1820 to 1890 period, suggest the front elevation of a two-story side-gabled house with a façade divided into three bays and chimneys on both gable ends. One house was off the southeast corner of what is now Hall Road (Main Street) and Church Street (Front Street). Three houses were in a row perpendicular to the end of Row Street, with the southernmost roughly centered on the line of the

street. These buildings may represent the Head Dormitory and the two ward buildings purchased in 1868, or they may represent later buildings built on roughly the same site. The south and center houses appear to roughly correspond with the locations of the present church and the house foundation, respectively.

Later sources published by the PCUSA report that “a building was constructed on the plot” donated by John Fee, but no additional documentation is provided.³⁹⁶

Construction of new buildings on the campus may have been funded in part by the donation and property income provided by Elisha Hathaway between 1871 and 1880. In 1891, the campus contained “two good buildings,” one of which was probably the large dormitory built after the Civil War.³⁹⁷ Any Civil War era buildings on the campus appear to have been replaced before September 1895. An article published that month included an engraving of the “Only Government Building Left” in the community, depicting one of the double cottages matching those seen in 1860s photographs of the Home for Colored Refugees.³⁹⁸

393. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 373-74.

394. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), 47.

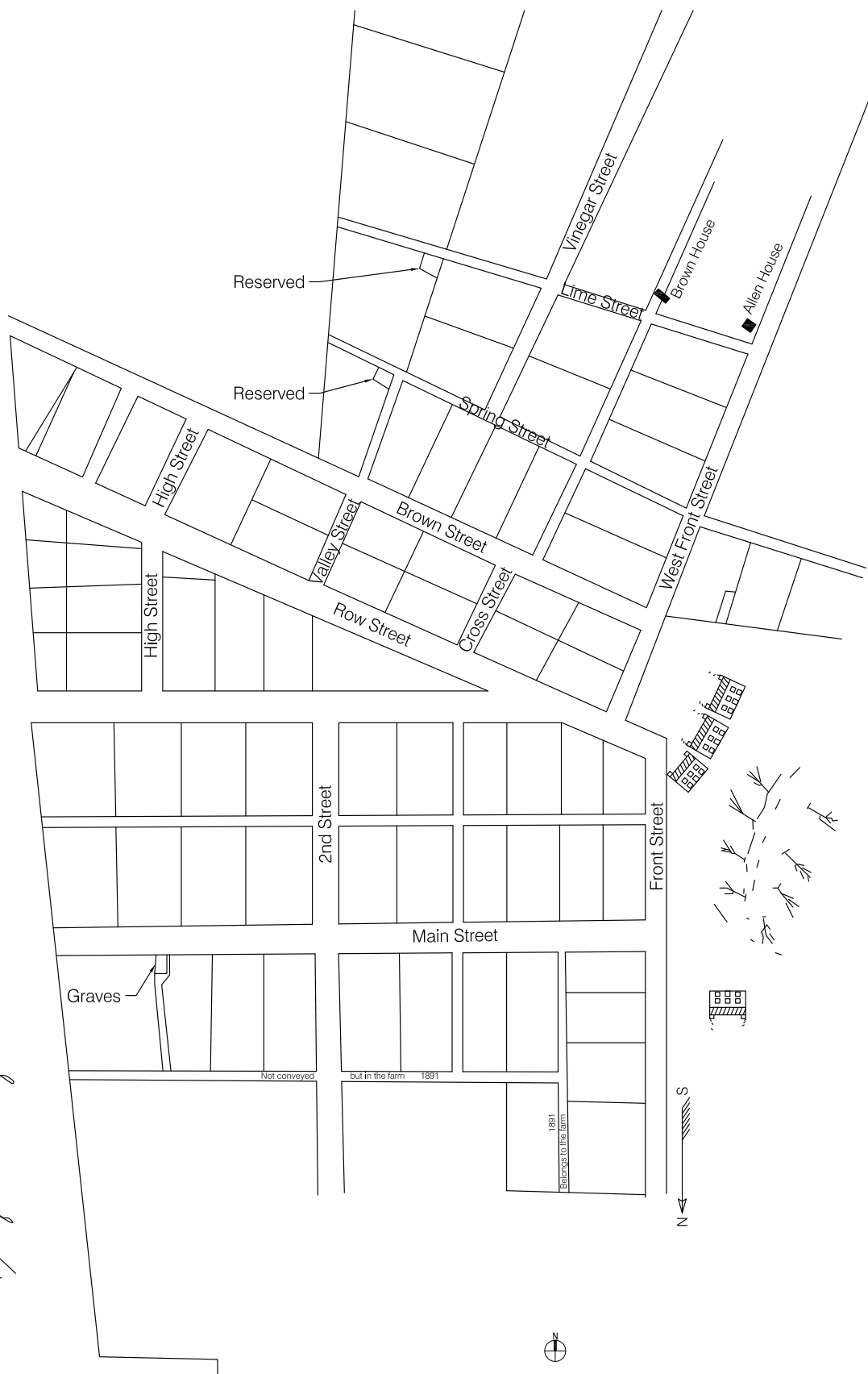
395. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 17.

396. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 290.

397. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

398. “Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

Map of the Town of Ariel



Map of the Town of Ariel, ca. 1891

1 **Figure 28.** "Map of the Town of Ariel," redrawn from the photocopy of a ca. 1891 plat map. (Image used earlier
2 as Figure 15.)



DORMITORY BUILDING OF FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE AT CAMP NELSON, KENTUCKY.

Figure 29. View of dormitory of the Fee Memorial Institute, published December 1903. This is the earliest photograph of the campus found to date. It may have been taken prior to 1903. The building was probably built in the 1870s with funds provided by Elisha Hathaway, a northern philanthropist. Note the lack of a front porch. The building in the distance at left may be the schoolhouse. (Source: Edward P. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606)

Dormitory / Main Building (ca. 1871-1880)

This large wood-frame building appears to have been built sometime between 1868 and 1895, probably between 1871 and 1880. While similar in size to the Head Dormitory of the Refugee Home, the building's different proportions suggest that it was not remodeled from one of the camp buildings. Its vernacular Italianate character and proportions suggest that it was likely built in the 1870s or 1880s. Its construction may have been funded in part by the donation and property income provided by Elisha Hathaway between 1871 and 1880. A 1924 article reported that Fee had "secured large donations from capitalists of the East which made it possible to erect a large dormitory for girls, a school room, a church and parsonage" on the old Ariel campus.³⁹⁹ It was likely one of the "two good buildings" on the campus in

1891.⁴⁰⁰ To date, two photographs of the dormitory have been located, both published in magazines of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) to accompany articles on the Fee Memorial Institute. One was published in December 1903 and the other in October 1908.⁴⁰¹ [Figure 29, Figure 30] The photograph published in 1903 may have been a current image or may have been a copy of an earlier photograph. The photograph published in 1908 shows clothing consistent with a date of ca.1904-1908.

Key details of the building followed those used on Howard Hall (1867-1869, Andrewartha & Stancliffe, demolished 1971) at Berea College, a

³⁹⁹. "Fee Memorial School Moved [sic] to Jessamine," *Lexington Herald*, 2 October 1924, 2.

⁴⁰⁰. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

⁴⁰¹. Edward P. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606; "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481.



FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, CAMP NELSON, KY.

Figure 30. View of dormitory of the Fee Memorial Institute, published October 1908. This is the second earliest photograph of the campus found to date and shows the dormitory with a front porch added after Figure 29. The clothing shown in this photograph is consistent with a date of ca.1904-1908. (Source: "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481)

three-story wood-frame building erected by the Freedmen's Bureau for \$18,000 and serving as a men's dormitory with a reading room and two society rooms.⁴⁰² While Howard Hall was larger and more elaborate than the Ariel dormitory, with a slightly different plan, it may have inspired some features of the building and might have been built by some of the same craftspeople. The treatment of the window heads and cornice at the upper floor of both buildings, including the placement and profile of the scroll brackets, appears to have matched. The adaptation of aspects of a building at a peer or nearby institution was common practice for school and college buildings during this period. John G. Fee's close involvement with both schools during this period makes it likely that Howard Hall was a

point of reference for the design and construction of the Ariel dormitory.⁴⁰³

The dormitory appears to have been the largest building on campus. The building sat on a sloped site and was alternately described as containing three stories or two stories and a basement. In September 1895, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* reported, "The dormitory is a large frame building containing twenty-four rooms."⁴⁰⁴ A 1902 report described it as "a dormitory 30x60, three stories high."⁴⁰⁵ A 1903 article mentioned "a two-story and basement building used as a teacher's house and dormitory. This building has in it twenty-four

402. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 61, 63, Fig. 8.

403. For example, the Ladies' Hall/Fairchild Hall (1870-1871) at Berea College was adapted from the plan of the Second Ladies Hall (1861-1865, Simeon C. Porter, burned 1886) at Oberlin College in Ohio. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 63.

404. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

405. G. F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People* (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Ferguson, Co., 1902), 259.

rooms and nearly all of them are furnished.”⁴⁰⁶ A March 1915 visit conducted as part of a federal report on the status of “Negro education” in the United States described “a two-story frame structure used for [a] dormitory and for the principal’s home,” noting that “the principal’s wife [Mrs. McNair] supervises the ‘dormitory,’ which had six girl boarders at the time of [the] visit” and observing that “only a few dormitory rooms are provided with necessary furniture.”⁴⁰⁷ It is probably the “main building” that, along with the “recitation building,” had “been given a fresh coat of paint” by January 1916.⁴⁰⁸ William Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-1998) remembered Rev. McNair’s family living in the dormitory prior to the school’s relocation to Nicholasville in 1924.⁴⁰⁹

The building was clad in wood weatherboard siding and rested on a stone foundation. The basement windows were casement sash containing six lites in the front bays and appear to have been six-over-six double-hung windows toward the rear. The upper floors contained six-over-six double-hung wood sash windows. The first-floor windows and doors featured casings with pedimented caps. The heads of the second-floor windows terminated into the base of the cornice, with one scroll bracket aligned with the casing at either side.

The long side along the top of the hill appears to have been the building’s primary façade. This façade was divided into six bays, with one window per bay at the basement, first floor, and second floor. A gabled dormer containing a single window rose above the center two bays. The 1903 photograph shows small Yankee gutters on the roof but does not show downspouts. A four-panel door with a transom was located between the center two bays at the first floor. The photograph published in 1903 shows this door with no means of exterior access, its threshold being approximately five feet

above grade. The photograph published in 1908 shows a one-story porch covering the center two bays, with steps providing access to this door. The porch appears to have had a wood deck supported by piers that were concealed by diagonal wood lattice skirting. A set of wooden steps was centered on the porch. The porch appears to have had four square or chamfered posts along its front side, with a wider space between the central pair. The posts were fitted with small, angled brackets that may have contained a turned spindle. The overhanging, low-slope roof appears to have been fitted with a gutter and a short section of downspout angled to disperse rainwater away from the porch.

The gable end visible in the photograph published in 1903 was divided into five bays, with one window per bay at each floor except the center bay of the first floor, which contained a door with a transom. The bracketed cornice continued along this elevation, with the gable above containing one window aligned with the center bay. At the basement level, two bays toward the top of the hill featured a raised basement of stone masonry. This basement level was fully exposed at the three bays lower down the slope, where it featured wood-frame walls clad in weatherboard siding like that used for the upper floors. Thus, the building was two stories of frame construction with a raised stone basement when viewed from the top of the hill and a full three stories of frame construction when viewed from the bottom of the hill.

The dormitory contained twenty-four rooms, likely with a center hall running parallel with the ridge line at each floor. The placement of three chimneys on each face of the roof suggests that the interior may have been divided into three rooms on either side of the hall with a chimney centered on the interior wall of each room. It is also possible that six rooms were provided on each side of the hall, with a chimney located at the intersection of the interior wall and the partition of each room. The building’s exterior suggests that it may have contained three rooms on either side of the hall at the basement, first, and second floors, rooms at each end of the second-floor hallways, and four rooms in the attic, for a total of twenty-four rooms. A 1903 article noted that the basement contained “a laundry, kitchen, store-room, pantry,

406. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606-607.
 407. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.
 408. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January 1916), 9.
 409. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

1 and carpenter shop.”⁴¹⁰ A 1912 set of illustrations
2 of “Some of the Industries in Freedmen Schools”
3 sponsored by the PCUSA includes a photograph
4 of a carpentry shop that could possibly show a
5 room in the rear part of the basement of the Fee
6 Memorial Institute’s large dormitory.⁴¹¹ [Figure 20]

7 The furnishings of Howard Hall, a dormitory at
8 Berea College, between 1869 and 1876 gives an
9 idea of the types of furnishings and equipment
10 that Ariel Academy’s leadership likely aspired to
11 provide in the dormitory: each room was furnished
12 with a stove, two bedsteads, a table and two chairs,
13 and a washstand; students provided their own
14 lights, bedding and any additional furniture.⁴¹² A
15 1903 article mentioned that the dormitory “has
16 in it twenty-four rooms and nearly all of them are
17 furnished.”⁴¹³ A March 1915 visit conducted as
18 part of a federal report on the status of “Negro
19 education” reported that “only a few dormitory
20 rooms are provided with necessary furniture.”⁴¹⁴

21 Interviews conducted during a 1994 oral history
22 project give some indication of the location of
23 the dormitory. Helen Booker Stewart (1914-
24 2003) recalled that, when facing the church, the
25 dormitory building sat to the left (north), beyond
26 the house, and that it faced toward the church.
27 Walking past the former campus during a second
28 interview, Stewart recalled that the dormitory “was
29 a big building” that “sat there in the middle.”⁴¹⁵
30 Kay Anderson reported that Miss Sallie Overstreet
31 (1923-2008), who took care of the Fee Memorial

56 Church during the early-1980s, remembered the
57 “school building” and had shown Anderson that
58 the school was “off to the left of the church.”⁴¹⁶
59 It is unclear whether this referred to the school
60 building itself or to the dormitory.

61 The dormitory’s precise location is unclear based
62 on current evidence. Its location is not clearly
63 shown on the 1905, 1918, or 1931 United States
64 Geological Survey (USGS) maps of the area. A
65 1937 aerial photograph, the earliest aerial available
66 for the area, appears to show a roughly rectangular
67 parcel on the site of the former Fee Memorial
68 Institute campus. This parcel extended northeast
69 of Church and Isom Streets, with a south extension
70 including the church. The dormitory may have
71 been present near the center of the site, facing
72 south toward Row Street (now the east-west
73 portion of Church Street that forms the south side
74 of the block containing the Baptist Church and
75 bounded on the other three sides by Isom Street).
76 This portion of the site was overgrown from the
77 1950s to the early-2000s. This appears to be near
78 the site of the Refugee Home’s Dining Hall (1864-
79 1865).

80 Oral history interviews conducted in 1994 provide
81 some evidence of the dormitory’s later history and
82 demise. Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003) did not
83 remember what had happened to the dormitory,
84 “whether they tore the building down or what
85 happened to it.”⁴¹⁷ William Jacob “Jake” Payne
86 (1912-1998), reported that the dormitory buildings
87 were torn down after the school relocated to
88 Nicholasville in 1924, likely in the 1930s.⁴¹⁸ Carrie
89 Mae Tevis Burdette (1932-1997) remembered
90 playing in the abandoned Fee Memorial Institute
91 dormitory with other children. The Tevis family
92 lived across the street from the campus, on the
93 parcel now at 101 Isom Street. The family moved

32 410. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The*
33 *Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606-
34 607.

35 411. “Board for Freedmen,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol.
36 XVIII, No 1 (January 1912), 55.

37 412. Robert Piper Boyce, *Building a College: An*
38 *Architectural History of Berea College* (Berea, KY:
39 Berea College Printing Services, 2006), 90-91.

40 413. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The*
41 *Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606-
42 607.

43 414. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*
44 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917),
45 271.

46 415. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
47 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
48 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
49 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44)
50 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44;
51 Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19
52 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
53 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
54 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z)
55 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z.

94 416. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23
95 November 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
96 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
97 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g)
98 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g.

99 417. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19
100 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
101 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
102 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z)
103 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z.

104 418. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
105 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
106 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
107 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03)
108 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03.

1 away from Camp Nelson in 1946, suggesting that
2 this memory occurred between the late-1930s and
3 1946. Burdette reported that the children were
4 not allowed to play in the building, but “we just
5 slipped over and done it. We played in the building,
6 but it was a big dormitory, three stories, they had
7 these bannisters and we all used to go in and slide
8 down the bannisters. No, we weren’t allowed to. I
9 got many a scolding about it.”⁴¹⁹ She remembered
10 going into all three floors. When asked if the
11 building still contained furniture, she remembered
12 school “benches and things,” but was unsure if
13 individual desks were present.

14 During an interview with her husband John
15 W. Robertson, Floretta Robertson related the
16 following: “I used to hear them say that there was
17 a college, and I think that the college was right
18 there on the grounds up above the Presbyterian
19 parsonage.” John believed that the building
20 was gone by the time he came to Camp Nelson
21 (between 1949 and 1955), but Floretta continued,
22 “The school was there, but it was rotting—it wasn’t
23 in existence—it was a rotten building there... wasn’t
24 no windows in it. . . me and my first husband came
25 to a homecoming over there and we parked up in
26 the yard there.”⁴²⁰ This would seem to date to after
27 her first marriage in 1966.⁴²¹ Aerial photographs
28 from 1950 and 1956 do not appear to show
29 buildings on the property aside from the church
30 and house, but a ruin could possibly have been
31 present within the overgrowth on the apparent site
32 of the dormitory.

33 The National Register nomination for the Camp
34 Nelson Civil War District, completed in March
35 2000, mentions that “a large stone foundation,
36 likely from the nineteenth century school” was
37 present near the Fee Memorial Church and
38 parsonage.⁴²² This foundation may have marked

54 the site of the dormitory. It appears to have been
55 destroyed or covered when the site was cleared
56 between 2000 and 2004. Several large, rectangular
57 stones similar to those used in the foundation of
58 the house are scattered on the lawn due north of
59 the church, near the center of what appears to have
60 been the parcel in 1937. These may have come
61 from this dormitory’s foundation.

62 Available evidence suggests that the abandoned
63 dormitory survived into the late-1930s or 1940s
64 and that it was the last of the school’s buildings to
65 survive aside from the Fee Memorial Church and
66 an adjacent house. The portion of the property
67 containing the likely site of the dormitory is now
68 (2021) owned by the Payne Estate of Lebanon,
69 Tennessee.

70 **School/Recitation Hall**

71 This building, known as the school, schoolhouse,
72 recitation hall, or recitation building existed
73 during the Fee Memorial Institute period. It was
74 presumably built sometime between 1870 and
75 1895 to replace the Refugee Home buildings
76 purchased by the Freedmen’s Bureau in 1868. The
77 campus had “two good buildings” in 1891; one was
78 probably the large dormitory and the other may
79 have been the school.⁴²³

80 In 1903, at the time the Camp Nelson Academy and
81 church were acquired by the Presbyterian Church
82 in the United States of America, there was “upon
83 the premises one small building—forty by sixty—
84 used as a church and school.”⁴²⁴ The photograph of
85 the dormitory published in 1903 appears to show
86 a building downhill from dormitory; this could
87 have been the school. Although this building is not
88 shown in detail, the portions that are visible do not
89 appear to correspond with any of the Civil War
90 era buildings from the Refugee Home, suggestions
91 a construction date after 1868. In 1904, Rev. J. A.
92 Boyden seems to have been describing the same
93 building when he mentioned that the school’s
94 property contained “a recitation building, used
95 also for religious services”; this building and the
96 dormitory had recently been repaired at a cost of
97 nearly \$300.⁴²⁵

39 419. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
40 Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 2.

41 420. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride,
42 22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
43 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
44 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54)
45 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54.

46 421. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride,
47 22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
48 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
49 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54)
50 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54.

51 422. W. Stephen McBride, Camp Nelson Civil War District,
52 Jessamine County, Kentucky, National Register
53 nomination, 2000, 8:19.

98 423. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
99 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
100 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

101 424. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The*
102 *Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606.

103 425. J. A. Boyden, “A New Enterprise,” *The Herald and*
104 *Presbyter*, Vol. LXXV, No. 30 (27 July 1904), 15-16.

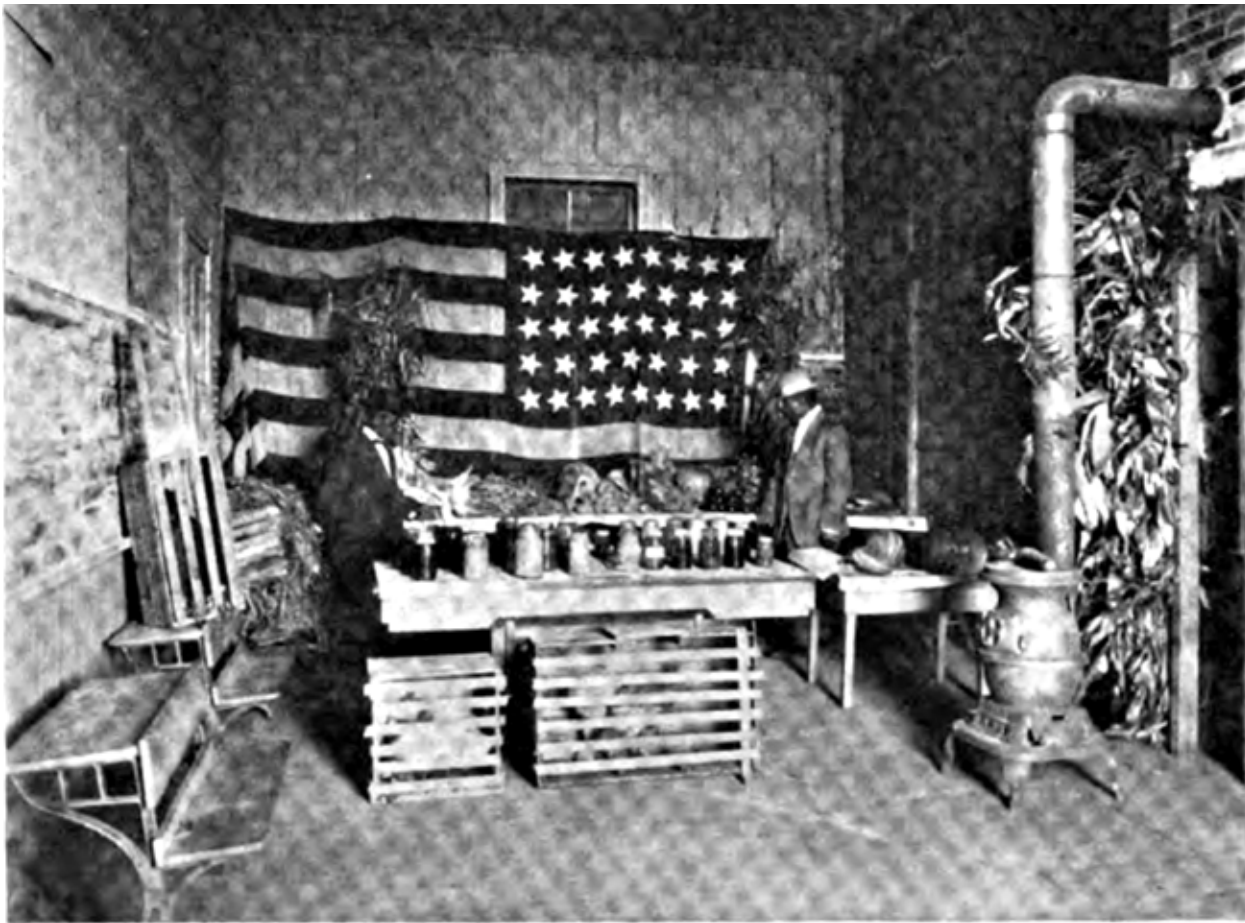


Exhibit at Farmers' Institute, Fee Memorial, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

Figure 31. Interior of one classroom in the school/recitation hall used as an exhibit space during a "Farmer's Institute" conference held at the church and school in 1912. The chalkboard and desks at left and the potbellied stove at right appear to be part of the room's regular furniture. (Source: "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670-671)

An interior photograph of one classroom was published in a December 1912 article describing a "Farmer's Institute" conference recently held at the Fee Memorial Institute. [Figure 31] This view shows a classroom setup with a conference exhibit that "consisted of chickens, corn, pumpkins, potatoes of all kinds, canned fruits, etc."⁴²⁶ In addition to the exhibit items, a large forty-star American flag was tacked up along one wall.⁴²⁷ A window was centered on the end wall of the classroom. Although mostly covered by the large flag, it appears to have been a double-hung window

with a vertical muntin in the center of the upper sash, suggesting either a two-over-two or four-over-four configuration. The wall to the left of the camera included a paneled door near the end wall and included a chalkboard along the wall. Chalkboards may also have been present along the end wall flanking the window. The door in the photograph appears to be covered by exhibit materials, suggesting that it was not the only means of access to the room. The left-hand wall may have included a door at each end, possibly leading into a corridor or a cloak room. The walls may have been clad in vertical boards and appear to have featured a narrow crown molding. The wall to the right of the camera featured an exposed brick stove chimney supported by two square, unfinished wood posts approximately seven or eight feet tall. Connected to this chimney was a potbellied stove with a cylindrical stovepipe. At least two cast iron and wood combination desks and benches—

426. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670-671.

427. The forty-star flag is curious; North and South Dakota were admitted to the union on November 2, 1889, followed by Montana on November 8 and Washington on November 11. The flag may have been designed during that narrow window of time in early November or it may have been a simplified adaptation of the odd-numbered star fields of the flag from 1889 to 1891 and 1896 to 1908.

1 typical school furniture of the period—were
2 pushed against the left-hand wall.

3 A 1914 description of the campus mentioned a
4 “recitation hall,” which appears to have been a
5 separate building from the “chapel for worship by
6 students and people of the village,” the latter likely
7 referencing the present Fee Memorial Church.⁴²⁸
8 In 1915, it was described as “a one-story frame
9 building with two rooms used as classrooms.”⁴²⁹

10 A January 1916 report noted that work completed
11 since Principal H. W. McNair’s arrival in fall
12 1914—and most likely since the March 1915
13 inspection that found the school’s buildings in
14 poor condition—noted, “a new building for the
15 boys has been erected, and the main building
16 [likely the dormitory] and recitation building have
17 been given a fresh coat of paint.”⁴³⁰

18 The school building appears to have been
19 demolished sometime between 1924 and 1937.
20 Its location within the campus is unclear at this
21 time. The photograph of the dormitory published
22 in 1903 appears to show a building downhill
23 from dormitory; this could have been part of the
24 school building. The photograph of the dormitory
25 published in 1908 suggests that the school building
26 was not in the southwest part of the campus parcel,
27 the area in front of the dormitory’s apparent
28 location. The National Register nomination for
29 the Camp Nelson Civil War District, completed
30 in March 2000, mentions that “a large stone
31 foundation, likely from the nineteenth century
32 school” was present near the Fee Memorial
33 Church and parsonage.⁴³¹ This foundation may
34 have marked the site of the dormitory. It appears
35 to have been destroyed or covered when the site
36 was cleared between 2000 and 2004. Several large,
37 rectangular stones similar to those used in the
38 foundation of the house are scattered on the lawn
39 due north of the church, near the likely site of
40 the dormitory. Additional rectangular stones are
41 scattered northeast of the house foundation. These

54 may have been displaced from the apparent site of
55 the dormitory or they could suggest that the school
56 sat somewhere northeast of the house.

57 **Boys’ Dormitory (unknown / remodeled 1915)**

58 An April 1915 article on the Fee Memorial
59 Institute’s work to check the rush of African
60 Americans from the farm to the city reported on
61 the need for a boys’ dormitory:

62 At present we can accommodate only girls as
63 boarding students. Had we a small building for
64 boys they could be used to greater advantage on
65 the farm, for the boy will do more on the school
66 farm when he sleeps in the school building and
67 eats in the school dining hall. Also it would help
68 those who wish to come from a distance.”⁴³²

69 This issue was remedied later that year. In the
70 fall semester of 1915, the Presbyterian Board of
71 Missions spent \$600 to remodel “an old building at
72 Camp Nelson, Ky.” “for the better accommodation
73 of the boys” at the school.⁴³³ A January 1916 report
74 noted that work completed since Principal H.
75 W. McNair’s arrival in fall 1914—and most likely
76 since the March 1915 inspection that found the
77 school’s buildings in poor condition—noted, “a
78 new building for the boys has been erected, and the
79 main building and recitation building have been
80 given a fresh coat of paint.”⁴³⁴

81 Little else is known of the boys’ dormitory. It
82 appears to have been separate from the large
83 dormitory that housed female boarders and the
84 McNair family during this period. The report that
85 it was remodeled from “an old building” suggests
86 that it was not the house north of the Fee Memorial
87 Church, which appears to have been built around
88 this time. William Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-1998)
89 reported that the dormitory buildings were torn
90 down after the school relocated to Nicholasville in

42 428. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education:*
43 *History of Education in Kentucky*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (July
44 1914), 327.

45 429. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*
46 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917),
47 271.

48 430. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The*
49 *Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January
50 1916), 9.

51 431. W. Stephen McBride, Camp Nelson Civil War District,
52 Jessamine County, Kentucky, National Register
53 nomination, 2000, 8:19.

91 432. “Checking the Rush to the Cities,” *Home Mission*
92 *Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.

93 433. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian*
94 *Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia:
95 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1916),
96 420, 127-128.

97 434. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The*
98 *Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January
99 1916), 9.



Figure 32. View of manse/parsonage, facing northeast, ca. 1994-2000. The photographer is standing near the entrance to the Fee Memorial Church. This house was built between about 1890-1910 and housed the ministers of the Fee Memorial Church. It was demolished around 2007. (Source: W. Stephen McBride)

1924, likely in the 1930s.⁴³⁵ The building appears to have been demolished before 1937.

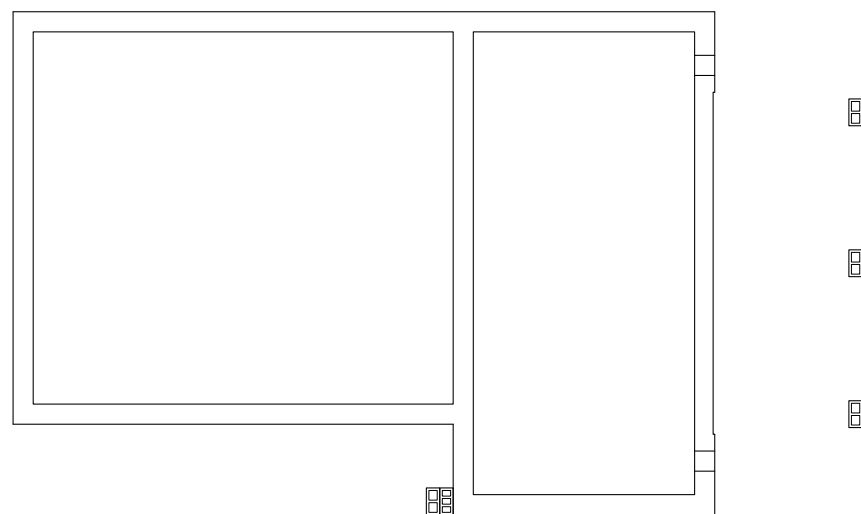
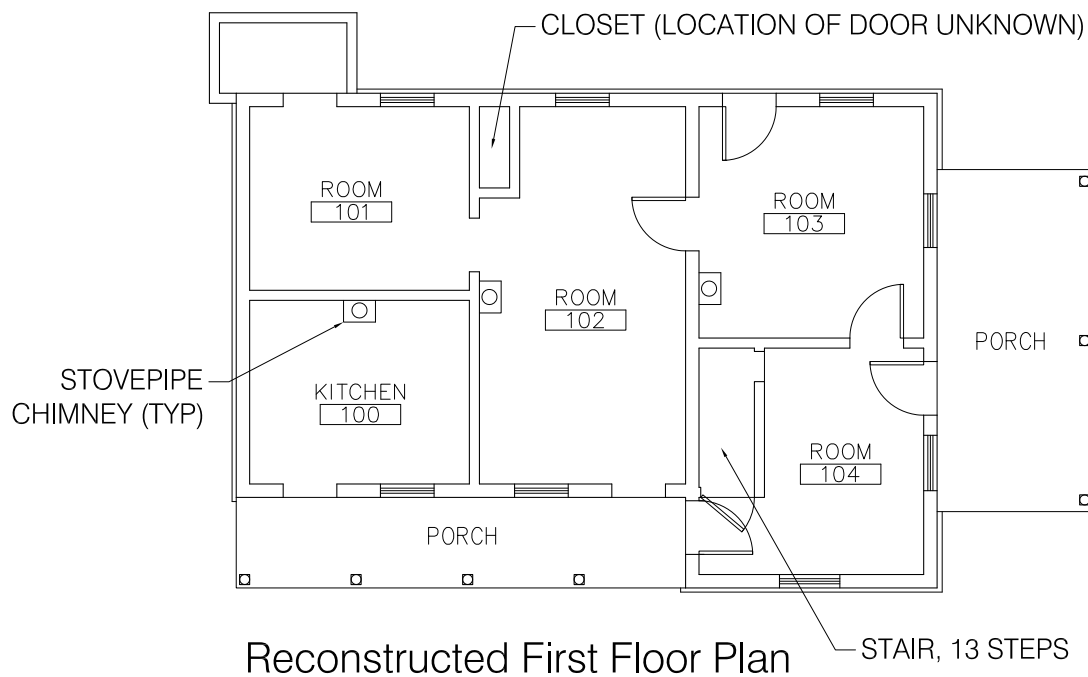
Manse/Parsonage (ca. 1890-1910)

A wood-frame house was associated with the Fee Memorial Institute and the Fee Memorial Church stood approximately 55 feet northeast of the church on the two-acre church parcel. The house was demolished about 2007 but its stone foundation remains. The house is known from several photographs taken between 1977 and 2006 as well as from a sketch plan with select measurements prepared by Stephen McBride in the 1990s. [Figure 32, Figure 33]

The house rested on a limestone foundation, with walls of balloon-frame construction. The foundation was of stone cut into roughly rectangular blocks with rockface surfaces.

[Figure 34] Applied raised mortar joints gave the foundation a more uniform appearance. [Figure 35] The area beneath the original front porch does not contain these raised joints. It was built with wire nails and featured wood clapboard siding, four-panel doors with vertical panels, and two-over-two double-hung windows. The porches featured turned wooden posts and small brackets that may have contained a diagonal, turned spindle; these brackets appear to have been similar to those used on the porch of the dormitory. The interior featured plaster walls and simple trim composed of one-by-four-inch boards. Interior window and door casings appear to have had a simulated pediment, with the top casing board having a thirteen-inch maximum height on a thirty-two-inch door before tapering. Three brick chimneys served at least three stovepipe openings in the first-floor rooms. These chimneys may have been supported by the ceiling framing.

⁴³⁵. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.



0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE IN FEET

Figure 33. Plan of manse/parsonage associated with the Fee Memorial Institute and Fee Memorial Church, Ariel/Hall Kentucky. This plan was based on 2020 measurements of the stone foundation ruins and photographs, measurements, and a sketch plan prepared by Stephen McBride in the 1990s. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2021)

- 4 The house faced east, following the orientation of
- 5 the row of Civil War era Refugee Home buildings
- 6 including the Head Dormitory (Building 75) and
- 7 ward buildings (Buildings 74) that formed the
- 8 initial facilities of Ariel Academy in 1868. This
- 9 may indicate that a drive was still present to the
- 10 east at the time of the house's construction. The
- 11 two-story front wing had a side-gabled roof with
- 12 its ridge parallel to the east façade, with its eaves at
- 13 the level of the heads of the second-floor windows.
- 14 The façade was along the downhill section of the
- 15 sloped site, placing the first floor several feet above
- 16 grade. A shed-roofed porch was centered on this
- 17 façade. The first floor was divided into two bays,
- 18 with a window and door into a room in the south
- 19 bay and a window into a room in the north bay. To



Figure 34. View of manse foundation from the southeast showing overgrowth. The stone foundation survives but is currently obscured by overgrowth. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 35. Detail of manse foundation at north part of east elevation. Note raised mortar joints at right; rough joints at left were concealed by the porch floor. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

date, only one photograph showing the east façade has been found and this image shows only the south part of the façade. A second-floor window was aligned with the south first-floor window. One or two windows may have been present on parts of the second floor not visible in the photograph. The south elevation of the front wing featured one window centered at each floor, the second-floor window being narrower and shorter than the first-floor window. The south elevation of the rear wing was fronted by a porch; this elevation was divided into four bays, with windows in the inner bays and doors in the outer bays. The west elevation of the front wing included a door opening onto the porch. The west elevation of the rear wing had no openings. A small lean-to, apparently a later addition, projected northwest from the west end of the north elevation of the rear wing.

The use of wire nails suggests that the house was built after 1880.⁴³⁶ The porch components were consistent with construction sometime between 1890 and 1910. A 1924 article reported that John G. Fee had “secured large donations from capitalists of the East which made it possible to erect a large dormitory for girls, a school room, a church and parsonage” on the old Ariel campus.⁴³⁷ This may reference the funding provided by

Elisha Hathaway between 1871 and 1880; if so, it likely references an earlier house on the property; it may also reference later work before Fee’s death in 1901. The 1890s appears to have been a period of struggle for the church and school and comparatively little documentation is available for this period. The house could have been built around the same time as the church (1912) or a few years earlier; both may have been funded in part by a fundraising project in 1910 “for the improvement and enlargement of . . . the John G. Fee Memorial Institute.”⁴³⁸

The house may or may not have been built as a manse or parsonage. The house is not mentioned in descriptions of the Fee Memorial Institute’s facilities from 1903, July 1904, July 1914, or March 1915. This could make sense if it were originally built as a parsonage and counted as the property of the Fee Memorial Church. In March 1915, Rev. McNair and family were living in the large dormitory building, where Mary McNair supervised the six girl boarders then in residence.⁴³⁹ William Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-1998) remembered Rev. McNair’s family living in the dormitory.⁴⁴⁰ Helen Margaret Booker Stone

436. Jonathan Taylor, “Nails and Wood Screws,” *The Building Conservation Directory* (1999), accessed 15 May 2019, <http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/nails/nails.htm>; Thomas Durant Visser, *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1997), 24-25.

437. “Fee Memorial School Moved [sic] to Jessamine,” *Lexington Herald*, 2 October 1924, 2.

438. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 11.

439. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.

440. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

1 Stewart (1914-2003) reported that Rev. McNair
2 and Rev. Byrd lived in the house next to the church
3 while pastoring.⁴⁴¹ The McNair family likely moved
4 to Nicholasville in 1924 when the Fee Memorial
5 Institute relocated. Rev. J. A. Boyden might have
6 lived in the house during the mid-1920s, possibly
7 after the school relocated in 1924. He returned to
8 the Camp Nelson area sometime between October
9 1922 and his death in October 1926. Rev. Byrd
10 came to the Fee Memorial Institute from Bowling
11 Green in September 1929, five years after the
12 school had moved to Nicholasville. Both the Byrd
13 and McNair families were living in Nicholasville
14 at the time of the 1930 census, but Byrd might
15 have lived in the house in Hall sometime between
16 1929 and 1934. The McNairs moved to Virginia
17 in 1934 and the Byrds appear to have remained
18 in Nicholasville from at least 1935 to 1942, before
19 moving to Tennessee in 1944. In a 1994 interview,
20 Virginia Ison Scott (1915-2010) recalled that
21 Bessie Belle Ison lived in the parsonage.⁴⁴² This was
22 probably Bessie B. Ison, born in Jessamine County
23 in 1917.

24 A 1980 bird's eye photograph suggests that the
25 house was deteriorated; it is unclear whether it was
26 occupied at that time. A small area in front of the
27 house, measuring perhaps 40 by 60 feet, appears
28 to have been under cultivation in 1980 and 1983
29 but was overgrown by 1998. In a 1994 interview,
30 Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003), recalled,
31 "That house down there was the house where...
32 the church pastors would stay there, and I don't
33 know whether any of the school officials would
34 stay there—I don't remember that because I was
35 a kid then."⁴⁴³ In a second interview conducted
36 while walking around Hall, interviewer Kim A.
37 McBride remarks, "Wow, look how... I didn't
38 realize how run down that parsonage house is," to

54 which Stewart replies, "Yes, it's just falling in."⁴⁴⁴ In
55 another interview, Virginia Ison Scott (1915-2010)
56 described the parsonage as "broken down."⁴⁴⁵
57 In 1997, Kim A. McBride wrote that, "The Fee
58 Memorial Chapel and a frame house which served
59 as the residence for teachers or ministers, are still
60 standing today and will help preserve the history of
61 Ariel. These structures have been purchased by a
62 local preservation association, which has plans for
63 their restoration and interpretation."⁴⁴⁶

64 In August 2001, staff from the Kentucky Heritage
65 Council (KHC) met with representatives of
66 Jessamine County in Hall to discuss the treatment
67 of the manse. Letters from KHC staff in 2001 and
68 2005 refer to it as the "Overstreet House" and note
69 that it was located "on the church property." In
70 August 2001, KHC staff architect Mark Dennen
71 wrote, "it seems very likely that the house does
72 have an African American connection and should
73 be considered potentially important to the site." He
74 continued,

75 The house is in deteriorating condition and will
76 eventually fall down if nothing is done to save it.
77 We feel that the presence of the house on the site,
78 no matter what condition it is in, is preferable to
79 removing it completely. Even a ruin tells more
80 than having no remnant." Dennen presented
81 three suggestions dependent on funding:

- 82 • Leave the house to deteriorate but
- 83 remain a presence on the site and put a
- 84 fence around it that will prevent people
- 85 from getting to it
- 86 • Put a roof on the house and do some
- 87 minor repair to slow or stop the
- 88 deterioration.

39 441. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
40 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
41 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
42 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.
43 442. Virginia Ison Scott, interview by Kim McBride, 2
44 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
45 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
46 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7x3f4kpz8t>.
47 443. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
48 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
49 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
50 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.
51
52
53

89 444. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19
90 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
91 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
92 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z>.
93 445. Virginia Ison Scott, interview by Kim McBride, 2
94 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
95 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
96 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7x3f4kpz8t>.
97 446. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," in *Kentucky African Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28-29.
100
101
102



Figure 36. View of manse foundation from the northwest showing overgrowth, with Fee Memorial Church at right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 37. Concrete stoop northwest of Fee Memorial Church, facing northwest, with Row Street (Church Street) visible in the distance. The double-sided design of this stoop, its placement, and the presence of the side bump-outs may suggest a use other than as a building entrance. It might have been part of a stile providing pedestrian access through a fence surrounding the campus grounds while deterring livestock from entering. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

- Rehabilitate the house to whatever extent is affordable.

In any case, research should continue to determine what the connection the house has to the Hall site and to Camp Nelson.”⁴⁴⁷

Undated photographs of the house and the church displayed on the Jessamine County GIS website, apparently taken between 2000 and 2008, show the house in an advanced state of deterioration. The northeast face of the roof appears to have collapsed, most first-floor openings are boarded up, and the porches and northwest lean-to have been removed. Baseline documentation of the adjacent church dated May 7, 2002 and associated with a preservation and conservation easement contains the following description of the manse: “A parsonage/residence currently stands on the property; however, it is in very poor shape. It will likely fall down in the very near future due to significant deterioration throughout the entire structure.”⁴⁴⁸

A 2005 letter from KHC staff notes a “recent meeting” wherein representatives of Jessamine County requested KHC’s position on the demolition of the manse.⁴⁴⁹ This included a copy of the 2001 letter mentioned above. Peggy D. Guier,

KHC’s Staff Attorney and Community Preservation Coordinator, wrote,

Some presence of the house would be useful for interpretation. However, if you feel that the structure presents a significant hazard to the public, we would allow for its demolition. We would request that demolition involve the following:

1. Documentation of the building prior to removal;
2. Manual removal of the material, not a controlled burn or bulldozing;
3. The foundation/footprint of the building remain for interpretation; and
4. Salvage any materials that might be compatible with the fabric of the Church for any future maintenance of the Church.⁴⁵⁰

Aerial photographs indicate that the house was demolished sometime between 2006 and 2008, leaving the stone foundation. A 2013 easement inspection form prepared by Peggy D. Guier notes, “Existing residence on property was noncontributing and due to safety concerns the owners were granted permission to demolish

⁴⁴⁷. Mark Dennen to Judge Executive William Neal Cassidy, letter, 8 August 2001, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.

⁴⁴⁸. Preservation and Conservation Easement, November 4, 2002, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.

⁴⁴⁹. This meeting was likely the easement inspection visit by Peggy Guier and Tom Fugate on May 2, 2005.

⁴⁵⁰. Peggy D. Guier to Hon. William Neal Cassidy, letter, 20 May 2005, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.

the structure.”⁴⁵¹ No documentation of the building prior to demolition has been found and no salvaged materials have been located to date. The foundation was clear on aerial photographs through 2018 but was largely covered with overgrowth by 2020. [Figure 36]

Farmer's House / Cottage for the Teacher of Agriculture (1912)

This cottage was built in 1912 on the Fee Memorial Institute farm. In December 1912, a correspondent for *The Assembly Herald* reported on a recent visit: “From the school building we went out to the farm, which is but a short distance removed from the campus property. Here we inspected the new farmer’s house which has just been erected for the use of Mr. Gill, the teacher in Scientific Agriculture.”⁴⁵² This “cottage for the teacher of agriculture” that was still present in July 1914.⁴⁵³ The precise location of the house is unclear, as is its later fate.

Concrete Stoop

A concrete stoop stands approximately 50 feet west-northwest of the northwest corner of the church. [Figure 37] The stoop appears to be roughly parallel to the center line of Row Street. It includes a top platform measuring 3 feet, 11 inches wide by 3 feet, 6 inches deep. Matching steps are symmetrically placed along the north and south sides of this platform. The tread of a lower step is visible on the north; a corresponding step may be in place but below grade on the south side. Bump-outs are present near the center of the east and west sides of the stoop; these are of similar size but have an asymmetrical placement.

The double-sided design of this stoop, its placement, and the presence of the side bump-outs may suggest a use other than as a building entrance. Its size and shape suggest that it was not a mounting block to assist in mounting and dismounting a horse, carriage, or wagon. If the stoop provided an entrance to a building, the building would likely have had to stand to the north, since the stoop is near the present pavement

of Row Street and may actually be within the platted right-of-way. The two-sided design suggests that, if it provided access to a building, the building would have been along the east or west sides of the stoop. It might have been part of a stile providing pedestrian access through a fence surrounding the campus grounds while deterring livestock from entering.

Any structure associated with this stoop was demolished before 1937, possibly after the Fee Memorial Institute’s relocation to Nicholasville in 1924. The stoop appears to be beneath the canopy of a large tree in a 1937 aerial photograph. Oral history interviews conducted in 1994 appear to include several references to this stoop. Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003) referenced a concrete stoop that may be the site feature northwest of the church. “I don’t know whether it’s still down there or not, but it used to be, when that field was cleared, a large. . . I don’t know whether it was a step or porch what. . . a concrete flat out there. It’s been years since I have been over in there because it’s always so grown-up in there. And there’s a well or a cistern or something in there, too.”⁴⁵⁴ Donald S. Carter (born 1936) reported that there used to be steps from the Fee Memorial Institute left on the former campus site.⁴⁵⁵

451. Peggy D. Guier, Easement Inspection Form, Camp Nelson—Hall Church Property, 16 August 2013, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.

452. “Fee Memorial Institute,” *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670-671.

453. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.

454. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

455. Donald S. Carter, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt76m902209d>.

Ministers, Faculty & Staff

The following biographies of ministers of the Fee Memorial Church and staff of Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson Academy, and the Fee Memorial Institute show how the church and school were connected to other places and larger movements within the United States. Many of these individuals spent only a short time in Ariel before moving on to other communities and institutions, while others remained for many years.

Rev. Abishai Scofield, minister and teacher 1864-1866
Abishai Scofield (1805-1898) was a white abolitionist and missionary who came to Camp Nelson in September 1864 to superintend the school that Fee had established. Born in Greenville, New York, Scofield received a BA degree from Union College in Schenectady, New York, in 1832. He studied theology at Auburn Theological Seminary in Auburn, New York, graduating in 1835. He was married three times, to Elizabeth Marvin (1814-1842) in 1836, to Celestia Sophia Norton (1808-1843), and to Ann Janett Marvin (1816-1891) in 1844.

Scofield was ordained in 1836 and began ministry at the Smithfield Presbyterian Church in Peterboro, New York, in 1837.⁴⁵⁶ He was an earnest abolitionist and a friend and colleague of Gerrit Smith; both men publicly denounced the Presbyterian Church for failing to take a formal stand against slavery. In 1845, Scofield was tried by the Presbytery of Onondaga over his abolitionist statements. After being found guilty of violating his ordination vows and promoting schism in the church, Scofield was deposed from ministry. In 1846, he was ordained as a Congregational minister and served as one of the founders of the American Missionary Association (AMA), a New York-based abolitionist organization.

Scofield was employed by the AMA from 1863 to 1866, coming to Camp Nelson in 1864 to support John G. Fee's work among the enlisted men and refugees. He superintended the school and served as minister to the church. Scofield's wife, Ann Janett Marvin Scofield, also served as a teacher in

the school, as did two of his children. One of these was Elizabeth "Lizzie" Scofield. The Scofield may have returned to Lebanon, New York, during the summer of 1865, when they were recorded in the New York state census. It is possible that part of the family was still at Camp Nelson and that remaining family members recorded them as members of the household, which included Abishai and Ann J. Scofield and their children Lizzie, Gerritt, Hattie, Mary, Frank, and Laura Scofield.

In November 1866, Scofield and his family, the only white household at Camp Nelson, were driven out by a white mob who fired shots through the house and attempted to burn down some of the buildings.⁴⁵⁷ Scofield and his family were smuggled out of Camp Nelson by Gabriel Burdett a few days after the incident.⁴⁵⁸ An 1867 newspaper article stated, "General Ely states that the outrage upon Rev. Schofield [*sic*] and the breaking up of the freedmen's school at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, by regulators, has been thoroughly investigated, but none of the parties concerned arrested as yet, owing to the inability of Mr. Schofield [*sic*] to identify them. The school at the place has not yet reopened."⁴⁵⁹

After the Civil War, Scofield continued ministry in the Congregational Church, retiring at age 75. He died at Spencerport, New York, in 1898 at age 92. A 1917 obituary for Scofield's daughter, Elizabeth Scofield Felt (1846-1917), includes an account of the family's experience at Camp Nelson.

Mrs. Felt was the daughter of a Congregational minister, Rev. Scofield, and when a young girl of about 16 she went with her father, who was sent to the mountains of Kentucky as a missionary and worked there with him in that missionary field. As a part of his work her father had a store for the benefit of the Freedmen that they might get fair dealings, and the young daughter gave them schooling, taught them to sew and to read the Bible. They were finally driven out by the Ku Klux Klan. The building was fired and her

⁴⁵⁶. Built in 1820, the Smithfield Presbyterian Church was the site of the inaugural meeting of the New York State Antislavery Society in 1835. Later remodeled as Evans Hall, it now houses the National Abolition Hall of Fame and Museum and serves as the Peterboro municipal building.

⁴⁵⁷. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 54, 69.

⁴⁵⁸. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 14.

⁴⁵⁹. "From Washington," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 4 February 1867, 3.

father was left for dead in the brush near. But hew as not dead, and remained in hiding, cared for by his devoted friends and followers until he managed to escape by being hidden under a load of furniture which an old colored friend took out of the place. All this time the young daughter believed her father dead.

A daughter of this devoted colored man carried her baby and walked 20 miles “to see Miss Lizzie once more before she left the state,” and arrived with bare feet torn and bleeding. The world is small and only a few years ago when Mrs. Felt was visiting in Beloit [Kansas] this same colored woman met Mrs. Felt on the street and recognized her as “Miss Lizzie.” The woman was caring for her aged father who was then over 100 years old.

A few years ago Mrs. Felt was permitted to see one of the results of that missionary service when Gabriel Burdet [sic], whom her father educated for the ministry, gave an address at the Emancipation celebration in Centralia and also spoke in the M. E. church the following Sunday.⁴⁶⁰

Rev. Gabriel Burdett, minister 1867-1877

Gabriel Burdett (1829/1830-1914) was a Black man born into slavery in Garrard County, Kentucky. He was owned by a distant cousin of Morgan Burdett, who served as a trustee of Berea at the same time as Gabriel.⁴⁶¹ Sears reports that, “While still in his twenties, Gabriel became a preacher, given authority by the white congregation to hold Sunday services for slaves at Fork of Dick’s River Baptist Church in Garrard County, the church in which all the White Burdetts were members. (the white minister was Burdette Kemper, whose mother was a Burdette).”⁴⁶² At least fourteen enslaved people named Burdett belonged to Gabriel’s church. “In 1869, after years of absence, he was excluded for nonattendance.”⁴⁶³

In January 1855, Burdett married Lucinda Huffman, also enslaved, in a ceremony performed by Elder John Burnsides. “At that time, no legal records were kept of slaves’ marriages, a fact that caused Burdett, and many others, a great deal of trouble later; when he applied for his Civil War pension he had to be able to prove his wife was his wife, no simple matter under the circumstances.”⁴⁶⁴ Gabriel and Lucinda had twelve children, three of whom survived him. His daughter Maggie attended Berea 1871-1872, the only one of his children to do so. At his death, Gabriel’s three living children were Gertrude, Charles W. Sumner, and John G. Burdett (born 20 March 1867), “whose name memorialized one of Gabriel Burdett’s most important relationships.”⁴⁶⁵

“Burdett enrolled in the United States Army on July 15, 1864, and served in Company I, 114th Regiment U. S. Colored Infantry Volunteers, as a private. He was ‘on detached duty at Camp Nelson, Ky.’ From 1865, where he served until August 31, 1866, being honorably discharged September 15, 1866.”⁴⁶⁶ Sears provides a description of Burdett’s service at Camp Nelson:

During part of his military service, Burdett acted as Fee’s assistant and as a minister, nurse, and teacher at Camp Nelson. With Fee he labored to help the families of Camp Nelson soldiers; because of Burdett’s efforts there, Thomas Butler, manager of the camp’s United States Sanitary Commission station, described Burdett as ‘a noble and extraordinary man.’ The description must be apt, for Burdett’s own letters, to Fee and others, reveal an unaffected piety and wisdom that epitomized the virtue Fee perceived in ex-slaves in general. Perhaps he had seen it most clearly in Gabriel Burdett.⁴⁶⁷

Burdett made a brief military excursion to Texas following the Civil War. In 1866 to 1878, Burdett

460. “Elizabeth Scofield Felt,” *Centralia Journal* (Centralia, KS), 19 January 1917, 3.

461. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153.

462. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153.

463. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153.

464. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153.

465. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 155.

466. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153.

467. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 153-154.

1 served as a trustee of Berea College.⁴⁶⁸ “In
2 January 1867, Burdett, staying with Fee in Berea,
3 considered leaving Camp Nelson to bring his
4 family to Berea to be educated, while he travelled
5 as an evangelist. E. M. Cravath, whom Burdett had
6 met in Nashville, advised Burdett to take this step.
7 But Burdett had a chance to buy land at Camp
8 Nelson the next month, and having a place of his
9 own there helped him decide against Berea.”⁴⁶⁹

10 Sears reports that, “as a preacher, Burdett won
11 Fee’s highest praise, and he served as pastor of the
12 Church of Christ at Camp Nelson, which Fee had
13 founded, for many years after Fee’s permanent
14 removal to Berea. In 1870, Burdett stated that he
15 had been regular pastor of Camp Nelson’s church
16 since March 1867.”⁴⁷⁰ In March 1867, replying to
17 a routine AMA letter to all commissioned workers
18 asking for contributions, Burdett wrote:

19 I am poor and have been a slave all my life until
20 I joined the army... And since I have been
21 discharged from the army I have been laboring
22 to help my poor downtrodden people. And now
23 I am in a place where I can get no help but what
24 you give me the people are poor and can not pay
25 more than the wrent [*sic*] for the house in which
26 we teach school and have church.⁴⁷¹

27 By May 1867, Burdett had settled in Camp Nelson,
28 “reporting to the AMA that he had been teaching
29 at the district school there and had reorganized the
30 church and school where [Rev. Abishai] Scofield
31 had been working.”⁴⁷² In May 1867, Burdett,
32 then age thirty-eight, interviewed older men and

55 related stories of their experiences of slavery to the
56 AMA.⁴⁷³ Describing his work at Camp Nelson that
57 month, he wrote,

58 We are here in the first free place in the state. And
59 we want to keep it for the Lord as he has done
60 so much for us we want to glorify his name here
61 in the birthplace of liberty in this state. And we
62 want the prayers of God’s people in our behalf.
63 But those days of slavery have passed and gone
64 and liberty is proclaimed in all the land. But now
65 we have to fight more against the spirit of cast[e].
66 But was we have overcome in part we will gain
67 the victory at last.⁴⁷⁴

68 The white backlash to Black emancipation and
69 citizenship that provoked the earlier attack on Rev.
70 Scofield continued to spark threats and violence
71 to the Camp Nelson community during the late-
72 1860s. The *Louisville Daily Courier* reported that,
73 on the night of September 9, 1867, “a band of white
74 men, thirty strong... robbed, beat and maltreated
75 a great many peaceful negroes in and about Camp
76 Nelson, Kentucky.”⁴⁷⁵

77 The 1870 census lists Burdett as a minister living in
78 District 1 of Jessamine County. That year, Burdett
79 wrote,

80 The colored people in this state were once all
81 members of the white Slave holding churches
82 until we were emancipated were merely
83 governed altogether by them their pride and
84 predices [*sic*] and even now this is the only
85 independent church in all of the land accept
86 [*sic*] the Churches that were independent before
87 the war like that of Berea and kindred churches.
88 And I have never been able to see how we could
89 be independent without coming out entiley [*sic*]
90 from all of the old slaveholding churches.⁴⁷⁶

91 473. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:
92 Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
93 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154.

94 474. Quoted in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in
95 Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea,
96 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996),
97 154.

98 475. “How Radical Thunder Made,” *Louisville Daily
99 Courier*, 11 October 1867, 1.

100 476. Quoted in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in
101 Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea,
102 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996),
103 154.

33 468. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:
34 Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
35 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 155.

36 469. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:
37 Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
38 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154.

39 470. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:
40 Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
41 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154. A later
42 report on Congregational churches in Kentucky states
43 that Burdett was ordained in 1864 and commenced
44 his ministry at Camp Nelson in 1867. Christopher
45 Cushing, ed., *The Congregational Quarterly*, Vol. XIX /
46 New Series Vol. IX (Boston: 20 Congregational House,
47 1877), 123.

48 471. Quoted in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in
49 Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea,
50 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996),
51 154.

52 472. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:
53 Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
54 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154.

Burdett was an active political campaigner during Reconstruction. In 1867, he served as vice-president of the Committee on Organization of the Kentucky State Convention of Colored Citizens.⁴⁷⁷ In August 1872, he was one of the speakers at a large meeting of mostly Black Republicans at Lexington, “but was prevented from proceeding through his speech by the throwing of rotten eggs, sticks and stones.”⁴⁷⁸ In 1874, Burdett was a speaker at a reunion of abolitionists held in Chicago.⁴⁷⁹

In 1875, Burdett was proud of the progress that the Ariel community had made but was faced with multiplying personal challenges. His wife was sick, and he was struggling to care for their four children and to pay their tuition as students at Ariel Academy. According to Brian Eades, “Burdett had lost his two lots at Camp Nelson in 1876 due to an inability to pay for the property. The \$100 salary he received from the local congregation and the \$200 he received annually from the AMA was not enough for him to support his children and his ailing wife.”⁴⁸⁰

After a decade of ministry and political activism at Camp Nelson, Burdett became disillusioned because of Kentucky’s continuing racial inequality. By November 1876, he was beginning “to think that the colorade [*sic*] people of this state can never do much in this camp, and especially in this State. We are in a hopeless minority here and I fear we will not be able to accomplish much with all the impediments that will of co[u]rse, be thrown our way.”⁴⁸¹ Both the Ariel church and Burdett were in debt. Faced with violent attacks from organized white supremacist groups and a new type of second-class citizenship, approximately twenty-six thousand African Americans left the South to establish homesteads in Kansas during the 1870s, a general migration known as the Exoduster movement. [Figure 14] In May 1877, Burdett led

a group of African Americans from Kentucky to Kansas as a part of this movement.⁴⁸²

On May 23, 1877, he confessed to the AMA that he was considering going to Kansas. “And at this time,” he stated, “there seames to bee a great uprising of the colorade people to that end all over the state of Kentucky Hundreds of them are going from this country and Fayette[te] and Garrard counties and many other portions of the state.” He begged the officers of the AMA not to blame him for his decision; “for I know,” he said, “if you were to see my little ones around my feet and hear them asking where we will get the next bread to eat, you would say go and trust the Lord for he is in Kansas as well as Kentucky.” ...So after years of grinding poverty and increasingly pointless struggles with the church and school, Burdett gave up his hope that black people might make recognizable progress in his native Kentucky, abandoned his work, and left with a number of black families from Camp Nelson and surrounding areas to resettle in Kansas.⁴⁸³

In his last letter from Camp Nelson, dated May 15, 1877, Burdett expressed his sorrow at leaving the state where he spent “more than forty seven years of my life 34 of it a slave and 2 of it a soldier in order to free myself and wife and children, and the rest of it as a freedman and Missionary.” Burdett continued, “Shall I give my influence in behalf of my people remaining where they will be oppressed all of their life and where it will be impossible for them to rise any higher than mere mud sills. ...?”⁴⁸⁴ Burdett was not alone in these sentiments; “Emigrant groups from Fayette, Garrard, Scott, Boyle, Ohio, Jessamine, and Jefferson Counties in central and northern Kentucky participated in large numbers.”⁴⁸⁵

In June 1877, “Rev. Gabriel Burdett, of Kentucky” delivered a free lecture at the courthouse in Topeka, Kansas, titled “Past, Present and Future

477. “State Convention of Colored Citizens at Lexington, Ky.” *Chicago Tribune*, 27 November 1867, 1.

478. “Unruly Proceedings,” *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis, MO), 13 August 1872, 3.

479. “The Old Liners,” *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago, IL), 11 June 1874, 5.

480. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 18.

481. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), lxii.

482. Richard D. Sears, “Burdett, Gabriel,” *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 75.

483. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), lxii.

484. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), lxii.

485. Selena Sanderfer, “Exodusters,” *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 171.



Figure 38. Rev. William Henry Harrison Butler (1849-1933), minister of Fee Memorial Church and principal/president of Ariel Academy 1870-ca.1876, in an 1892 newspaper portrait and a photographic portrait and signature published in 1914. Rev. W. H. H. Butler was born to free Black parents in Ohio. He was ordained in 1868 and was employed by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870, taking charge of Ariel Academy. He also organized the Republican Party in Jessamine County and worked to secure the rights of Black voters during Reconstruction. In 1892, the *Brooklyn Citizen* described Butler as "one of the very ablest Afro-American divines of this city." (Source: *Brooklyn Citizen*, 2 July 1892, 3; William H. H. Butler, *A. M. E. Ecclesiastical Judicial Practice*, 1914)

Condition of the Colored Race." In this lecture, Burdett "Advised the colored emigrants who come to Kansas to go to the southern part of the state and take up the government lands."⁴⁸⁶ In April 1878, Burdett was staying at the Carlson House in Blue Rapids, Kansas.⁴⁸⁷ By the time of the 1880 census, the Burdett family had settled in Pottawatomie County, Kansas. By 1883, he had moved into the nearby city of Manhattan, Kansas, and in 1887 he was living in Blue Rapids.⁴⁸⁸ In 1888, Burdett was the Prohibition Party candidate for Auditor of State, and he remained active in Kansas politics until the early-1890s.

The Burdetts were living in Guthrie, Oklahoma, at the time of the 1910 census, with Gabriel working as a mail carrier. Their household included their daughter Gertrude and son-in-law William Alford, a minister. Gabriel Burdette died in 1914 at the Western Branch of the National Home for Disabled Soldiers in Leavenworth, Kansas. He was buried in Leavenworth National Cemetery.

486. "Local Items," *Topeka State Journal*, 21 June 1877, 4; *The Daily Commonwealth* (Topeka, KS), 22 June 1877, 4, c2.

487. "Whereabouts," *Blue Rapids Times*, 4 April 1878, 2.

488. "Gab and Gossip," *Semi-Weekly Republican* (Louisville, KS), 26 April 1883, 5; "Rejoicing of the Emancipated," *Marshall County News* (Marysville, KS), 12 August 1887, 1.

Rev. W. H. H. Butler, principal/president 1870-ca. 1876

William Henry Harrison Butler (1849-1933) was a Black man born in Seneca County, Ohio. His parents, Israel and Catherine Butler, were forced to leave their native Virginia about 1836 because of a law against free people of color. Butler was raised in Washington County, Ohio, and attended school until age twelve, when his father died. He then went to live with a married sister living in Sandusky, Ohio, where he was the first Black student to attend the high school, completing the four-year course in two years and graduating at the head of his class. Upon graduation, at age fifteen, he went to Camp Delaware, Ohio, and enlisted in Company E, Fifth Regiment, United States Colored Infantry. Butler served from September 1864 to August 1865 and was mustered out at Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio.

A 1905 article reported that Butler "was converted in 1866, licensed to preach the same year and ordained to the work of the ministry in 1868, at the age of nineteen years."⁴⁸⁹ A 1916 biography states that he enrolled in "Runkle College" in the

489. "Butler Remains Pastor of Bridge St. Church," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 7 August 1905, 3.

- 1 fall of 1866 and graduated with honors in 1869.⁴⁹⁰
 2 This was probably one of two Freedmen's Bureau
 3 schools known as Runkle Institute that operated
 4 during the late-1860s. General Benjamin Piatt
 5 Runkle founded one in Paducah, Kentucky and the
 6 other in Memphis, Tennessee. Other biographies
 7 state that Butler graduated from Oberlin College
 8 and Union Seminary.⁴⁹¹ In 1906, AME Bishop H.
 9 M. Turner reported that Butler "was educated
 10 in the school where Garfield was" and that "the
 11 leading white school in Ohio conferred [on him]
 12 the degree of D.D."⁴⁹²
- 13 Butler was employed by the Freedmen's Bureau
 14 in 1870, taking charge of Ariel Academy.⁴⁹³ He
 15 also organized the Republican Party in Jessamine
 16 County and, with Rev. C. O. H. Thomas, "forced
 17 the election officer to permit the Negroes to vote.
 18 He was forced to go armed constantly, to guard
 19 against the Ku Klux Klan."⁴⁹⁴ After six years as
 20 principal or president of Ariel Academy, Butler
 21 worked as a teacher and preacher in Lebanon
 22 and Franklin, Kentucky. He appears to have
 23 joined the Arkansas Conference of the African
 24 Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in 1880.
 25 Between 1880 and 1892, his pastorates included
 26 St. John's AME Church in Pine Bluff, Arkansas;
 27 churches in Pulaski, Franklin, and Fayette,
 28 Tennessee; Newport, Rhode Island; Bridge Street
 29 Church, Brooklyn, New York; Allen Chapel AME,
 30 Philadelphia; Wilmington, Delaware; Bethel,
 31 Detroit; churches at Richmond and Terre Haute,
 32 Indiana; St. Paul of Columbus, Ohio, Brown
 33 Chapel, Pittsburgh; St. Paul AME in Washington,
 34 Pennsylvania; and Bergen Street AME, Brooklyn,
 35 New York. In 1892, the *Brooklyn Citizen* described
 36 Butler as "one of the very ablest Afro-American
 37 divines of this city."⁴⁹⁵ [Figure 38]
- 38 Butler married Rosa Lena Williams (1864-1904)
 39 about 1882. The couple had at least five children;
 40 their birth locations reflect the family's moves to
 41 different churches: Olivia Marie Butler (1886-1905,
 42 born in North Carolina), Sarah A. Butler (born
 43 1888 in Tennessee), Champila Butler (born 1891 in
 44 New York), Cathryn H. Butler Johns (1894-1957,
 45 born in Pennsylvania), and Helen H. Butler (born
 46 1896 in Michigan). At the time of the 1900 census,
 47 Butler was pastor of Allen Chapel AME Church in
 48 Terre Haute, Indiana. He left Terre Haute in 1901
 49 to move to New York; at this time, a correspondent
 50 from the *Indianapolis Recorder* reported, "The Dr.
 51 is a forceful speaker and a logical reasoner..."⁴⁹⁶
 52 Rosa Butler died in Wilmington, Delaware in
 53 1904, while Butler was pastor of Bethel AME
 54 Church. Butler married Evangeline R. Brown
 55 of Masseyville, Ohio, in Brooklyn in 1905.⁴⁹⁷ In
 56 1906, AME Bishop H. M. Turner elevated Butler
 57 to the position of Presiding Elder of the Greater
 58 New York and Long Island District of the AME
 59 Church.⁴⁹⁸ He remained in this position until 1907,
 60 when he resigned to accept the pastorate of a large
 61 church in Columbus, Ohio.⁴⁹⁹
- 62 By 1910, Butler had returned to Brown Chapel
 63 AME in Pittsburgh in 1910, before moving to
 64 St. Paul AME by 1912. Butler's book *A. M. E.*
 65 *Ecclesiastical Judicial Practice* was completed
 66 in 1911 and approved by the AME General
 67 Conference in 1912; a revised second edition was
 68 published in 1914.⁵⁰⁰ [Figure 38] In the late-1920s,
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490. Richard R. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1916), 54.
 491. "The Pulpit and the Pew," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), 20 September 1891, 13; "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 24 July 1892, 3.
 492. The reference to President James A. Garfield suggests that Butler attended a school where Garfield—eighteen years his senior—had attended or taught. Garfield attended Geauga Seminary, a school with a charter that prohibited discrimination based on race or gender, but it closed in 1853, when Butler was only four years old. Garfield attended the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (later Hiram College) in Hiram, Ohio, and Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, before returning to Hiram to serve as principal from 1857 to 1861. "Bishop Settles the Bridge St. Church Row," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 3 July 1906, 6.
 493. An 1892 newspaper biography states that "In 1868 he was employed by the Freedman's Bureau of the M. E. Church and assigned as principal of the Ariel Academy, at Jessamine County, Ky." "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 24 July 1892, 3.
 494. Richard R. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1916), 54.
 495. "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 24 July 1892, 3.
 496. "Fort Wayne Items," *Indianapolis Recorder*, 18 May 1901, 5.
 497. Richard R. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1916), 54-55.
 498. "Bishop Settles the Bridge St. Church Row," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 3 July 1906, 6.
 499. "Farewell Reception to Dr. Butler," *Times Union* (Brooklyn, NY), 4 September 1907, 10.
 500. William H. H. Butler, *A. M. E. Ecclesiastical Judicial Practice* (Philadelphia: AME Book Concern, 1914), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=emu.010000427817&view=1up&seq=7>.

Butler served as historian of the AME Church.⁵⁰¹ Butler's eighty-third birthday celebration, attended by many ministers and church officials, was covered in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which referred to him as a "distinguished churchman" and "eminent theologian."⁵⁰² His career included pastorates at churches in eleven states: Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and North Carolina. He died in Pittsburgh in 1933, at age 84.⁵⁰³

Howard S. Fee, principal/superintendent 1874-ca. 1879
Howard Samuel Fee (1851-1904), the second son of John G. Fee, was a white man who superintended Ariel Academy during the 1870s. Howard Fee and his older brother, Burritt Hamilton Fee (1849-1876), had both taught USCT enlistees and refugees in the Camp Nelson school as teenagers. According to Sears, upon his graduation from Berea College in 1874, Howard Fee "was invited by the black people of Camp Nelson to take charge of the school there."⁵⁰⁴

Howard Fee approached this remnant of his father's work with enthusiasm. 'I know of no other place in Ky. where I can do more good,' he wrote. A year after Howard's arrival, Gabriel Burdett, still in charge of the Camp Nelson school and church, boasted, 'Our school is in better condition than it has ever been.' One hundred and fifteen students were in attendance, so many that [Berea president Edward Henry] Fairchild's son, Eugene, traveled to Camp Nelson to help Howard Fee. . . . John G. Fee was intensely pleased by his son's work in Camp Nelson. 'He is giving his very life to it,' Fee told E. M. Cravath.⁵⁰⁵

An 1875 history of Berea College notes that the school "is at present under the superintendence of Howard S. Fee, a graduate of Berea College."⁵⁰⁶

That year, Howard Fee's friend Eugene Fairchild, the son of the president of Berea College, came to assist in teaching the growing student body of Ariel Academy. Howard Fee was listed as principal of Ariel Academy at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, in the 1875-1876 Berea College catalogue.⁵⁰⁷ Howard Fee married Charlotte Elizabeth "Lizzie" Chittenden (1853-1943) on August 25, 1875, in her hometown of Genesee, Michigan. Their marriage license lists Howard Fee as a teacher.

Rev. W. H. H. Butler appears to have left Ariel Academy in 1876, as the school's enrollment was growing, and Howard Fee experienced two personal tragedies later that year. In October, his twenty-seven-year-old brother Burritt H. Fee died from tuberculosis, a disease that first manifested when he was a sixteen-year-old teaching in the Camp Nelson school alongside Howard Fee.⁵⁰⁸ In December, Howard Fee's seven-month-old daughter Emma Matilda Fee died and was buried in Berea Cemetery. Grieving and already strained by a record enrollment at Ariel Academy, twenty-six-year-old Howard Fee found himself charged with the care of the 146-member church congregation after Rev. Gabriel Burdett left for Kansas with a portion of the community in May 1877. On December 12, 1877, he wrote, "we have 157 schollars [*sic*] enrolled and have never had less than one hundred in attendance since I came back this year. I have led their church services here for some months but my throat and lungs are failing me and I must be content to do just as little talking as possible."⁵⁰⁹ This pace of work was unsustainable.

By July 1879, Howard Fee had left both Kentucky and the field of education and was raising sheep in Mendocino County, California. Howard Fee and his family remained in Mendocino County, operating a livestock ranch near the unincorporated community of Cummings, for the next twenty-four years. Despite this distance,

501. "A.M.E. Conference will Close this Evening," *Daily Notes* (Canonsburg, PA), 12 April 1928, 1.

502. "Distinguished Churchman Honored on 83rd Birthday," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 17 September 1932, second edition, 10.

503. "Hold Last Rites for the Rev. W. H. H. Butler," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 October 1933, 20.

504. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 95.

505. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 95.

506. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.

507. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Berea College, 1875-76* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876), n.p.

508. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 202, n39 & 42.

509. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

Howard S. Fee was listed as a trustee of Camp Nelson Academy upon its incorporation in 1884. A son, John Gregg Fee (1893-1908) was born in Mendocino.

Howard Fee and his family moved to Clarksburg, an unincorporated town in Decatur County, Indiana, in 1903.⁵¹⁰ Howard Fee and his brother Edwin S. Fee wrote a letter of protest in opposition to the proposed Day Law in March 1904. The law would prohibit the teaching of black and white students in the same school and was directly targeted at Berea College, the only racially integrated college in Kentucky. Howard Fee and Edwin Fee concluded with: "In the name of all that is honorable and just, in the name of God and humanity, for the good of the whole State as well as the individual, we beg of you do not let this bill become law."⁵¹¹ Despite their protest, Governor J. C. W. Beckham signed the bill into law that month. Berea College was convicted and fined under the law, with the case reaching the United States Supreme Court in 1908 as *Berea College v. Kentucky*, where the court upheld the right of the state to prohibit chartered educational institutions from admitting both black and white students.

Howard Fee and his family moved to Whittier, California, in September 1904. He died suddenly at the family's new home there in October 1904.⁵¹² His son John died in 1908 and Lizzie remained in California until her death in 1943. All were buried in Berea Cemetery.

Rev. John Drew, minister 1877-1880

John Drew (1823-1890) was born in North Carolina and was classified as Black, "Indian," or "mulatto," on period documents. He married Isabella Moore, a white woman, in Kentucky in 1851. Their sons Napoleon and Rufus attended Berea College in 1867, followed by their daughter Catherine in 1870. Drew was ordained in 1868. At the time of the 1870 census, Drew was a farmer in Jackson County, Kentucky. He commenced ministry at Walnut Chapel, Kentucky, in 1871 and came to Camp Nelson following Gabriel Burdett's departure for Kansas in 1877. In December 1877, an exhausted Howard S. Fee reported that

he had "led their church services here for some months" and noted the congregation's desire to hire Rev. John Drew, who he praised as "a very good and upright man" with whom his father was better acquainted.⁵¹³ Drew was hired by the AMA in the early months of 1878. He ministered to a congregation of 140 and travelled to various churches in the vicinity of Ariel.⁵¹⁴ The 1880 census lists Drew as a farmer in Jackson County.⁵¹⁵

Rev. W. S. Overstreet, minister 1880-1881, 1885-1886, principal 1895

William S. Overstreet (1849-1901) was a Black man born in Jessamine County. He was an enslaved man owned by Fal Fitch at the time of his enlistment at Camp Nelson on April 12, 1865. He served in Company K of the United States Colored Infantry and settled in Ariel after the war. Overstreet married Jane Jackson about 1870 and had nine children, seven of whom were living in 1900.

Overstreet was appointed assistant pastor of the church at Camp Nelson soon after September 1874, allowing Rev. Gabriel Burdett to focus on evangelization among freedmen throughout the region. Brian Eades reports that "Overstreet had served the church for several years as a deacon and licensed preacher."⁵¹⁶ According to reports of the AMA, Overstreet was ordained in 1878 and commenced ministry at Camp Nelson 1880. The 1880 census lists him as a stone mason living in the Ariel area of Jessamine County. He served as minister until 1881 and returned in 1885. Records of the church and school between 1887 and 1902 are fragmentary, so Overstreet may have continued in the ministry and as principal of the school. An 1895 article mentioned that "W. S. Overstreet, a colored graduate of Berea, is the principal."⁵¹⁷ He

510. "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 8 January 1903, 4.

511. "Sons of John G. Fee Protest," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 3 March 1904, 8.

512. "Whittier," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1904, 15.

513. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

514. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 20.

515. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 187, n55.

516. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 17.

517. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.



Figure 39. W. S. Overstreet House, ca.2000. Located on the parcel now at 11 Church Street, this house was probably built in the 1870s. W. S. Overstreet was appointed assistant pastor of the church at Camp Nelson in 1874, was ordained in 1878, and commenced ministry at Camp Nelson 1880. (Source: Camp Nelson Civil War District National Register nomination)

does not appear among the list of graduates of the classical and scientific courses at Berea between 1873 and 1891.

Overstreet owned the westernmost two lots on the north side of Row Street (now part of Church Street), at the northeast corner of what is now Payne Lane; the property is now known as 11 Church Street. His wood-frame house on the property was probably built in the 1870s. [Figure 39] The front wing was a two-story, side-gabled wing with a façade divided into three bays; each bay contained a two-over-two double-hung window except for the north first-floor bay, which contained the entry door. A one-and-one-half-story rear wing included a gable roof perpendicular to that of the front wing. The house was demolished sometime between 2000 and 2004, and a new house was built on the site in 2017. A wood-frame barn north of the house along Payne Lane appears to have been built sometime between 1956 and 1983 and was demolished about 2005. The house and barn were resources 54 and 55 in the

Camp Nelson Civil War District National Register listing.

Mary Bell Overstreet of Camp Nelson was a student of instrumental music at Berea in 1888; this may be William's daughter Mary B. Overstreet (1872-1938). As of the 1900 census, William Overstreet was a farmer living in Jessamine County; at that time, his daughters Mary Overstreet and Cordelia Overstreet were listed as "school teachers." Cordelia "Cordie" Overstreet (1879-1949) was listed as a teacher in the common schools on the 1900, 1920, and 1930 censuses. She married Joseph A. Payne Sr. (1876-1957); their daughter Lucy J. Payne (1905-1978) later became a teacher and their son William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) was one of the Hall residents interviewed in the 1994 oral history project. The Overstreet and Payne family members are buried in the Camp Nelson family cemetery in Hall.

W. S. Overstreet appears to have been distinct from a Rev. William Thomas Overstreet of McAfee,

Kentucky, who graduated from Centre College in Danville in 1882, attended Princeton Theological Seminary, and received an honorary Master of Arts degree from Centre College in 1893.⁵¹⁸

Rev. J. F. Browne, minister 1881-1882

J. F. Browne's life dates and race are currently unknown. Browne was ordained in 1875 and commended ministry of the churches at Camp Nelson, Cabin Creek, and Hillsdale (Bethesda), Kentucky in 1881. Of these, the Camp Nelson church was by far the largest, with 111 members compared with fourteen at Hillsdale and seven at Cabin Creek. By August 1883, the position of minister was vacant at all three of these churches.⁵¹⁹ Hillsdale disappeared from the AMA's list of churches under its care by 1886 and Cabin Creek does not appear to have shared a minister with Camp Nelson after Browne. Browne appears to have gone to serve as a minister and professor at the Glenville Academy in Lewis County, Kentucky, by early 1883.⁵²⁰ He appears to have occasionally preached at Locust Creek and Bethesda Chapel church near Hillsdale in Bracken County in 1883.⁵²¹ By 1885, he had moved to Berea, where he served as a professor at Berea College and as co-editor of the *Berea Evangelist*, a monthly religious paper, alongside John G. Fee and H. H. Hinman of Washington, D.C.⁵²² In 1887, he left Berea for New Iberia, Louisiana, to take charge of a new high school there, but he was back in Berea by 1890.⁵²³ In 1896, Rev. J. F. Browne, L.L. D. was chaplain and instructor in printing at Eckstein Norton University in Cane Springs, Kentucky.⁵²⁴ The industrial school for Black students was founded in 1890; it merged with Lincoln Institute in 1911, and its campus closed in 1912.

518. "A. E. Stevenson, LL. D.," *Courier-Journal*, 15 June 1893, 1.

519. *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1883), 62.

520. "Died," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 30 January 1883, 3; "County Points," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 18 June 1883, 3; "County Points," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 10 July 1883, 3.

521. "County Points," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 2 July 1883, 3; "Adjacent Counties," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 17 July 1884, 3.

522. "Personals," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 2 July 1885, 3.

523. "Berea," *Richmond Climax* (Richmond, KY), 14 December 1887, 3.

524. "Eckstein Norton University," *Courier-Journal*, 15 March 1896, 19.

Mary M. Robe, superintendent/matron ca. 1887-ca. 1900s

Mary M. Robe (1842-1933) was a white woman born in Ohio to Johanna Restine and William Robe. Her brother William H. Robe (1847-1905) "came to Berea in 1867 when he was twenty years old, and he was a student there for some twenty-five years, becoming an ordained minister and working as college carpenter at the same time. Eventually, he became woodworking teacher himself and superintendent of buildings. With Fee's approval, William's sister Mary Robe became a manager at Camp Nelson after Fee removed to Berea."⁵²⁵

At the time of the 1870 census, Robe, then twenty-seven, was listed as a "School Teacher" living with her father, stepmother, and sister in Winchester Township, Adams County, Ohio, near the village of Winchester. Robe may have first come to Camp Nelson about 1878; a March 1890 leaflet states that she had worked there for twelve years.⁵²⁶ By the time of the 1880 census, Robe, then thirty-eight, had returned to Ohio and was living in a household with her stepmother and the family of her brother William in Winchester Township. Her profession as listed as "retired teacher." Robe returned to the Camp Nelson Academy about 1887 and, by March 1890, was apparently in charge of the school and served as secretary and treasurer of its board of trustees.⁵²⁷ She was serving as the school's matron by 1895. According to an article published in September 1895, "For the past eight years she has given her time and attention to the general work of the institution without asking a thing in return."⁵²⁸ Robe appears to have been close with the Fee family. In April 1889, "Miss Mary Robe, from Camp Nelson, spent her vacation with Mrs. Fee" in Berea.⁵²⁹ In March 1900, "Miss Mary Robe, of Camp Nelson Academy, spent a few days visiting at Father Fee's last week."⁵³⁰

525. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 78.

526. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 204, note 7.

527. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 204, note 7.

528. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

529. "Berea," *Richmond Climax* (Richmond, KY), 10 April 1889, 3.

530. *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 21 March 1900, 1.

1 Robe never married, but the 1895 article and Hall
2 residents who remembered her in 1994 referred
3 to her as “Mrs. Robe.” The 1900 census lists Mary
4 Robe (born January 1842 in Ohio) living alone in
5 a house in the Lee Precinct of Jessamine County.
6 No occupation is listed, so it is unclear whether she
7 was still employed at Camp Nelson Academy. The
8 next household listed on the census form was that
9 of J. W. Hughes, a Black man whose occupation
10 was listed as “School Teacher.”

11 By the time of the 1910 census, Robe was a
12 merchant operating a general store. She owned
13 her home and appeared on the census form near
14 the Williams family who lived on Main Street at
15 what is now 1395 Hall Road. This is consistent with
16 the memories of three Hall residents recorded in
17 1994. Bessie Stull Watts (1896-1999) reported that
18 Mrs. Robe ran a store that “had everything” and
19 noted that it was not the store in the Benevolent
20 Hall building.⁵³¹ Margaret Hunter True (1899-
21 1996), recalled a store run by Mrs. Robe, who
22 came to the community as a teacher at the Fee
23 Memorial Institute.⁵³² William Payne (1912-1998)
24 reported that Mrs. Robe ran a store on Hall’s Main
25 Street, about two city blocks west of the Payne
26 House at what is now 1360 Hall Road. Payne
27 reported that the Robe house was later occupied
28 by William and Lula Kennedy. This may be the
29 Overstreet-Kennedy House at 1391 Hall Road,
30 next door to the Williams House across Second
31 Street, which once contained a store operated by
32 Edward Overstreet (1845-1906) and Josephine
33 “Josie” Washington Overstreet (1856-1936), the
34 grandparents of Dee Allen Overstreet (1914-
35 1993).⁵³³ Payne also believed that Robe was an
36 agent for John G. Fee in the sale of property.⁵³⁴ True
37 recalled that Robe could not hear and depended
38 on vibrations.⁵³⁵

39 531. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
40 Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.

41 532. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
42 Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 32.

43 533. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21
44 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
45 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
46 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7jsx647c7b>.
47

48 534. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
49 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
50 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
51 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.
52

53 535. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
54 Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 32.

55 In May 1911, a Berea newspaper reported, “Miss
56 M. M. Robe of Camp Nelson is visiting Mr.
57 and Mrs. A. E. VanWinkle.”⁵³⁶ Margaret Robe
58 VanWinkle was Robe’s niece, daughter of William
59 H. Robe. Mary Robe moved to Monmouth,
60 Illinois, later that year, joining the household
61 of her sister Caroline Burse Robe Stevenson.⁵³⁷
62 Robe’s former store in Kentucky was taken over by
63 William Watts, father-in-law of Bessie Stull Watts.
64 ⁵³⁸ The Stevensons had moved to a house at 408-
65 410 N. Third Street in 1910. Caroline’s December
66 1914 obituary notes that her “sister, Miss Mary
67 Robe. . . has made her home here for the past three
68 years.”⁵³⁹ She continued to live with the Stevenson
69 family through the 1930 census. By the time of her
70 death in July 1933 at age ninety-one, Mary Robe
71 was living at the United Presbyterian Home at 306
72 Penn Avenue in Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, near
73 Pittsburgh.

74 Joshua Crenshaw, principal 1896

75 Joshua Crenshaw (1861-1948) was born in May
76 1861 in Kentucky. His father was born in Kentucky
77 and his mother in Virginia. Census records list
78 his race as either Black or “mulatto.” Joshua
79 Crenshaw of Pleasure Ridge Park, Jefferson
80 County, Kentucky, entered Berea College about
81 1883 and graduated in 1891.⁵⁴⁰ In 1893 and 1894,
82 he served as principal of Madisonville High School
83 in Madisonville, Kentucky.⁵⁴¹ The school was
84 renamed Atkinson College and Crenshaw resigned
85 from his position in January 1895.⁵⁴²

86 536. “Berea and Vicinity,” *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 25 May
87 1911, 4.

88 537. Berea newspaper references to “Miss Mary Robe”
89 from the 1910s and early-1920s refer to her niece,
90 Mary Robe Galloway (1866-1946), daughter of
91 William H. Robe.

92 538. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson
93 Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.

94 539. “Mrs. C. Stevenson Died this Morning,” obituary
95 clipping from a Monmouth, Illinois, newspaper,
96 2 December 1914, “Caroline Burse ‘Carrie’ Robe
97 Stevenson,” Find A Grave, accessed 22 March 2021,
98 <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/95697363/caroline-burse-stevenson>.
99

100 540. “Berea College,” *Kentucky Leader* (Lexington, KY), 1
101 July 1891, 3.

102 541. “Our Colored Citizens,” *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 21
103 September 1893, 3; “Our Colored Citizens,” *The Bee*
104 (Earlington, KY), 23 August 1894, 3.

105 542. “Our Colored Citizens,” *The Bee* (Earlington, KY),
106 10 January 1895, 3; “President Walker Speaks of
107 Atkinson College,” *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 21
108 September 1893, 2.

Crenshaw's resignation may have coincided with his move to Camp Nelson Academy. In July 1896, "Prof. Joshua Crenshaw, Principal of Camp Nelson Academy" delivered a paper at the annual meeting of the State Teachers Association of Kentucky. President C. H. Parrish's address "emphasized the importance of Manual Training and Industrial schools." Crenshaw delivered "an earnest plea for industrial education" for Black students in Kentucky.⁵⁴³

At the time of the 1900 census in June, Crenshaw was living with the family of his brother Joseph in Jefferson County, Kentucky, with his profession listed as schoolteacher. He was listed as a widower. In 1901 he was living in Hustonville, in Lincoln County, but had moved to Valley Station, in Jefferson County, by 1902.⁵⁴⁴ In 1905, he was announced as a teacher at the "Berea School for colored children" along with Miss Pattie S. Turner (1869-1966), a graduate of Berea's normal school department.⁵⁴⁵ Crenshaw and Turner married in 1906 and continued to teach at the school in Berea until 1909.⁵⁴⁶ At the time of the 1910 census, the couple was living with Pattie's parents in Richmond, Kentucky; both were working as teachers. A daughter, Esther Mary Crenshaw Bronson (1911-1998), was born in Kentucky. In 1919, the family moved to a farm near Xenia, Ohio. Joshua and Esther lived there for the rest of their lives.⁵⁴⁷

Rev. John Allen Boyden, minister & principal 1903-1914
John Allen Boyden (1861-1926) was a Black man born in Lexington, North Carolina, on August 28, 1861. At the time of the 1880 census, John A. Boyden was a nineteen-year-old student at Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania. Founded as the Ashmun Institute in 1854, the school was renamed Lincoln University in 1866. He graduated in 1884, delivering an oration titled "Classical."⁵⁴⁸ Boyden married Mary K. "Mamie" Crossman/Clawson about 1887 and the couple had six children, four of

whom survived as of the 1900 census: John Allen Boyden Jr. (1891-1974), Edna Irene Boyden Horad (1893-1998), Mary A. Boyden (born 1895), and Witmer Crestfield Boyden (1896-1968).

Rev. Boyden worked in the Presbytery of Indianapolis around 1888.⁵⁴⁹ In 1888, he became pastor of the Church of the Covenant in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.⁵⁵⁰ Boyden was ordained in the Presbyterian church at Danville, Kentucky, in April 1889, and was called to pastor Grace Memorial Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania later that month.⁵⁵¹

Boyden became the pastor of Concord Presbyterian Church in Danville, Kentucky, in 1893.⁵⁵² The church occupied a brick building at 447 W. Walnut Street. This building was built about 1868 or 1878 (sources vary) using materials salvaged from the demolition of the Concord Presbyterian Church on the site where a monument to Presbyterian minister David Rice was built in 1892.⁵⁵³ The church was remodeled and redecorated in 1885.⁵⁵⁴ Shortly after their arrival, the Boydens established Logan High School. At the time of its first commencement in May 1894, this "flourishing colored institution... conducted by Prof. J. A. Boyden and wife," reported an enrollment of 140 and an average attendance of ninety people.⁵⁵⁵ In 1895, the school built a two-story frame building—an addition to the rear of the church—containing a first-floor assembly room and two second-floor recitation rooms.⁵⁵⁶ The

543. "Colored Instructors," *Courier-Journal*, 5 July 1896, 12.

544. "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 24 October 1901, 3; "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 18 December 1902, 4.

545. "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 6 July 1905, 6.

546. "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 1 July 1909, 5.

547. "Mrs. Pattie Crenshaw," *Xenia Daily Gazette*, 18 November 1966, 5.

548. "Lincoln," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 June 1884, 3.

549. "Presbyterian Ministers," *Carbondale Daily News* (Carbondale, PA), 18 September 1888, 1.

550. "Our Colored Folks," *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*, 11 August 1888, 4.

551. "The Presbyterian Ministers," *Wilkes-Barre Record*, 23 April 1890, 4.

552. He was in Danville by May 1893 and his successor at Grace Memorial, Rev. M. B. Lanier, assumed charge in April 1895. "A Representative Colored Church," *Pittsburgh Press*, 15 March 1908, 43.

553. "Danville Sketches," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 9 March 1935, 3; Michael J. Denis, *We Were Here: African Americans in Danville and Boyle County, Kentucky* (Danville, KY, 2020), 127, <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kydaahs/The-Past/We-Were-Here-2020-12-15.pdf>.

554. "Danville, Boyle County," *Interior Journal* (Stanford, KY), 9 October 1885, 4.

555. "Danville and Vicinity," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 14 May 1894, 3; "Logan Institute," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 26 May 1899, 3.

556. "Logan Institute," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 26 May 1899, 3.

1 church was heated by stoves and lit by gas light by
2 1901.⁵⁵⁷

3 On January 1, 1897, Boyden was among the
4 orators in a program at the opera house, part
5 of a day-long celebration of the Emancipation
6 Proclamation by the “colored citizens of Danville
7 and Boyle county.”⁵⁵⁸ That year, Boyden was
8 elected to the Danville city council, serving on
9 the sanitary committee.⁵⁵⁹ In 1898, Rev. Boyden
10 served as principal of Logan High School and Mrs.
11 Bodyen served as head of the primary department.
12 Enrollment for the spring 1898 term was sixty-
13 seven, with an average attendance of about fifty.⁵⁶⁰
14 That October, Rev. Boyden “reported the work of
15 the Presbyterian church among the colored people
16 of the South” at a session of the Presbyterian
17 Synod: “The colored Presbyterians number 187
18 ministers, 322 churches, 18,122 Sabbath school
19 scholars, 8,045 pupils in school, and raised
20 \$65,975.01 for support of their work.”⁵⁶¹ At that
21 time of the 1900 census, the Boyden family lived
22 on Walnut Street in Danville. Their household
23 included John and Mary, their four children, and
24 Mary’s mother, Matilda A. Crossman. John was
25 listed as a clergyman and Mary as a teacher.

26 In 1901, Rev. Boyden was elected temporary clerk
27 of the Transylvania Presbytery.⁵⁶² On his birthday
28 that August, some of his friends and members
29 of the Concord Church “Gave him a pleasant
30 surprise. . . They called at his home while he was
31 at prayer meeting and had full possession when
32 he returned. Refreshments were brought and
33 served and some presents left as a token of their
34 esteem for him as a minister and friend.”⁵⁶³ During
35 the convention of the “State Colored Teachers
36 Association” on December 25, 1901, Rev. Boyden

55 delivered an address on “How the Schools are
56 Affecting Religious Life of Our People.”⁵⁶⁴ Mary K.
57 Boyden died of typhoid fever in December 1902.⁵⁶⁵

58 A 1903 report of Boyden’s appointment as
59 principal of the new Fee Memorial Institute noted,
60 “Rev. J. A. Boyden, who has been in charge of a
61 colored Presbyterian church in Danville for the
62 last ten years and at the head of a small school
63 connected with this church, has been appointed
64 principal of the new enterprise at Camp Nelson.”⁵⁶⁶
65 Boyden would serve as principal for eleven years,
66 second only to his successor H. W. McNair in
67 longevity of service to the school. Rev. Boyden
68 married Octavia B. (surname unknown, born
69 about 1881 in North Carolina) about 1908.⁵⁶⁷ That
70 year, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reported that
71 “Rev. Dr. Boyden is known as a prominent colored
72 pastor of Camp Nelson.”⁵⁶⁸

73 The 1910 census shows the Boyden household in
74 the Bethel District of Jessamine County containing,
75 John, Octavia, and John’s four children from his
76 first marriage. John was listed as the pastor of a
77 Presbyterian church, Octavia was listed as a teacher
78 in an industrial school, and John Jr. was listed as
79 a printer working in job printing. While other
80 census records list Bodyen’s race as “Black,” the
81 1910 form lists “Mulatto,” suggesting that he either
82 identified as being biracial or the enumerator
83 assumed that he was biracial.⁵⁶⁹

84 Boyden appears to have left the Fee Memorial
85 Institute in 1914, with Rev. H. W. McNair taking

37 557. The church was demolished in September 1955 to
38 create a parking lot for the adjacent Farmers Supply
39 Company. “Danville will have another parking lot,”
40 *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 11 September
41 1955, 1.

42 558. “Celebration,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 21
43 December 1896, 3.

44 559. “Officers Elected,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY),
45 15 December 1897, 2.

46 560. . “Logan High School,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, 100
47 KY), 25 May 1898, 3; “Logan High School,” *Kentucky*
48 *Advocate* (Danville, KY), 27 May 1898, 3.

49 561. “Colored Churches,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, 103
50 KY), 17 October 1898, 3.

51 562. “Kentucky News in Brief,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, 105
52 KY), 12 April 1901, 6.

53 563. “Birthday Surprise,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, 107
54 KY), 30 August 1901, 5.

86 564. “Colored Teachers,” *Lexington Leader*, 24 December
87 1901, 2.

88 565. “Boyden,” *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 19
89 December 1902, 5.

90 566. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The*
91 *Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 607.

92 567. They had been married for two years at the time of
93 the 1910 census. A September 1908 newspaper report
94 stated that Mrs. J. A. Boyden spent several days in
95 Lexington as guest of Dr. and Mrs. F. D. Robinson and
96 that Misses Irene and Mary Boyden were guests of
97 Miss Lillian Chiles. “Personals,” *Lexington Herald*, 29
98 September 1908, 6.

99 568. “Colored Synod,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 3
November 1908, 7.

101 569. The forms for 1880, 1900, and 1920 list his race
102 as “Black.” From 1850 to 1920, the United States
103 census recorded races including “White,” “Black,”
104 and “Mulatto” (mixed Black and white ancestry).
105 Beginning with the 1930 census, enumerators were
106 instructed to list all people with any Black ancestry as
107 “Negro,” following the “one drop rule” pervasive in
108 Jim Crow era racial ideology.

1 his place as principal in the fall of that year.⁵⁷⁰
 2 He served as pastor of the Concord Presbyterian
 3 Church at Danville from at least November 1914 to
 4 1918 and lived at 119 E. Walnut Street in 1918; this
 5 house may have been the Presbyterian parsonage; it
 6 was occupied by Rev. R. M. Moore in 1925.⁵⁷¹

7 Sometime before May 1919, Rev. Boyden was
 8 called to the East Vine Avenue Presbyterian Church
 9 in Knoxville, Tennessee, preaching there for more
 10 than a year before he was installed in September
 11 1920.⁵⁷² At the time of the 1920 census, John A.
 12 Boyden and Octavia Boyden owned a house at
 13 1006 Payne Avenue in Knoxville. In 1922, he was
 14 a speaker at “a symposium on race relationship...
 15 at which both white and negro speakers will
 16 discuss the problems of today,” held at Knoxville
 17 College.⁵⁷³

18 In October 1922, Boyden moved from Knoxville
 19 to Swift Memorial College in Rogersville,
 20 Tennessee.⁵⁷⁴ Rev. J. A. Boyden, D.D., died at Camp
 21 Nelson on October 11, 1926, at age sixty-five. His
 22 death certificate lists his address as “Nicholasville”
 23 and lists his voting precinct as “Scotts Grove,” a
 24 name associated with Camp Nelson Presbyterian
 25 Church just north of the village of Camp Nelson
 26 on the river. His funeral was held at the First
 27 Presbyterian Church “for colored people” of
 28 Danville, Kentucky, where he had served as pastor
 29 prior to becoming principal of the Fee Memorial
 30 Institute.⁵⁷⁵ Octavia Boyden appears to have moved
 31 to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, where
 32 she purchased property in October 1928.⁵⁷⁶ She
 33 appears to have sold the couple’s former home
 34 in Knoxville in October 1929.⁵⁷⁷ She worked as a

56 teacher at Charlotte’s Second Ward High School
 57 from at least 1929 to 1932 and at the Myers Street
 58 school from at least 1933 to 1943.

59 **Rev. Henry William McNair, minister & principal/
 60 president 1914-1934**

61 Henry William McNair was a Black man born
 62 March 19, 1878, in Aberdeen, North Carolina,
 63 to Evander McNair and Ida Toomer McNair. He
 64 graduated from Biddle University, a historically
 65 Black Presbyterian university in Charlotte, North
 66 Carolina, in 1909. McNair was one of six of the
 67 eleven graduates of the school of arts and sciences
 68 who delivered an oration; his was titled “Lifting
 69 as We Climb.”⁵⁷⁸ McNair received a Bachelor of
 70 Sacred Theology (STB) degree from Biddle in
 71 1912.⁵⁷⁹

72 Established in 1867 as the Biddle Memorial
 73 Institute, it was known as Biddle University from
 74 1876 until it was renamed Johnson C. Smith
 75 University in 1923.

76 McNair married Mary Elizabeth Martin around
 77 1910. A son, Henry William McNair Jr. (1914-
 78 1993), was born to the couple in March 1914 at
 79 Charlotte, North Carolina. Rev. McNair came to
 80 the Fee Memorial Institute in the fall of 1914 and
 81 served as its principal for twenty years.⁵⁸⁰ Rev.
 82 McNair’s September 1918 draft registration card
 83 lists him as a minister residing and working in
 84 Camp Nelson, Kentucky. The card states that he
 85 was of medium height and medium build, with
 86 brown eyes and brown hair. In the 1920 census, the
 87 McNair family appears on the page labeled “Camp
 88 Nelson Main St.” by the enumerator. Their house
 89 was listed as a farm and Rev. McNair was listed as a
 90 “school teacher.”

91 In March 1915, the McNair family was living
 92 in the large dormitory building, where Mary
 93 McNair supervised the six girl boarders then in
 94 residence.⁵⁸¹ William Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-

35 570. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The*
 36 *Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January
 37 1916), 9.

38 571. “Colored Presbyterians,” *Kentucky Advocate*
 39 (Danville, KY), 11 November 1914, 3; Michael J. Denis,
 40 *We Were Here: African Americans in Danville and*
 41 *Boyle County, Kentucky* (Danville, KY, 2020), 162,
 42 [https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kydaahs/The-Past/We-](https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kydaahs/The-Past/We-Were-Here-2020-12-15.pdf)
 43 [Were-Here-2020-12-15.pdf](https://sites.rootsweb.com/~kydaahs/The-Past/We-Were-Here-2020-12-15.pdf).

44 572. “Mayers Exercises,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 27 May 1919,
 45 17.

46 573. “To Have Symposium on Race Relations,” *Journal and*
 47 *Tribune* (Knoxville, TN), 13 June 1922, 2.

48 574. “Religious News,” *Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. XCIII, No.
 49 40 (4 October 1922), 9.

50 575. “Rev. J. A. Boyden is Dead,” *Kentucky Advocate*
 51 (Danville, KY), 12 October 1926, 3.

52 576. “Mecklenburg Real Estate,” *Charlotte Observer*, 24
 53 October 1928, 17.

54 577. “Daily Records,” *Knoxville Journal*, 13 October 1929,
 55 19.

95 578. “Biddle Sends Out 19 Men,” *Charlotte News*, 2 June
 96 1909, 10.

97 579. Inez Moore Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the*
 98 *Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the*
 99 *United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970* (San
 100 Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1977), 291.

101 580. Rev. C. B. Allen, “Our Colored Work in Kentucky,” *The*
 102 *Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January
 103 1916), 9.

104 581. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*
 105 *(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917),*
 106 271.

1998) remembered Rev. McNair's family living in the dormitory.⁵⁸² Helen Margaret Booker Stone Stewart (1914-2003) reported that Rev. Byrd and Rev. McNair lived in the house next to the Hall church while pastoring.⁵⁸³ Bessie Stull Watts (1896-1999) recalled that McNair would take a walk down to Poortown and back every evening.⁵⁸⁴

During his time in Camp Nelson, Rev. McNair was a strong advocate for temperance, despite the fact that many members of his church were employed in the E. J. Curley distillery. In 1926, an article describing "the contest waged against whiskey in a rural section of Kentucky by one minister, Rev. H. W. McNair," reprinted the following text:

Just one mile south of my field of labor was the largest whiskey concern in the State. This plant had operated for sixty years and had furnished work for all the people in the vicinity, including the members of my church whom I served in connection with my school work. Clearly my task was to be difficult. The people had lived for so long under these conditions that they accepted them without question; they told me there was no harm in fostering such enterprises, and even went further, declaring that it was nobody's business if they partook of the liquor being manufactured. For many months I was taken to task each Sabbath after I had preached against whiskey and its results.

What must I do? Just at the time when my trials were heavy Kentucky went dry; but in my precinct every man voted wet except three or four out of 3,000. The fight began. Legally they had lost, but actually they were fiercer than ever in defense of whiskey. It was known by all that I had voted with the drys, and this was taken by the members of my church and the men who ran the whiskey concern as a vote against their interests. In the heat of battle, however, not a single member left the church, although many

held on just to see what I would say against the whiskey traffic.

Many looked upon me as a man opposed to the interest of the laboring class of the vicinity. The owners of the plant came to me on several occasions and asked me if I thought I was being a real servant to the people who supported me by voting against the only means they had of making a living.

For more than six months I tried to show in each of my Sunday morning sermons that it was better to lose the whiskey plant even though it meant a temporary financial loss than to allow the whiskey traffic to ruin our homes and our children. Of course, it was hard to convert a people who had gone in the opposite direction for sixty years. I often think of that time as my 'prayer period,' for indeed I prayed much. Little by little my preaching began to gain converts. Man after man came to me and said that he had begun to see that my position was right and that he had been blinded to the results of the evil of whiskey.⁵⁸⁵

The McNairs likely moved to Nicholasville when the Fee Memorial Institute relocated in 1924. The 1930 census records that the McNair family, which also included four teachers and seven students, was living on Sulphur Well Street (E. Maple Street) in Nicholasville in the same house as the family of Rev. Byrd.

When the Fee Memorial Institute merged with the Ingleside Seminary in 1934, the McNairs moved to Burkeville, Virginia, where Rev. McNair became president of the combined school.⁵⁸⁶ From at least 1935 to 1940, the McNair family lived in a rented house on Church Street near McLain Avenue, Old Crewe Road (State Route 624), and the Burkeville-Victoria Road (State Route 49) in Nottaway County, Virginia.⁵⁸⁷ The 1940 census records that Rev. McNair was a minister in a church, Mary E.

582. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

583. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

584. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.

585. McNair's text appears to have been reprinted in part from an article in a publication called *The Continent*. "Winning Mountaineers from Whiskey," *Enterprise and Vermonter* (Vergennes, VT), 4 February 1926, 7.

586. "Winchester Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 19 August 1934, 19.

587. It is unclear whether this address was in Burkeville, in Crewe, or in another nearby community. The census form lists the township or other division of the county as the "Haytokah Magisterial District."

1 McNair worked as a matron in a junior college, H.
2 W. McNair Jr. worked as a plasterer for a building
3 contractor, and a boarder named R. C. Johnson
4 worked as a minister in a church. By the time of his
5 draft registration in 1942, Rev. McNair had moved
6 to Amelia, Virginia, about eighteen miles north of
7 Burkeville. The card lists McNair as self-employed
8 and states that he had black eyes, black hair, and
9 a dark complexion. The details of Rev. McNair's
10 later life are unknown.

11 His son, Henry W. McNair Jr., attended school
12 in Oxford, North Carolina, in the spring of 1928
13 and attended Harbison College for Boys in Irmo,
14 South Carolina, that fall.⁵⁸⁸ In 1929, he enrolled in
15 Swift Memorial College, a historically Black college
16 that operate from 1883 to 1953 in in Rogersville,
17 Tennessee.⁵⁸⁹ From 1930 to 1932, he was a student
18 at Lincoln Institute, a Black boarding high school
19 that operated from 1912 to 1966 in Shelby County,
20 Kentucky.⁵⁹⁰ The 1940 census records that had
21 had completed four years of college. He married
22 Zenobia Delilah Lancaster in 1947 in Amelia,
23 Virginia.

24 **J. C. Gill, teacher in scientific agriculture, ca. 1912-1914**
25 J. C. Gill served as the Fee Memorial Institute's
26 "teacher in Scientific Agriculture" from at least
27 1912 to 1914.⁵⁹¹ Gill's life dates and race are
28 currently unknown. In 1912, Gill occupied a newly
29 constructed farmer's cottage built on the Institute's
30 farm. In 1913 and 1914, Gill and Rev. J. A. Boyden
31 were the school's only employees paid for twelve
32 months of service; other teachers were only
33 employed during the seven-month school year.⁵⁹²

34 **Rev. William Theodore Byrd, minister & dean 1929-1934**
35 William Theodore Byrd (1888-1963) was a Black
36 man born May 12, 1888, in McIntosh, Georgia.

37 588. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*,
38 6 May 1928, 2; "Fee Memorial Institute," *Lexington*
39 *Herald*, 16 September 1928, 10.

40 589. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 29
41 September 1929, 4.

42 590. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 14
43 December 1930, 14; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes,"
44 *Lexington Herald*, 3 April 1932, 11.

45 591. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*,
46 December 1912, 670-671.

47 592. *One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Report of the*
48 *Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in*
49 *the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian
50 Building, 1913), 49; *One Hundred and Twelfth*
51 *Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the*
52 *Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*
53 (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1914), 50.

54 His parents were Cecelia and Bristow Byrd.
55 He completed four years of college studies at
56 the Johnson C. Smith Theological Seminary in
57 Charlotte, North Carolina. Byrd married Mattie M.
58 Wilson around 1918. Mattie completed two years
59 of college. At the time of the 1920 census, Byrd was
60 the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Mocksville,
61 North Carolina. Two children were born to the
62 couple in Mocksville, William Theodore Byrd Jr.
63 (1921-) and Myrtle Cary Byrd Foneto (1925-1980).
64 In October 1925, Byrd became the pastor of the
65 College Street Presbyterian Church in Bowling
66 Green, Kentucky.⁵⁹³ The church was renamed the
67 Cecelia Memorial Presbyterian Church by the time
68 that Byrd left in September 1929 to become dean of
69 the faculty at the Fee Memorial Institute.⁵⁹⁴ Mattie
70 Byrd became principal of the institute's elementary
71 school.⁵⁹⁵

72 Oral history interviews conducted in 1994 indicate
73 that Byrd served as pastor of the church in Hall
74 during some part of his time at the school in
75 Nicholasville. Helen Margaret Booker Stone
76 Stewart (1914-2003) recalled that Rev. Byrd and
77 Rev. McNair lived in the house next to the Hall
78 church while pastoring.⁵⁹⁶ Both the Byrd and
79 McNair families were living in Nicholasville at the
80 time of the 1930 census, but Byrd may have lived
81 in the house in Hall sometime between 1929 and
82 1934.

83 After the relocation of the school to Virginia
84 in 1934, Rev. Byrd served as caretaker of the
85 Nicholasville campus during its use as the Fee
86 Memorial Community Center and Mattie Byrd
87 worked as a music teacher.⁵⁹⁷ Rev. Byrd's 1942 draft
88 card tells us that, at age 53, he was approximately
89 five feet, seven inches tall, weighed approximately
90 150 pounds, had brown eyes, black hair, and a dark
91 complexion. In 1944, Rev. Byrd became pastor
92 of the Leonard Street Presbyterian Church in

93 593. "Rev. Byrd will Fill Presbyterian Pulpit," *Park City Daily*
94 *News* (Bowling Green, KY), 31 October 1925, 2.

95 594. "Jubilee Service at Church Here Slated," *Park City*
96 *Daily News* (Bowling Green, KY), 6 September 1929, 5.

97 595. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 22
98 September 1929, 5.

99 596. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
100 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
101 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
102 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

104 597. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 29 October 1934,
105 10; "We Buy Wheat," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville,
106 KY), 6 July 1935, 4.

1 Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Byrds lived at 405
2 W. Tenth Street in Chattanooga during the 1940s
3 and 1950s. In 1963, Byrd was one of the first Black
4 ministers to be accepted into the Chattanooga
5 United Presbytery following its integration.⁵⁹⁸
6 At the time of Rev. Byrd's death on June 10,
7 1963, the couple was living at 1810 Oak Street
8 in Chattanooga. Rev. William Theodore Byrd
9 Jr. was minister at the Lawrence Chapel United
10 Presbyterian Church in Morristown, Tennessee,
11 and Myrtle Byrd Foneto was living in Houston,
12 Texas.

13 Interim Ministers, ca. 1931-1961

14 From the available documentation, it is unclear
15 whether the congregation had a full-time minister
16 from the 1930s to the early-1960s. Newspaper
17 references to the church indicate that ministers
18 from a variety of area churches officiated at
19 funerals held in the church. A 1931 obituary states
20 that a funeral was to be conducted "at Camp
21 Nelson Presbyterian Church by the pastor Dr. J. P.
22 Miller and Dr. H. W. McNair."⁵⁹⁹ This may refer to
23 the church in Hall or the nearby white church on
24 Old Danville Road. This and a 1932 obituary also
25 referring to Rev. Miller are both for Black residents
26 of the Hall area.⁶⁰⁰

27 The affiliations of some officiants are not stated,
28 meaning that they could have been current or part-
29 time ministers to the congregation. Among these
30 was Rev. Richard Taylor, who officiated at a funeral
31 held in the church in 1940.⁶⁰¹ Other references are
32 found in passing, as in the 1957 announcement
33 that Rev. D. Yandell Page, "Presbyterian minister
34 to the students at the University of Kentucky...
35 who preaches once a month at Westminster
36 Presbyterian Church at Camp Nelson," was to
37 assume pastorate of First Presbyterian Church in
38 Middlesboro.⁶⁰² Some guest ministers may have
39 been students from Asbury College, located ten
40 miles away in Wilmore, Kentucky. The 1961 annual
41 homecoming of the Westminster Presbyterian
42 Church of Camp Nelson included a service by Rev.

53 George Mahan and Rev. G. L. Green of Louisville,
54 both identified as associate pastors of the church.⁶⁰³

55 Rev. Leandrew H. "Doc" Green Sr., minister ca. 1964- 56 1975

57 Leandrew Hammond "Doc" Green Sr. (1918-
58 1975) was a Black man born November 29, 1918,
59 in Louisville, Kentucky. His mother was Henrietta
60 Roberts Green. Green graduated from Louisville's
61 Central High School in 1936.⁶⁰⁴ Following high
62 school, he worked as at the Brown Hotel for
63 several years, as a porter for the Louisville Flower
64 Shop, and as a janitor for the Louisville Cement
65 Company. Green married Viola Bullitt about 1940.
66 Their children included Leandrew Hammond
67 Green Jr. and Frances Belle Green Boone. The
68 couple filed for divorce in 1952.⁶⁰⁵ Green later
69 married Arabella Thurston.

70 From at least 1948 to 1950, Green directed a pre-
71 band instrument group and a band for elementary
72 school students.⁶⁰⁶ In 1950, after the Day Law was
73 amended to allow voluntary integration, Leandrew
74 Green was part of the first five Black students to
75 enroll in the University of Louisville's School of
76 Music.⁶⁰⁷ Green's obituary states that he was "a
77 professional musician and leader of the Doc. Green
78 Orchestra in the Louisville area for several years.⁶⁰⁸
79 A 1938 newspaper reference to "Doc Green and
80 his jazz band" may reference this group.⁶⁰⁹

81 Green appears to have become pastor of the
82 church sometime between 1961 and 1964.
83 The following notice appeared in a Lexington
84 newspaper in April 1964: "Rev. Leandrew H.
85 Green, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Camp
86 Nelson, will be the guest speaker, accompanied
87 by his congregation."⁶¹⁰ A 1970 notice of the
88 congregation's annual homecoming noted, "The

89 603. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald-*
90 *Journal* (Lexington, KY), 6 July 1961, 33.

91 604. "Central High Graduates 110," *Courier-Journal*, 13
92 June 1936, 4.

93 605. "Statistics," *Courier-Journal*, 2 November 1952, 5:10.

94 606. "School Children Plan Music Show at Male High,"
95 *Courier-Journal*, 6 May 1948, 17; "Schools to Stage
96 Music Festival at Male High," *Courier-Journal*, 18 May
97 1949, 17.

98 607. "Negroes Enroll for First Time in U. of L.'s School of
99 Music," *Courier-Journal*, 12 September 1950, 9.

100 608. "Louisville Area Deaths," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
101 KY), 2 July 1975, B15.

102 609. "Bee Carnival to Show at the Fair," *News-Democrat*
103 *and Leader* (Russellville, KY), 1 September 1938, 1.

104 610. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 19 April 1964, 20.

43 598. "Veteran Minister Dies at Home in Chattanooga,"
44 *Morristown Gazette Mail* (Morristown, TN), 11 June
45 1963, 3.

46 599. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 14 December
47 1931, 12.

48 600. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 23 July 1932, 9.

49 601. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 7 February 1940,
50 6.

51 602. "Page to Preach," *Lexington Leader*, 9 February 1957,
52 2.

1 Rev. L. A. Green is pastor of the church.”⁶¹¹ Green
2 died in 1975. His obituary noted, “He lived at 6113
3 Cooper Chapel Road [in the Louisville suburbs]
4 and was the pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian
5 Church in Camp Nelson. He had been a plant
6 operator at several Jefferson County Board of
7 Education buildings for 20 years.”⁶¹² He was
8 survived by his wife, Arabella Thurston, daughter
9 Mrs. Frances Boone, and son Leandrew H. Green
10 Jr.

11 **Smith Kemper, church janitor**

12 Smith Kemper (1876-1953) was a Black man born
13 to Mary Jones and Thomas Kemper in Garrard
14 County, Kentucky. The Kemper family moved
15 from Garrard County to Jessamine County
16 sometime between 1880 and 1900. Smith Kemper
17 was working at a distillery at the time of the 1910
18 census. By 1918, he was working as a farm laborer
19 for Tom Caywood. He worked as a farm laborer
20 or farmer until his death at age seventy-seven.
21 Kemper never married.

22 In a 1994 interview, Helen Booker Stewart (1914-
23 2003), recalled, Smith Kemper, son of Thomas
24 and Mary Kemper, was a Presbyterian “and every
25 Sunday morning, we had a bell in the hole up there,
26 he’d go down every Sunday morning and ring
27 the bell at the Presbyterian Church.”⁶¹³ William
28 Jacob “Jake” Payne (1912-1998) reported that
29 Smith Kemper (1876-1953) had been the janitor
30 for the Presbyterian church—“he kept the place
31 spotless.”⁶¹⁴

32 Payne remembered Kemper living “in a little
33 place we called Frogtown, down below the
34 school... kind of down along the river.”⁶¹⁵ Stewart

54 remembered Kemper living near James and Maud
55 Tevis, north of the Fee Memorial Institute.⁶¹⁶
56 Patricia Ruth True Walker (1928-1998), who spent
57 most of the summer of 1938 with her grandmother
58 in Poortown, remembered that Kemper’s name
59 was pronounced like “camper” and that he lived on
60 west Main Street, across the street from Aunt Bettie
61 Crutcher.⁶¹⁷ The 1940 census indicates that Kemper
62 had been renting the same house since 1935 and
63 that a near neighbor was Bettie Crutcher.

64 **Albert Tracy, groundskeeper**

65 In a 1994 interview, William Jacob “Jake” Payne
66 (1912-1998) recalled that Albert Tracy maintained
67 the grounds of the Fee Memorial Institute. As
68 he remembered, “it was all down in beautiful
69 bluegrass... and they had hogs, and they had
70 horses, and, of course, they kept the grass eat
71 down.”⁶¹⁸ Albert Tracy (1872-1953) was a Black
72 man, the son of John and Julia Tracy. His family
73 lived in Jessamine County as of the 1880 census.
74 Census records list Tracy as a farm laborer in the
75 1900, 1920, 1930, and 1940 and as a farmer in 1910.
76 His first wife was named Sarah and his second wife
77 was named Maggie (married 1899). Tracy was one
78 of the trustees of the church when the PCUSA
79 transferred the church parcel to the congregation
80 in 1932.⁶¹⁹ Tracy was killed in 1953 when a stove
81 exploded in his house near Camp Nelson, and he
82 was trapped inside the house as it burned.⁶²⁰

35 611. “Jessamine Church Plans Homecoming,” *Lexington*
36 *Herald*, 14 July 1970, 13.

37 612. “Louisville Area Deaths,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
38 KY), 2 July 1975, B15.

39 613. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
40 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
41 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
42 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sq44>.

43 614. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
44 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
45 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
46 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

47 615. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
48 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
49 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
50 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

83 616. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19
84 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
85 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
86 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7nk9315g1z>.

87 617. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19
88 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
89 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
90 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.

91 618. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
92 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
93 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
94 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

95 619. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the
96 Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County
97 Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National
98 Monument archives.

99 620. “Fire Near Camp Nelson Fatally Burns Man, 80,”
100 *Courier-Journal*, 26 April 1953, 28.
101
102
103

Statistics

The following tables provide available information on the Fee Memorial Church/Westminster Presbyterian Church, Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson Academy, and the Fee Memorial Institute taken from period sources including annual reports of the American Missionary Association, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and period newspaper and magazine articles. The information contained in these sources varied over time and data was not available for many of the years. The presence of a dash in the table indicates that this field was blank in the period source. Multiple consecutive years with identical data may indicate that data was carried over in the absence of updated reports.

Fee Memorial Church

Year	Church	Minister	Members/ Communicants	Sabbath/Sunday School Scholars	Elders	Deacons	Church Erection Funds Contributed	Value of Church and Manse Property
1871	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	186	150				
1872	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	186	150				
1873	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	166	80				
1874	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	168	92				
1875	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	191	100				
1876	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	191	100				
1877	Camp Nelson	Gabriel Burdett	146	65				
1878	Camp Nelson	John Drew	146	65				
1879	Camp Nelson	John Drew	146	65				
1880	Camp Nelson	W. S. Overstreet	111	76				
1881	Camp Nelson	W. S. Overstreet	111	76				
1882	Camp Nelson	J. F. Browne	111	76				
1883	Camp Nelson	-	111	76				
1884	Camp Nelson	-	111	76				
1885	Camp Nelson	W. S. Overstreet	111	76				
1886	Camp Nelson	W. S. Overstreet	111	76				
1887	Camp Nelson	-	111	76				
1888								
1889		-	111	76				
1890		-	-	-				

Year	Church	Minister	Members/ Com- municants	Sabbath/Sunday School Scholars	Elders	Deacons	Church Erection Funds Contrib- uted	Value of Church and Manse Prop- erty
1891								
1892								
1893								
1894								
1895								
1896								
1897								
1898								
1899								
1900								
1901								
1902								
1903								
1904	Concord	J. A. Boyden	43	30	3	-	-	
1905	-	J. A. Boyden	-	-	-	-	-	
1906	-	J. A. Boyden	-	-	-	-	-	
1907								
1908	Westminster	J. A. Boyden	30	50	2	-	-	
1909	Westminster	J. A. Boyden	28	40	2	-	\$2	
1910	Westminster	J. A. Boyden	35	45	2	-	\$2	
1911								
1912	Westminster	J. A. Boyden	41	45	2	2	\$2	
1913								
1914								
1915								
1916	Westminster	H. W. McNair	50	55	3	2	\$1	
1917	Westminster	H. W. McNair	51	61	3	3	\$1	\$1,100
1918								
1919	Westminster	H. W. McNair	52	50	3	3	\$5	
1920	Westminster	H. W. McNair	44	40	5	4	\$16	\$1,100

Ariel Academy

Year	Students	Faculty	Principal	Value of Property	Remarks
1868	37		Newton		
1869					
1870	125	2	Butler	\$2,000	
1871	100	2	Butler/Seales	\$2,000	
1872					
1873					
1874	>100		H. S. Fee		
1875	>100		H. S. Fee		
1876	>100		H. S. Fee		
1877	157		H. S. Fee		
1878			H. S. Fee		
1879					
1880					
1881		2	Overstreet		
1882					
1883					

Camp Nelson Academy

Year	Students	Faculty	Principal	Value of Property	Remarks
1884					
1885					
1886					
1887			Robe		
1888			Robe		
1889			Robe		
1890			Robe		
1891			Robe		
1892					
1893					
1894					
1895			Overstreet		
1896			Crenshaw		
1897					
1898					
1899					
1900					
1901					
1902					
1903					

Fee Memorial Institute

Year	Students	Faculty	Principal	Value of Property	Remarks
1903-1904	40	1	Boyden	\$10,000 ⁶²¹	No boarding
1904-1905			Boyden		
1905-1906	74	2	Boyden		
1906-1907	83	3	Boyden		
1907-1908			Boyden		
1908-1909			Boyden		
1909-1910	80	4	Boyden		
1910-1911	70	4	Boyden	\$10,000	Coeducational
1911-1912			Boyden		
1912-1913	70	5	Boyden	\$10,600	Coeducational
1913-1914	60	4	Boyden	\$10,600	Coeducational
1914-1915	37	2	McNair	\$5,450 ⁶²²	Coeducational
1915-1916			McNair		Coeducational
1916-1917			McNair	\$16,000 ⁶²³	Coeducational
1917-1918			McNair		
1918-1919			McNair		
1919-1920			McNair	\$17,000	Coeducational
1920-1921			McNair		
1921-1922	44	6	McNair		
1922-1923			McNair		
1923-1924			McNair		
1924-1925 ⁶²⁴	100		McNair		Girls' school
1925-1926			McNair		Girls' school
1926-1927			McNair		Girls' school
1927-1928			McNair		Girls' school
1918-1929			McNair		Girls' school
1929-1930			McNair		Girls' school
1930-1931	63	8	McNair		Girls' school
1931-1932	>63		McNair		Girls' school
1932-1933			McNair		Girls' school
1933-1934			McNair		Girls' school

621. This appears to have been based on the \$10,000 purchase price of the school in 1903. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1904), 54.

622. This was an external estimate made in March 1915. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.

623. This reflects investments in the property in 1915, including the Boys' Dormitory and painting the large dormitory and recitation building.

624. Years shown in italics represent the years that the Fee Memorial Institute operated in Nicholasville.



1 **Figure 40.** Fee Memorial Church, facing east. (WLA Studio, 2021)

20 Architectural Context

21 The Fee Memorial Church is a wood-frame church
 22 building of vernacular style incorporating catalog-
 23 order, factory-made elements including windows,
 24 doors, and balustrade components. [Figure 40]
 25 The building's openings follow a Carpenter Gothic
 26 shape, using a triangular head to approximate the
 27 effect of a pointed arch. Sometimes referred to as
 28 "peak head windows" in period sources, windows
 29 in this shape appear in millwork catalogues
 30 published between 1891 and 1917 and seem
 31 to have been most popular in the 1890s. These
 32 openings reflect the Carpenter Gothic style, a strain
 33 of the Gothic Revival as adapted by American
 34 carpenter-builders, primarily between the 1850s
 35 and the 1880s.

36 The peak head window treatment was a common
 37 treatment for wood-frame church buildings,
 38 particularly those in rural communities or built by

2 urban congregations of modest means.⁶²⁵ Other
 3 Presbyterian congregations were building with
 4 these windows after 1900, with photographed
 5 examples published in *The Assembly Herald*
 6 including the Presbyterian Church of Monument
 7 (1902) in Grant County, Oregon; Mount
 8 Lebanon View Church (approximately 1905)
 9 near Spartanburg, South Carolina; the Colored
 10 Presbyterian Church (approximately 1911)
 11 in Whiteville, North Carolina; and Wallace
 12 Presbyterian Church (pre-1917) in Van Zandt

13 625. Such buildings are better documented in adjacent
 14 states, with examples in Indiana including the
 15 Fairfield Friends Meeting House (1892) in Camby,
 16 Osceola Methodist Church (1894) in St. Joseph County,
 17 Holland Christian Reformed Church (c.1894-1896,
 18 demolished 1950s) in Lafayette, and Fletchers Lake
 19 Methodist Church (1896) in Fulton County.

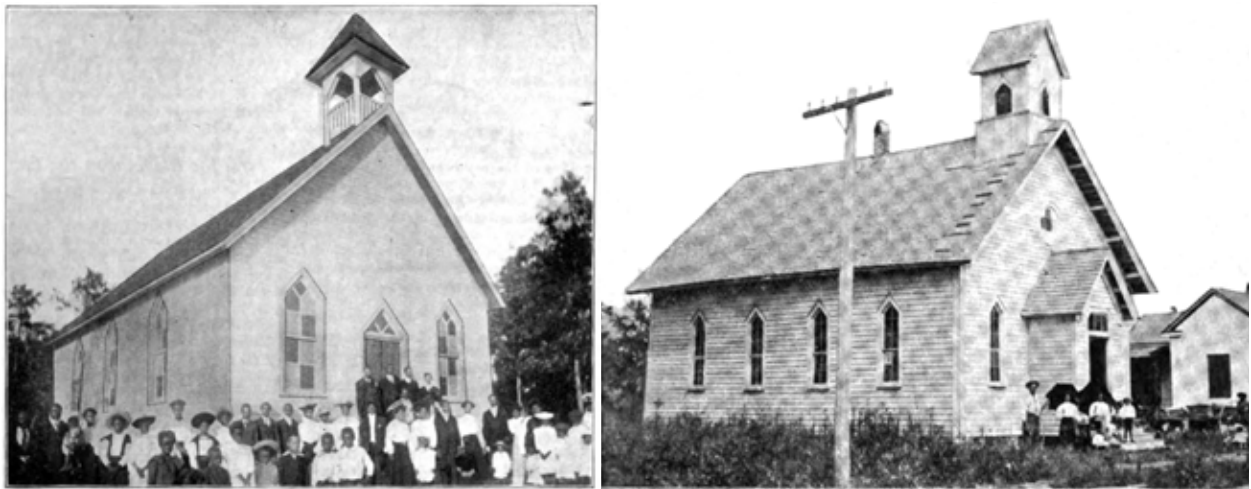


Figure 41. (Left) Mount Lebanon View Church (ca. 1905) near Spartanburg, South Carolina, published 1906. This building with "peak head" windows was built by a congregation sponsored by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and was published in a magazine that may have been read by members of the Fee Memorial Church. (Source: "Review and Prospect," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (February 1906), 159-160). (Right) "The church and manse of the Colored Presbyterian Church at Whiteville, N. C.," published in 1911. This building with "peak head" windows was built by a congregation sponsored by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and was published in a magazine that may have been read by members of the Fee Memorial Church. (Source: *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (May 1911), 247)

County, Texas.⁶²⁶ The Mount Lebanon View Church, described as "new" in a February 1906 article, was also built by a Black congregation associated with a school sponsored by the Board for Freedmen. Likewise, the Whiteville church was sponsored by the Board for Freedmen and was described as of recent construction in a 1911 article. [Figure 41] The year before the Fee Memorial Church's construction, the Board for Freedmen reported that it had built and directly owned forty-three churches and manse properties; it owned 512 others indirectly through trusteeships.⁶²⁷ A collage published in 1912 shows the wide range of church buildings built by congregations under the care of the Board for Freedmen. [Figure 42]

The nearest comparable example of a wood-frame Gothic Revival church in the area stands at 7511 Old Danville Road (Old US 27), just north of the former village of Camp Nelson on the river. [Figure 43] This gable-front building features pointed-arch windows and transoms and measures

roughly 27 feet by 42 feet, with a small polygonal apse at the center of the rear elevation. Its façade is divided into three bays, with a pair of entry doors at the center flanked by one window in each outer bay; the side elevations each contain three evenly spaced windows. The foundation is of lightly worked stones of roughly rectangular shape and the walls are now covered with vinyl siding. A 1988 newspaper photograph, possibly taken before the addition of the vinyl, appears to show wood weatherboard siding on the full height of the façade.⁶²⁸ The church's date of construction is unclear; stylistically, it appears to date from about 1890 to about 1910. It does not appear on US Geological Survey maps issued between 1905 and 2013 but is marked as a church on Jessamine County road maps issued in 1941 and 1952. It was owned by a white congregation known as the Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church, not to be confused with Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson in Ariel / Hall, from at least 1918 to 2006. This congregation was first reported by the West Lexington Presbytery in 1931 and was dissolved in 2006.

626. L. A. Tchorigian, "On the Banks of the North John Day," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (April 1903), 148-149; S. J. Fisher, "Review and Prospect," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (February 1906), 159-160; *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (May 1911), 247; "Wallace Presbyterian Church, Van Zandt County, Texas," *The Assembly Herald*, April 1917, 171.

627. Francis E. Smiley, "Report of the Standing Committee on Freedmen to the Assembly at Atlantic City, May 23, 1911," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 17, No. 7 (July 1911), 513.

628. An 1898 history of Jessamine County includes photographs of many churches in the county, giving a sense of the architectural context a decade and a half before the Fee Memorial Church's construction. Many other churches in the area

628. *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 18 May 1988, "For the Record" section, 1.

Some Churches under the care of the Freedmen's Board



1 **Figure 42.** Some of the other churches under the care of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United
2 States of America at the time of the Fee Memorial Church's construction. This collage reflects the wide variety of church
3 buildings built by individual congregations and was published in a magazine that may have been read by members of the Fee
4 Memorial Church. (Source: "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XVIII, No 1 (January 1912), 52)



Figure 43. Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church (ca.1890-1910), 7511 Old Danville Road (Old US 27), just north of the former village of Camp Nelson on the river. This is the nearest comparable example of a wood-frame Gothic Revival church in Jessamine County near the Fee Memorial Church. (Source: WLA Studio, 2020)

occupied masonry buildings built in the nineteenth century. Two stone churches were representative of earlier church buildings in the county. Ebenezer Presbyterian Church (1805) had a façade featuring a central door flanked by two windows and three evenly spaced windows on the side elevations. Clear Creek Presbyterian Church (ca. 1829) near Wilmore featured stone walls and frame gables. A photograph published in 1898 shows the façade with two separate entry doors and an infilled door opening at center; from the 1780s through the 1840s, many American Protestant congregations, particularly Methodists, designed their churches with separate entrances and separate seating areas, placing men and older boys on one side and women and children on the other.⁶²⁹ These two congregations united in 1870 to form the Troy Presbyterian Church; the Clear Creek building was

sold to an African American congregation before 1898.⁶³⁰

The white Protestant congregations occupied high-style brick buildings, including the Greek Revival Nicholasville Baptist Church (approximately 1850); the Gothic Revival Nicholasville Presbyterian Church (1851), (Northern) Methodist Episcopal Church of Nicholasville (1875), Nicholasville Christian Church (1884), and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (approximately 1885); and the Italianate Mount Pleasant Baptist Church (1877, Andrew M. Young).⁶³¹ The Nicholasville Colored Christian Church (1890) was a brick building with Gothic Revival features, including a rose window, that is more modest than the white churches in expression but impressive with its corner tower. Wood-frame churches were also present, including St. Luke's Catholic Church (1866), a building with a Greek Revival form but

629. John Fletcher Hurst, *The History of Methodism*, Vol. II (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1902) 493; Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, Jean Miller Schmidt, *American Methodism: A Compact History* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2010) 34.

630. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 193.

631. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 156, 161, 170, 192-194, 199.

pointed-arch openings and a trefoil attic louver; the Colored Methodist Church of Nicholasville (ca. 1855), a vernacular Greek Revival building; and the First Colored Baptist Church (ca. 1875), a large but simple building featuring a double-door entry and an Italianate Palladian window within the gable on an otherwise plain facade.⁶³² Rural white congregations in Jessamine County also built brick buildings. A nearby example is Roberts Chapel (1845/ca. 1870), a Greek Revival building remodeled in the Gothic Revival style. Providence Church (1849) is essentially Greek Revival in form and expression except for idiosyncratic pointed arches.

Modest, vernacular wood-frame churches appear to have been prevalent in rural Jessamine County, with surviving examples including Little Hickman Christian Church, Wesley Chapel, Elm Fork Church, and Mount Beniah Church. Larger wood-frame churches were also present. Across the river in Garrard County, Mount Olivet Methodist Church (1886) features high-style Italianate elements including semicircular arched windows and scroll brackets applied to an otherwise simple, gable-front form.

The forces shaping the move to cities, particularly northern cities, during the twentieth century had an effect on the churches in Jessamine County. Larger churches in Nicholasville remodeled their existing buildings or built larger new buildings in the 1910s and 1920s. At the same time, many of the small, rural congregations that occupied modest frame buildings dwindled and disbanded and many of these abandoned churches were demolished.

The architectural expression of the Fee Memorial Church/Westminster Presbyterian Church reflects the congregation's place as a charge of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the congregation's moderate means, and the value of manufactured architectural components for construction on rural sites. The building's expression fell toward the middle of the types of churches present in the area, reflecting the conditions near the peak of the Ariel/Hall community's development.

632. Bennett H. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1898), 166, 178, 187, 193.

Part 1.B Chronology of Development and Use

Introduction

The John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church (Fee Memorial Church) is significant for its association with the post-Civil War experiences of African Americans in Kentucky, specifically the context of the community of Black United States Army veterans who settled on the former site of Camp Nelson with the support of John G. Fee and other allies. It is also significant for its association with the school that operated there from 1868 to 1924.

The Fee Memorial Church was built in 1912 for the congregation then known as Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson and to serve as the chapel of the adjacent Fee Memorial Institute, a school for African Americans. The church saw limited alterations in later years but remains largely as built in 1912. It is the last surviving resource associated with the congregation and school that were central institutions in the village now known as Hall, Kentucky. The National Park Service acquired the church as a part of the Camp Nelson National Monument in 2018.

Illustrations in Appendix B depict the church as it appeared in 1912 compared to existing conditions.

Fee Memorial Church Timeline

1864	National Home for Colored Refugees established at Camp Nelson Church and school established at Camp Nelson by abolitionist John G. Fee
1868	Matilda and John G. Fee purchase National Home for Colored Refugees site, lay out town of Ariel, sell lots to Black veterans. Matilda and John G. Fee deed seven acres to Ariel Academy and an adjacent two-and-one-half acres for use by the church. Freedmen's Bureau purchases some Refugee Home buildings for use by Ariel Academy; church uses one wing of existing building.
1865-1877	Reconstruction Era, Black residents become active in politics and develop a community in Ariel/Camp Nelson. Backlash to emancipation and Black citizenship grows in Kentucky.
ca.1871-80	Dormitory built on Ariel Academy campus

1	1877	Rev. Gabriel Burdett leads many members of the Ariel community to Kansas as part of the
2		Exoduster movement.
3	1884	Ariel Academy renamed Camp Nelson Academy.
4	1890-1920	The community's name Ariel is replaced by "the Hall," community is seen as a model
5		Black community and a center for Black education in Kentucky.
6	1890-1903	Camp Nelson Academy struggles.
7	ca. 1890-1910	House built north of church on church lot, later used as residence of minister and
8		principal of the school (one person filled both roles).
9	1902	Congregation associates itself with the Presbyterian Church USA (PCUSA) and renames
10		itself the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson
11	1903	Camp Nelson Academy acquired by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA,
12		renamed Fee Memorial Institute.
13	1904	Camp Nelson Academy land deeded to Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA.
14	1907	American Missionary Association deeds remaining interest in school property to PCUSA
15	1912	Present Fee Memorial Church built.
16		Farmer's House built on the Fee Memorial Institute farm to house the teacher of scientific
17		agriculture.
18	1915	An old building in Camp Nelson remodeled to serve as a boys' dormitory.
19	1910-1970	Great Migration, many residents of Ariel / Hall move to northern cities.
20	1919	Curley distillery in Camp Nelson on the river closes with the advent of Prohibition, Ariel /
21		Hall begins sustained decline.
22	1924	Fee Memorial Institute moves to Nicholasville and develops a new campus between
23		1924-1931. Most of the buildings on the Ariel / Hall campus are demolished soon after.
24		Recitation hall and boys' dormitory appear to have been demolished by 1937. Large
25		dormitory may have survived into late-1930s. Church and house to north (manse/
26		parsonage) survived.
27	1934	Fee Memorial Institute merges with the Ingleside Seminary of Burkeville, Virginia,
28		abandons Nicholasville campus.
29	1938	Rural Electrification Administration begins providing electric power to the Camp Nelson
30		area. Present "schoolhouse"-type electric pendants may date from around this time.
31	ca. 1960s-1970s	Interior remodeled with addition of plywood paneling and acoustical ceiling tile covering
32		plaster surfaces; south chimney may have been removed at this time.
33	1977	Church photographed by the Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory
34	1970-2010	Hall continues to decline as older residents die, descendants move away, white residents
35		move in, many historic buildings demolished.

1	1980s-91	Congregation dwindles to a few members, church suffers from deferred maintenance and
2		vandalism; manse to north abandoned and deteriorating.
3	1991	Congregation stops meeting and is dissolved. Property reverts to ownership of the
4		Presbytery of Transylvania
5	1994	Hall residents interviewed by Dr. Kim A. McBride as part of an oral history project.
6	1996	Church purchased by Jessamine County Fiscal Court as a part of the development of the
7		Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park.
8	2000	Church renovated by Jessamine County Fiscal Court. Court staff report that they have no
9		records from this project. Park does not appear to have any records of it. It appears to have
10		included selective replacement of exterior siding and trim, repairs to wood sash windows,
11		replacement of the historic entry doors (horizontal panel) with the present "Colonial"-
12		type six-panel doors, demolition of the north brick chimney, the addition of a metal roof
13		on the main building, painting over the plywood paneling, removal of the center section
14		of the dais balustrade and replacement of the north section of the balustrade, and the
15		construction of the present dais steps. Most of the furnishings present in 1990s photos
16		appear to have been removed at this time, including Gothic Revival pews (ca. 1880-1915),
17		a pulpit, and other items.
18	ca.2004-05	Heating and air-conditioning installed.
19	ca. 2007	Manse north of church demolished by county employees, leaving stone foundation.
20	ca.2011-12	West louvers of cupola removed and opening covered with siding. Steel angles added as
21		temporary bracing at foundation cracks.
22	2018	Jessamine County Fiscal Court deeds church property to American Battlefield Trust,
23		which deeds it to the National Park Service.

Chronology of Ownership & Use

1864-1902 Church of Christ at Camp Nelson/Ariel

John G. Fee and thirty-five members established a nonsectarian, racially integrated church at Camp Nelson in September 1864. Fee, a white abolitionist, minister, and educator, had arrived at Camp Nelson in 1864 to serve and advocate for the Black enlistees and refugees fleeing slavery. In 1855, Fee had established Berea College, the first integrated and coeducational college in the South, but had been driven out of Kentucky by pro-slavery forces. Fee was supported by the The American Missionary Association (AMA), a New York-based abolitionist organization that staffed schools for newly emancipated people in Union-occupied territories.) Established in New York in 1846, the AMA “sought to free the slaves, convert them to Christianity and provide them with a suitable education.”⁶³³ A letter from Fee dated October 10, 1864, describes the formation of the church:

For months there has not only been regular instruction in the school... but also regular preaching to white and colored. In these meetings, engaged in by all the ministerial brethren here, there were frequent instances of persons awakened and converted; and some of them were baptized. We all felt that it would be for our mutual good to have a recognized association, a church in which there should be mutual watch, care, and discipline. Here were Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. The question was, How shall we be united? for divided, with four or five different creeds and organizations, we should accomplish but little, and be an occasion of stumbling.

After much conversation, a little preaching and comparing of notes, it was agreed that we ought, “in camp at least,” fellowship all who confessedly “wear the image of Jesus”—who “believe on him with all the heart.” All, of course, were ready to acknowledge the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, and that it, like

its Author, is no respecter of persons. The next Sabbath, after the “forenoon” sermon, a double invitation was made, including inquirers, and those who, trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ, with all their heart, and taking the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as their rule of faith and practice, were willing to enter into covenant to walk together in Christian Fellowship...

Last Sabbath the position was more fully explained, and on profession of their faith in Christ with all the heart, thirty-five persons were “added to the church.” These were previously members of different denominations to me. The scene was one of intense interest to me, almost Pentecostal. In the midst of this slaveholding state, was a crowded assembly listening to ministers from the North and the South, white and black. In the congregation, as in the church, newly formed, were persons from the East, the West, the North, the South.

There were male and female, soldier and citizen, and every grade of complexion from the fairest Caucasian to the darkest African—all blended together on the one common basis of manifested faith in Christ. Therein, the person of every freedman was a practical demolition of that hated monster, slavery; and there, in the blended association, was a practical crucifixion of that great and virulent enemy of the Gospel—caste... I thank God that I have lived to see this day.⁶³⁴

On November 1, 1864, Fee’s colleague Abishai Scofield wrote, “We have formed a church or rather gathered one in this camp of some twenty members, which I trust will by the blessing of God grow to be much larger, we also ordained a colored brother who is an able preacher of the Gospel and will we think be greatly useful to his suffering fellow freed men. His name is Gabriel and I can assure you that he knows the Gospel truth with rare eloquence and power.”⁶³⁵ “Gabriel” was

633. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 2.

634. Quoted in Richard Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 123-124.

635. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 2.

1 Gabriel Burdett, a soldier who had been ordained
2 at Camp Nelson in June 1864 and who would serve
3 as a leader of the community during the late-1860s
4 and 1870s.⁶³⁶

5 In October 1865, Fee wrote of the church in a
6 letter to George Whipple of the AMA reflecting
7 on his fifteen months at the camp, intended for
8 publication in the *American Missionary*. He wrote:

9 A church was organized – “Church of Christ
10 at Camp Nelson Ky”. Some eighty one names
11 have been enrolled of those who here have
12 professed faith in Christ, and received as such.
13 Thousands have attended the regular sabbath
14 preaching. / Many sermons and addressed have
15 been delivered by Bro Scofield and myself in the
16 different regiments during the week—between
17 sabbaths. / Many copies of the New Testament
18 have been distributed to such soldiers and
19 children as could read—Tracts & papers without
20 number.⁶³⁷

21 The church remained under the care of the
22 AMA after the Civil War. The racially integrated
23 nature of the church declined after the closure
24 of Camp Nelson. By November 1866, the only
25 white residents of Camp Nelson were Rev. Abishai
26 Scofield and his family.⁶³⁸ The congregation likely
27 included white members from the small faculty of
28 Ariel Academy.

29 By May 1867, Gabriel Burdett had settled in
30 Camp Nelson, “reporting to the AMA that he had
31 been teaching the district school there and had
32 reorganized the church and school where [Rev.
33 Abishai] Scofield had been working.”⁶³⁹

34 Historian Brian Eades reports, “Through the
35 church, Burdett sought to strengthen the ties
36 within the community.” During 1868 and 1869, the

51 village’s residents’ “main source of education was
52 through the Church of Christ at Camp Nelson.
53 By denouncing ‘all partyism’ and establishing the
54 church as a non-denominational entity, Burdett
55 effectively resisted efforts made by Baptists and
56 Methodists who wanted to educate the blacks and
57 bring them into their respective denominations.”⁶⁴⁰
58 The commitment of the residents of the
59 Camp Nelson area to education funded by the
60 Freedmen’s Bureau was highlighted by a January
61 1870 article in a Washington, D.C., newspaper:

62 SABBATH SCHOOLS.—Sabbath schools are
63 generally well sustained, as the reports of the
64 teachers testify Many who cannot attend a day
65 school go to the Sabbath school to learn to read.
66 A colored woman residing near Camp Nelson
67 travels a distance of five miles, accompanied
68 by her little daughter five years of age, to get a
69 lesson on the Sabbath.⁶⁴¹

70 Burdett reported on December 1, 1870, “our
71 church is now having quite a good meeting. There
72 have been several added to the church and the
73 church is in a prosperous condition. . . and though
74 we are poor it appears that the Lord will help us in
75 our undertaking to do good at this point. . . upon
76 the whole I am led to believe that there is a special
77 Providence over this place at least I believe it any
78 way.”⁶⁴² Burdett was optimistic about the future
79 of Camp Nelson during this period and continued
80 evangelical work around Central Kentucky. On
81 June 1, 1872, Burdett reported that he had been
82 “appointed by the State Convention as the elector
83 for the seventh district of Kentucky.”⁶⁴³ Eades
84 reports:

85 While Burdett traveled the state praising the
86 merits of the Republican Party and preaching at
87 various churches, the independent congregation

37 636. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
38 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,*
39 *Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson*
40 *Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 14.

41 637. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865,
42 quoted in Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky:*
43 *A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of
44 Kentucky, 2002), 267.

45 638. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
46 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
47 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 54, 69.

48 639. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky:*
49 *Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*
50 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154.

88 640. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
89 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,*
90 *Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson*
91 *Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 15.

92 641. “Bureau Items and Incidents,” *New Era* (Washington,
93 D.C.), 27 January 1870, 3.

94 642. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
95 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine*
96 *County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp*
97 *Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995),
98 15.

99 643. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the*
100 *Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,*
101 *Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson*
102 *Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 16.

at Ariel continued to be threatened by Baptist and Methodists who unsuccessfully sought to make the church a part of their denominations. By June of 1873, the church still maintained an independent status and the school had sent several graduates out to the surrounding black communities.⁶⁴⁴

The church remained closely associated with Ariel Academy, which was renamed Camp Nelson Academy in 1884. Annual reports of the AMA document some statistics of the congregation between 1871 and 1889. The congregation fluctuated between 146 and 191 members during the 1870s, with between 65 and 150 attendees at the Sunday school. In 1875, John G. Fee wrote of a revival at Camp Nelson:

At a recent revival there, thirty-nine persons professed conversion to Christ as their Savior from sin ; and seven who had been dismissed, were reclaimed. Almost every young man lo the community is now a member of the one church of the place, and living a joyful and, peaceful life. The people realize that the gospel is a power for good.⁶⁴⁵

The departure of Gabriel Burdett and other residents for Kansas in 1877 likely accounts for the drop from 191 to 146 members and from 100 to 65 Sunday school scholars; another drop between 1879 and 1880—from 146 to 111 members—may reflect the departure of additional members of the community seeking freedom and opportunity in Kansas. John G. Fee's son Howard Fee stepped in to cover for many of Burdett's duties in both Ariel Academy and the church. On December 12, 1877, he wrote, "we have 157 schollars [*sic*] enrolled and have never had less than one hundred in attendance since I came back this year. I have led their church services here for some months but my throat and lungs are failing me and I must be content to do just as little talking as possible."⁶⁴⁶

644. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 17.

645. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.

646. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

The congregation desired to hire Rev. John Drew, who Howard Fee praised as "a very good and upright man" with whom his father was better acquainted.⁶⁴⁷ Drew was hired by the American Missionary Association in the early months of 1878. He ministered to a congregation of 140 and travelled to various churches in the vicinity of Ariel.⁶⁴⁸

Rev. W. S. Overstreet succeeded John Drew in 1880. During the 1880s, the congregation reported a steady membership of 111 and Sunday school attendance of 76. Brian Eades reports, "Ariel's ministerial troubles continued throughout the 1880s, but the church remained a powerful force in the everyday life of the village."⁶⁴⁹

Although no documentation has been found to date, the church may have hosted aspects of Emancipation Day and Fourth of July celebrations, political gatherings, or meetings of Black United States Army veterans, all types of assemblies related to African American freedom and citizenship following emancipation.⁶⁵⁰

There is a gap in available data on the congregation from 1890 to 1903. Camp Nelson Academy struggled during this period. Because the church was closely connected with the school, it may have experienced similar challenges. Overstreet may have served as minister for part of this period; he was principal of Camp Nelson Academy in 1895.

1902-1996 Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson

The Camp Nelson church appears to have associated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) in 1902, when

647. Quoted in Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 19.

648. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 20.

649. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 20.

650. Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 5.

51 it was first reported by the Transylvania Presbytery.
52 Camp Nelson Academy became associated with
53 the PCUSA in 1903 and was renamed the Fee
54 Memorial Institute. The PCUSA, established
55 in 1789, was often known as the “Northern
56 Presbyterian Church” following an 1861 split
57 over enslavement, politics, and theology, where
58 churches in the Confederate states that had
59 seceded formed a separate denomination called
60 the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States
61 of America. The southern denomination renamed
62 itself the Presbyterian Church in the United States
63 (PCUS) in 1865. Kentucky remained part of the
64 United States throughout the Civil War and most
65 congregations remained part of the PCUSA. The
66 two denominations reunited in 1983 to form the
67 Presbyterian Church (USA).

68 By the time the congregation’s membership data
69 first appeared in the annual report of the PCUSA
70 in 1904, membership had fallen to forty-three, with
71 thirty Sunday school scholars. It fell to a nadir of
72 twenty-eight members in 1909, before reaching
73 fifty-two members in 1919. The decline to forty-
74 four members in 1920 likely reflects the beginnings
75 of out-migration from the community that would
76 proceed for the next century.

77 An account published in December 1912 gives an
78 idea of the schedule of Sunday services in the new
79 church building:

80 On Sabbath morning, we attended the Sabbath
81 school, in which there was an Adult Bible Class
82 of good size. Rev. Francis J. Cheek, Synodical
83 Superintendent for Kentucky, was present and
84 preached at the morning service. The writer
85 preached at the service in the afternoon, and
86 the Rev. J. A. Boyden, the principal of the school,
87 preached at the night service. The church was
88 filled at all these services.⁶⁵¹

89 A March 1918 article provides a detailed
90 description of an event held in the church:

91 A PATRIOTIC MEETING

92 A meeting was held under the auspices of
93 the National Service Commission and the
94 Department of Country Church Life in

95 651. “Fee Memorial Institute,” *The Assembly Herald*,
96 December 1912, 671.

1 Westminster Church, Camp Nelson, Ky,
2 Thursday and Friday nights, Feb. 28th and
3 March 1st, by Rev. J. A. Boyden, D.D. The duty
4 of the war-time church was presented to the
5 people, and all seemed to be deeply interested
6 in the matter. Co-operation with the Red Cross
7 work, Y. M. C. A. and Food Conservation were
8 advocated, and each found a ready response.
9 Many who did not understand the subjects and
10 who were not ready to enter into a hearty co-
11 operation with the efforts to win the war through
12 such sacrifices as they were called upon to make,
13 declared their willingness to do anything for
14 the boys who go to the front. From some of the
15 homes there their sons have gone to the camps,
16 and one is in France already. A local service
17 commission was organized in the church and an
18 offering was taken for the work. Thursday night
19 after the sermon evangelism and loyalty to the
20 boards of the church were presented, and a spirit
21 of patriotism swept over the house, and all felt
22 repaid for attending the service. The Presbytery
23 of Lincoln will hold its April meeting with this
24 church. Rev. H. W. McNair and his people are
25 making preparations for the presbytery. Fee
26 Memorial Institute, of which he is the principal,
27 is standing the war-time conditions bravely.⁶⁵²

28 In 1920, the post office in the village of Camp
29 Nelson on the river closed and the congregation’s
30 postal address changed from Camp Nelson to
31 Nicholasville. The church’s pastor, Rev. McNair,
32 wrote a letter to *The New York Age* in July 1920
33 advocating for unity rather than division among
34 churches and reflecting on fundraising and the
35 needs of churches in the rural South:

36 We ministers have gone wild over the rising of
37 money. I know that the church must have money,
38 but our methods should be in keeping with
39 decency and order. I may be a little radical when
40 I say I believe a minister has as much right to
41 help the people buy homes, land, and assist them
42 in organizing enterprises, but I firmly believe
43 it. I make this assertion because I know scores
44 of ministers who have been raising money for
45 years, building fine churches, fine manses, and
46 beautifying the church property, but the bulk
47 of those who contribute the money are living
48 in rented homes, many of them not fit to live

49 652. “A Patriotic Meeting,” *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol.
50 LXXXIX, No. 11 (13 March 1918), 8.

in; but the minister never says anything about helping them to purchase homes and live lives more in keeping with civilization and common decency...

Finally, allow me to mention the rural sections of the South, that is, the majority of them. Some of the so-called church organizations are in sad light... The majority of the ministers who serve them are also in sad plight. Many can't read their texts. I believe if a church in a rural district is worth maintaining, it should have [as] its minister the strongest men morally and intellectually. This has not been the case and is not now the case. We seem to think because a church is in a rural section, any kind of man will do to preach for them, and almost all of the denominations have acted accordingly.⁶⁵³

Comparatively little is known of the church between the 1920s and the early-1990s aside from newspaper notices of funerals and a few events held there. Rev. McNair invited "all Elks and their friends to attend a big basket meeting given by his church at Camp Nelson, Ky." in September 1923.⁶⁵⁴ The Fee Memorial Institute's quintet visited the church in April 1932: "Last Sabbath the quintet sung at the Presbyterian church at Camp Nelson. At night they assisted by rendering music at the local Christian church. Principal McNair, the Rev. Mr. Byrd, Mrs. McNair and Mrs. Byrd accompanied the quintet to Camp Nelson."⁶⁵⁵

Reports of the church's homecoming celebrations indicate that that ministers, choirs, and congregations from other area churches often attended or led the event. The Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson hosted a "basket dinner and Home Coming Day" in 1943 with a sermon delivered by Rev. R. L. Hancock, pastor of the East Maple Street Christian Church in Nicholasville.⁶⁵⁶ In 1952, Rev. Mack Robert Jackson, the choir, and members of Bethel AME church worshiped at the Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church's "homecoming rally."⁶⁵⁷

653. H. W. McNair, "Too Many Churches!" *New York Age*, 17 July 1920, 2.

654. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 19 September 1923, 2.

655. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 10 April 1932, 9.

656. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 10 July 1943, 7.

657. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 13 July 1952, 36; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 20 July 1952, 3.

Rev. W. L. Gaddie of St. James AME Church in Danville was the speaker at the "homecoming and basket meeting at the Camp Nelson Presbyterian church" and was accompanied by his choir and congregation.⁶⁵⁸ In 1957, Rev. D. Yandell Page, "Presbyterian minister to the students at the University of Kentucky" was preaching "once a month at Westminster Presbyterian Church at Camp Nelson."⁶⁵⁹ Rev. Mack Robert Jackson served as guest speaker for the 1958, 1959, and 1960 homecoming and basket dinner events, held on Sunday afternoons, and was accompanied by his choir and congregation; the public was invited to attend.⁶⁶⁰

The 1961 homecoming featured an eleven o'clock service by Rev. George Mahan and Rev. G. L. Green of Louisville, both associate pastors of the church, as well as a three o'clock program of sacred music presented by the Garr Ensemble.⁶⁶¹ In 1963, Rev. Mack Jackson and his congregation were "guests for the basket meeting and homecoming services at the Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church."⁶⁶² Also that year, the "Male Chorus of the First Baptist Church, Versailles," presented a program sponsored by Miss I. L. Payne.⁶⁶³ In April 1964, "Rev. Leandrew H. Green, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Camp Nelson" was the guest speaker at Rev. Mack Jackson's Bethel AME Church in Nicholasville and was "accompanied by his congregation."⁶⁶⁴ Rev. Donald Crutcher was the speaker at the 1968 homecoming, with Rev. R. L. Greene serving as host pastor. Camp Nelson Baptist Church served lunches with funds going toward the reconstruction of their church that had burned a few weeks earlier.⁶⁶⁵ That September, the Presbyterian Church hosted an event for the Baptist Church's building fund, attended by Rev. Floyd Raglin, the choir, and members of the Macedonia

658. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 15 July 1953, 17.

659. "Page to Preach," *Lexington Leader*, 9 February 1957, 2.

660. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 20 July 1958, 2; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 17 July 1959, 18; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 19 July 1959, 26; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 16 July 1960, 13.

661. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald-Journal* (Lexington, KY), 6 July 1961, 33.

662. *Lexington Herald*, 21 July 1963, 50, c 7.

663. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald*, 7 July 1963, 2.

664. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader*, 19 April 1964, 20.

665. "Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald*, 21 July 1968, 12.

1 Baptist Church in Black Bridge.⁶⁶⁶ Its pastor Rev.
 2 L. A. Green led the church's 1970 homecoming.
 3 According to a newspaper report, "Sandwiches and
 4 cold drinks will be served at noon and a musical
 5 program is planned for 3:30 p.m."⁶⁶⁷ Rev. Leandrew
 6 H. "Doc" Green Sr. died in 1975 at age fifty-six.⁶⁶⁸

7 A 1994 oral history project conducted by Dr. Kim
 8 A. McBride recorded many pieces of information
 9 about the church. These accounts from community
 10 members, many of whom were elderly and died
 11 within a few years of the interviews, are a critical
 12 source of information about the church and the
 13 community. Some of these memories include
 14 dates and names. For example, William Jacob
 15 "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) reported that Smith
 16 Kemper (1876-1953) had been the janitor for
 17 the Presbyterian church—"he kept the place
 18 spotless."⁶⁶⁹ Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003),
 19 remembered Kemper as an active member of
 20 the church; "every Sunday morning, we had a
 21 bell in the hole up there [in the cupola above the
 22 vestibule], he'd go down every Sunday morning
 23 and ring the bell at the Presbyterian Church."⁶⁷⁰
 24 Susie Miler (ca. 1904-1997), wife of Robert H.
 25 Miller (1903-1997), who served as pastor of the
 26 Camp Nelson Baptist Church from 1954, reported
 27 that the Baptists would go to the Presbyterian
 28 Church on the second and fourth Sundays and that
 29 the congregations would hold joint programs.⁶⁷¹
 30 Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929), daughter of
 31 Eva Bright Steele and Robert Steele, attended the
 32 Baptist Church but recalled that the Baptist and
 33 Presbyterian congregations were not competitive
 34 and assisted each other with events like Christmas
 35 services. She thought that there was not much

57 difference between the services at the two
 58 churches.⁶⁷²

59 The 1994 interviews also document the gradual
 60 decline of the church into the mid-1990s. Kay
 61 Anderson, who moved to the area in 1979, recalled
 62 that Miss Sallie Overstreet was taking care of the
 63 Fee Presbyterian Church and the Camp Nelson
 64 cemetery in the early 1980s. The church was
 65 then in good condition and being used once per
 66 month. Overstreet was working with someone
 67 in Wilmore or through Asbury University to put
 68 on services. Anderson believed that it must have
 69 been a hardship for Overstreet to care for the
 70 church during this period and suggested some
 71 factors leading to the building's deterioration
 72 between the early-1980s and 1994; "I imagine
 73 that what happened was that people just started
 74 vandalizing it and she just couldn't afford to do
 75 that she just couldn't afford to... take care of
 76 it."⁶⁷³ A 1980 bird's eye photograph suggests
 77 that some short clapboards at the southeast end
 78 of the east elevation had fallen off by that time.
 79 Anderson was not aware of the homecomings held
 80 in the church each August and interviewer Kim
 81 McBride noted that not many people came to the
 82 1994 homecoming, which appears to have been
 83 held at the community center. Stewart reported
 84 that the church was once full of members from
 85 the community, but the congregation gradually
 86 dwindled to about three members before it stopped
 87 meeting in 1991.⁶⁷⁴ Rev. John W. Robertson, Jr.
 88 (1935-2016), pastor of Camp Nelson Baptist
 89 Church, reported that the Baptist and Presbyterian
 90 congregations had attempted to sustain each other
 91 by uniting for worship at each church on alternate

36 666. "News Notes and Deaths," *Lexington Leader*, 27
 37 September 1968, 21.

38 667. "Jessamine Church Plans Homecoming," *Lexington*
 39 *Herald*, 14 July 1970, 13.

40 668. "Louisville Area Deaths," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville,
 41 KY), 2 July 1975, B15.

42 669. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10
 43 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 44 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 45 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt75mk656v03>.

46 670. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
 47 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 48 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 49 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

50 671. Susie Miller, interview by Kim McBride, 17 September
 51 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project,
 52 Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of
 53 Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7pk06x0n02>.

92 672. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12
 93 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 94 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 95 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.

96 673. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23
 97 November 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 98 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 99 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt78cz324x2g>.

100 674. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6
 101 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 102 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 103 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.

1 Sundays.⁶⁷⁵ The Westminster Presbyterian Church
 2 of Camp Nelson was dissolved on April 27, 1991,
 3 and its property, including the church and manse,
 4 reverted to the ownership of the Presbytery
 5 of Transylvania.⁶⁷⁶ A map of Jessamine County
 6 approved in June 1992 shows the Baptist Church as
 7 the only church in Hall.⁶⁷⁷ The church and manse
 8 appear to have remained empty through the mid-
 9 1990s.

10 1996-2021 Jessamine County and 11 National Park Service Ownership

12 In May 1996, the Trustees of the Presbytery of
 13 Transylvania sold the church property to the
 14 Jessamine County Fiscal Court for \$15,000.
 15 This contained a two-acre tract containing the
 16 church and manse as well as an adjacent five-acre
 17 tract with no buildings. The Jessamine County
 18 Fiscal Court purchased the church as a part of
 19 the development of the Camp Nelson Civil War
 20 Heritage Park. Photographs of the church taken
 21 between about 1994 to 2000 show the building
 22 with peeling paint, missing clapboards, broken
 23 windows, and vines and weeds growing up along
 24 the exterior walls.

25 In 1997, Kim A. McBride wrote that, “The Fee
 26 Memorial Chapel and a frame house which served
 27 as the residence for teachers or ministers, are still
 28 standing today and will help preserve the history of
 29 Ariel. These structures have been purchased by a
 30 local preservation association, which has plans for
 31 their restoration and interpretation.”⁶⁷⁸

32 The church was renovated in 2000, with additional
 33 work including the addition of heating and cooling
 34 systems occurring around 2005. In his 2002 book
 35 on Camp Nelson’s Civil War history, Richard D.
 36 Sears wrote of a recent winter visit to the village
 37 of Hall, where he visited “an old, dilapidated

53 church (not the original building), perhaps on the
 54 site where Rev. John Gregg Fee organized the first
 55 congregation of Christians in Camp Nelson, where
 56 Rev. Gabriel Burdett preached for a decade after
 57 the war ended. In front of the church is a recently
 58 erected historical marker with pictures. . .”⁶⁷⁹

59 In November 2002, Jessamine County granted
 60 a preservation and conservation easement on
 61 the property to the Kentucky Heritage Council.
 62 Baseline documentation prepared on May 7,
 63 2002, notes that the building was “stabilized and
 64 renovated in 2000,” including a new roof, new
 65 doors, and replacement of some window panes,
 66 and that it was presently used as a “meeting area”
 67 and for “interpretive displays of African American
 68 experience[s] at Camp Nelson during the Civil
 69 War.”⁶⁸⁰ By 2010, the rehabilitated church was
 70 “used for meetings, lectures, and special church
 71 services.”⁶⁸¹ A music video filmed in the church
 72 sometime before November 29, 2011, was released
 73 in June 2012.⁶⁸² In 2018, the county transferred
 74 the church to the American Battlefield Trust and
 75 thence to the National Park Service for inclusion
 76 in Camp Nelson National Monument. The
 77 county and NPS occasionally used the church for
 78 programing during the 2010s, but it has sat mostly
 79 unused and deteriorated. Site managers repainted
 80 the exterior sometime between 2012 and 2020.

81 Church Name

82 The nondenominational church congregation
 83 established by John G. Fee at Camp Nelson in 1864
 84 was referred to by various names. An October
 85 1865 letter from Fee to George Whipple of the
 86 American Missionary Association lists the church’s
 87 name as the “Church of Christ at Camp Nelson

38 675. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride,
 39 22 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral
 40 History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral
 41 History, University of Kentucky Libraries, [https://](https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54)
 42 kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt71vh5cfk54.

43 676. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the
 44 Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County
 45 Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National
 46 Monument archives.

47 677. *County Road Series Map, Jessamine County, Kentucky*,
 48 approved by fiscal court 30 June 1992.

49 678. Kim A. McBride, “Hall, Kentucky,” in *Kentucky African*
 50 *Americans in the Civil War: A Defining Moment in the*
 51 *Quest for Freedom*, ed. Joseph E. Brent (Frankfort:
 52 Kentucky Heritage Council, 1997), 28-29.

88 679. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil*
 89 *War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,
 90 2002), 375.

91 680. Preservation and Conservation Easement, November
 92 4, 2002, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.

93 681. W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, “Archaeology
 94 and the Creation of a Civil War Park: Experiences
 95 from Camp Nelson, Kentucky,” in *Archaeologists*
 96 *as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?*
 97 ed. M. Jay Stottman, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of
 98 Alabama Press, 2010), 119.

99 682. “Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video),”
 100 YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI>; Peter Brackney, “Olde
 101 Hall Church a quaint fixture in Jessamine County,”
 102 *KyForward*, 29 November 2011, <https://www.kyforward.com/peter-brackney-olde-hall-church-a-quaint-fixture-in-jessamine-county/>.

1 Ky.”⁶⁸³ This name followed one of the principles
 2 of the Restoration Movement (also known as the
 3 Stone-Campbell Movement), a part of the Second
 4 Great Awakening with one center in the Bluegrass
 5 region of Kentucky between 1801 and the 1830s,
 6 which sought to restore their vision of the original
 7 practices of New Testament Christianity and
 8 eschewed church and denominational names
 9 of human origin as divisive. Most congregations
 10 affiliated with the movement used names like
 11 “Christian Church” or “Church of Christ.” During
 12 the early decades of the church’s existence at
 13 Camp Nelson and Ariel, the name Church of
 14 Christ would not have carried the connotations of
 15 separateness based on a theological and cultural
 16 commitment to *a capella* worship later associated
 17 with this name.⁶⁸⁴ Written references over the
 18 subsequent decades often noted the church’s
 19 founding by Fee.⁶⁸⁵

20 683. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865,
 21 quoted in Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky:
 22 A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of
 23 Kentucky, 2002), 267.

24 684. The name “Church of Christ” remained popular
 25 among a subset of churches affiliated with the
 26 Restoration Movement who prohibit the use of
 27 musical instruments in worship, with a particular
 28 concern about the use of organs and pianos.
 29 Instruments were controversial within a range of
 30 Protestant churches during the nineteenth century,
 31 and some argued that the lack of reference to
 32 instruments used in worship in the New Testament
 33 should be taken as evidence that their use was
 34 inherently sinful. For frontier congregations, the kinds
 35 of instruments present in their communities—notably
 36 the violin or “fiddle,” associated with drunkenness
 37 and dancing, and the pianoforte, associated with
 38 wealth and worldly decadence—carried cultural
 39 connotations that made them incompatible with
 40 use in worship. The widespread popularity of
 41 melodeons—compact, comparatively cheap, and
 42 often portable reed organs—between the 1840s
 43 and 1860s gave rural congregations and traveling
 44 evangelists access to organ music that had previously
 45 been available only in larger urban churches with
 46 pipe organs. The instrumentalist/non-instrumentalist
 47 controversy was often seen as marking the division
 48 between more conservative and financially
 49 constrained rural congregations, holding to practices
 50 from the frontier era, and more open and prosperous
 51 urban congregations who could afford instruments
 52 like reed or pipe organs and faced pressure to keep
 53 up with other churches in their communities. James B.
 54 North, *Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the
 55 Restoration Movement* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock,
 56 1994), 221-249.

57 685. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the
 58 Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County,
 59 Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson
 60 Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 15.

61 The congregation became a member of the
 62 Presbyterian Church in the United States of
 63 America (PCUSA) in 1902, when the Transylvania
 64 Presbytery reported the Westminster Presbyterian
 65 Church of Camp Nelson. This is the first record
 66 of the congregation’s adoption of a new name.
 67 Membership statistics reported in 1904 list the
 68 congregation as “Concord;” this may be an error
 69 referencing Rev. J. A. Boyden’s prior charge,
 70 Concord Presbyterian Church in Danville. No
 71 church name or statistics appear in reports for
 72 1905 or 1906. Reports and other records from
 73 at least 1908 to 1975 list the congregation as the
 74 Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson.
 75 It was later known as the Hall Presbyterian Church,
 76 the Old Hall Church, the Fee Church, or the John
 77 G. Fee Memorial Church, not to be confused with
 78 the John G. Fee Memorial Union Church (1920-
 79 1922) in Berea, Kentucky.

80 Church Ministers

81 From 1868 to 1934, pastorate of the congregation
 82 appears to have been combined with employment
 83 as principal or superintendent of Ariel Academy,
 84 Camp Nelson Academy, or the Fee Memorial
 85 Institute. To date, the following ministers are
 86 known:

87	1864-1866	Rev. Abishai Scofield
88	1867-1877	Rev. Gabriel Burdett (with W. S.
89		Overstreet, ca. 1874-?)
90	1877	Howard S. Fee (interim)
91	1878-1880	Rev. John Drew
92	1880-1881	Rev. W. S. Overstreet
93	1881-1882	Rev. J. F. Browne
94	1883-1885	vacant
95	1885-1886	Rev. W. S. Overstreet
96	1887	vacant
97	1888-1902	unknown, possibly W. S. Over-
98		street
99	1903-1914	Rev. J. A. Boyden
100	1914-1934	Rev. H. W. McNair
101	ca. 1929-1934	Rev. W. T. Byrd

1930s-1960s various guest or associate
pastors

ca. 1964-1975 Rev. Leandrew H. “Doc”
Green Sr.

1975-ca. 1992 unknown

Biographies of most of these ministers can be found in the Historical Context section of this report. The exact dates of the ministries of Rev. McNair and Rev. Byrd are unclear; oral histories taken in 1994 indicate that both served as ministers, but documentation from the 1920s and 1930s relates to their primary employment at the Fee Memorial Institute. From the 1930s through the early-1960s, ministers from other churches appear to have served as guest or associate pastors of the congregation.

Chronology of Construction & Alterations

Earlier Buildings

From 1864 to 1868, the congregation appears to have originally occupied one of the buildings of the National Home for Colored Refugees. In the spring of 1868, the Freedmen’s Bureau “bought for the academy the buildings that had been part of the school complex built for the refugees when Camp Nelson was a military operation. The bureau’s purchase, for \$1,520, included a large boarding-house, with wings suitable for a schoolhouse and chapel.”⁶⁸⁶ The church appears to have met in the same space used as the school chapel.

A description of Ariel Academy in December 1868 reported that “Its buildings consist of a school-house, chapel, and a large two-story building, which will be used as a boarding-house.”⁶⁸⁷

This may indicate that the chapel was a separate building, possibly a new building constructed in 1868 or a repurposed building from the camp. A letter from John G. Fee, quoted in the 1875 annual report of the American Missionary Association,

686. Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.

687. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), 47.

recounts that “the Government erected quite a number of cottages, and some larger buildings as hospital wards and school rooms” at Camp Nelson; “In these, schools were for a time sustained, and chiefly by the American Missionary Association. At the close of the war some of these buildings were bought by friends, and three of the larger reserved for school and church purposes. The church and school yet live.”⁶⁸⁸ Fee also reported on a revival held by the church in 1874 or 1875:

At a recent revival there, thirty-nine persons professed conversion to Christ as their Savior from sin; and seven who had been dismissed, were reclaimed. Almost every young man in the community is now a member of the one church of the place, and living a joyful and, peaceful life. The people realize that the gospel is a power for good.⁶⁸⁹

Relatively little is known of the church building or buildings over the next forty years. An 1877 map of Jessamine County includes a rough map of the town of “Arial,” with dots representing buildings including “Colored Ch[urch]” and “Arial Academy.”⁶⁹⁰ These labels appear next to a row of three dots in a roughly north-south line northeast of the corner of Row and Front Streets. The labels suggest that the church was then to the north of the academy buildings. In September 1895, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reported that “the [Camp Nelson Academy] chapel is roomy and comfortable.”⁶⁹¹ In 1903, at the time the Camp Nelson Academy and church were acquired by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, there was “upon the premises one small building—forty by sixty—used as a church and school.”⁶⁹²

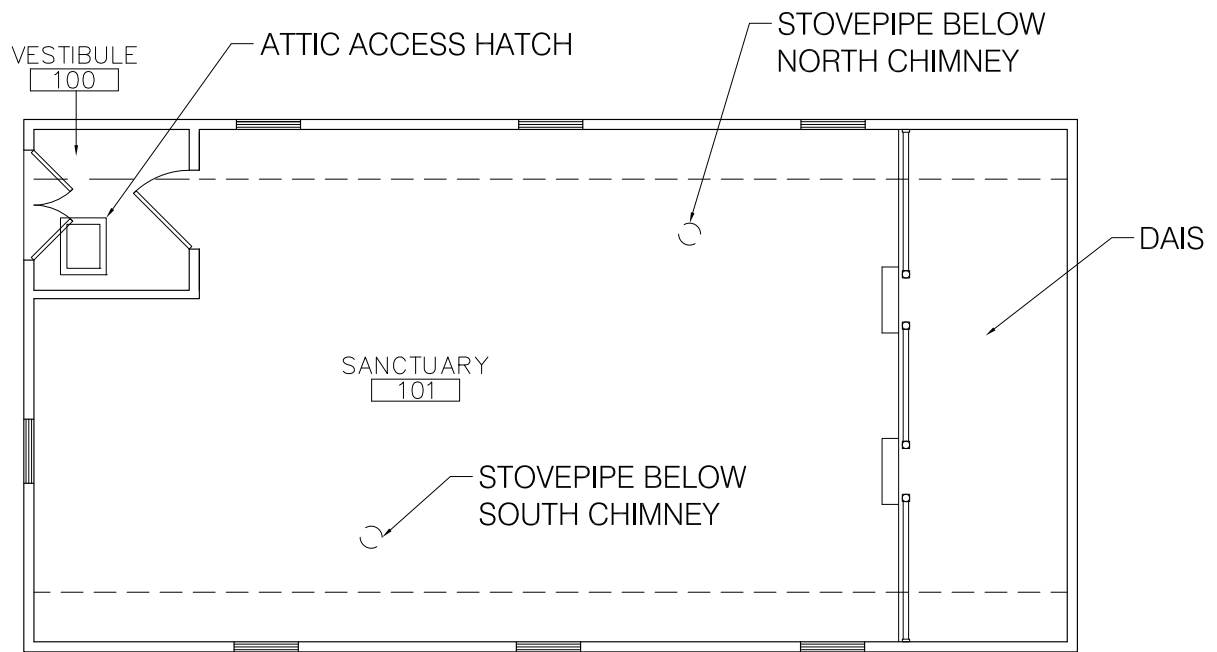
688. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.

689. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.

690. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, Ky.* (Philadelphia, D. G. Beers & Co., 1877), 64-65.

691. “Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.

692. Edward P. Cowan, “The Board for Freedmen,” *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606.



Reconstructed First Floor Plan 1912



0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE IN FEET

Figure 44. Reconstructed first floor plan as constructed in 1912. This reconstructed plan was adapted from an existing plan drawing based on measurements taken in 2020. Lost features have been shown based on physical evidence observed in the building and documentary evidence in the form of historic photographs. (Source: RATIO Architects)

Construction of Existing Building (1912)

The present church building appears to have been built in 1912, during the ministry of Rev. John A. Boyden. [Figure 44] An October 1908 article on the Fee Memorial Institute reported, "There is also a Presbyterian church organized in connection with the school, and Dr. Boyden is struggling hard to secure a much needed church building."⁶⁹³ A 1910 fundraising project "for the improvement and enlargement of... the John G. Fee Memorial Institute" may have funded construction of the church and the manse or parsonage.⁶⁹⁴ The church was completed before December 1912, when a correspondent for *The Assembly Herald* mentioned the following in the account of a recent visit to the Fee Memorial Institute: "In the new church building I found about one hundred people assembled [for] a farmers' conference...."

⁶⁹³. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481.

⁶⁹⁴. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 11.

⁶⁹⁵ A description of the Fee Memorial Institute published in July 1914 mentioned the church as a "chapel for worship by students and people of the village."⁶⁹⁶ In a 1994 interview, Helen Booker Stewart (born April 25, 1914), reported that she was christened as a baby in the Presbyterian Church and believed that it must have been there since she was born.⁶⁹⁷

Membership data available indicates that the congregation of thirty in 1908 declined to twenty-eight in 1909 before growing to thirty-five in 1910, forty-one in 1912, fifty in 1916, and an apparent

⁶⁹⁵. The date of the Farmer's Institute conference at the Fee Memorial Institute is unclear; known locations of other conferences suggest that it may have occurred sometime in October or November. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670.

⁶⁹⁶. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.

⁶⁹⁷. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7sbc3sxq44>.



Reconstructed West Elevation 1912



Figure 45. Reconstructed west elevation as constructed in 1912. This reconstructed elevation was adapted from an existing elevation drawings based on measurements taken in 2020. Lost features including the front doors, chimneys, and cupola louvers have been shown based on physical evidence observed in the building and documentary evidence in the form of historic photographs. (Source: RATIO Architects)

peak of fifty-two in 1919 before falling to forty-four in 1920. Records indicate that no contributions were made to the church erection fund in 1908 but that two dollars was contributed each year in 1909, 1910, and 1912. Data is not available for 1913, 1914, or 1915. These contributions declined to one dollar per year in 1916 and 1917. They reached five dollars in 1919, and sixteen dollars in 1920; if the congregation was able to secure a mortgage to help fund the construction of the new church, these larger contributions may have helped to pay down that mortgage. The church and manse property were valued at \$1,100.00 in both 1917 and 1920, suggesting no major improvements between those years. Sustained out-migration and decline in the community after 1919 suggest a construction date near the community's peak around 1910.

The building's materials, components, and details are consistent with a date in the late-1900s or early-1910s. Most of the building's lumber appears to be circular-sawn, as most lumber would have been in this period. The building's windows follow a Carpenter Gothic shape, using a triangular head to approximate the effect of a pointed arch. Sometimes referred to as "peak head windows" in period sources, windows in this shape appear in millwork catalogues published between 1891 and 1917. The balustrade along the face of the dais includes turned newel posts that match designs for porch newels in catalogs dating from 1895 to

1911.⁶⁹⁸ The horizontal-panel doors that appear to have been original to the building reflect a style that became popular in the late-1890s and was widely used in the 1900s and 1910s.

The building appears to be built with wire nails. Drawn wire nails were the subject of experiments in Europe in the 1820s and various claims to their earliest production in the United States range from 1851 to 1875, but these nails appear to have been produced only in small sizes suited for furniture use rather than building construction. Wire nails, with round shanks and round heads, first became a viable product the early-1880s, and soft steel wire nails accounted for ten percent of United States nail production by 1886. Production of wire nails surpassed that of cut nails in the early-1890s and, by 1913, they accounted for ninety percent of US nail production.⁶⁹⁹

Some parts of the building appear to incorporate salvaged lumber. These include some of the skip-sheathing of the roof and components of the wooden bell cage within the cupola. The use of salvaged lumber was a common practice in building construction prior to the 1940s. One piece of lumber in the bell cage retains parts of a hand-painted label in red paint that appears to read "To- mian," with other words cut off where the board was broken. Additional inscriptions on components not currently visible might provide clues for the source of some of the salvaged lumber or the date of the building's construction.

A floor plan and four elevations reconstructing the likely appearance of the church in 1912 are included in Appendix B. [Figure 44, Figure 45] No historic architectural drawings of the building have

698. Foster-Munger Company, *Official Price List, January 10th, 1895* (Oshkosh, WI: Globe Printing Co., 1895), 128, <https://archive.org/details/officialcatalogu00fost/page/128/mode/1up>; Gernert Bros. Lumber Co. (Louisville: Gernert Bros. Lumber Co., 1898), 89; *Illustrated Catalogue of B. F. Biggs Pump Company, Fourth Edition, 1900* (Lafayette, IN: B. F. Biggs Pump Co., 1900), 166; *General Catalog 1911-1912* (LaCrosse, WI: Segelke & Kohlhaus Mfg. Co., 1911), 297, <https://archive.org/details/GeneralCatalog1911-1912/page/n300/mode/1up>.

699. Jonathan Taylor, "Nails and Wood Screws," *The Building Conservation Directory* (1999), accessed 15 May 2019, <http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/nails/nails.htm>; Thomas Durant Visser, *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1997), 24-25.

been located to date. The reconstructed drawings were adapted from existing plan and elevation drawings based on measurements taken in 2020. Lost features including the front doors, chimneys, and dais balustrade have been shown based on physical evidence observed in the building and documentary evidence in the form of historic photographs.

Interior Remodeling (ca. 1955-1975)

The church congregation remodeled the interior at an unknown date, likely sometime between the late-1950s and mid-1970s. This project covered all interior plaster surfaces with new materials. Builders covered the upper parts of the walls with plywood paneling featuring a natural wood finish. They covered ceiling of the sanctuary with twelve-inch-square acoustical tiles. Builders installed small ceiling medallions that appear to be made of plastic over the ceiling tiles at the location of each pendant light fixture. They covered the ceiling of the vestibule with gypsum board.

Renovation (2000)

Jessamine County Fiscal Court purchased the church in 1996 as a part of the development of the Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park. A plaque in the building states that the renovation occurred in April 2000. At that time, William Neal Cassity was judge executive and the magistrates were George Dean, Steve Gayheart, Terry Meckstroth, John Nickell, Jimmy Wells, and Bobby Day Wilson. In 2020, court staff reported that they have no records from this project. The national monument's archives also do not contain any records related to this work.

Photographs taken between 1994 and 2006 give some indication of the scope of work. [Figure 48-Figure 55] Exterior work included selective replacement of wood siding and trim, repairs to wood sash windows, replacement of the historic horizontal-panel entry doors with the present "Colonial"-type six-panel doors, repainting the exterior, demolition of the north brick chimney, and the addition of a metal roof on the main building. Work in the interior appears to have included repainting, removal of the center section of the dais balustrade and replacement of the north section of the balustrade, construction of the present dais steps, and removal of most of the pews

and other furnishings except for the vernacular wood pews and two organs that remain as of 2021.

Later Alterations (ca.2004-2013)

Heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning (HVAC) systems appear to have been installed around 2004-2005. A September 2004 article referred to a 2003 play and donations that were "sent to provide heating and air-conditioning for a Civil War-era church near Camp Nelson."⁷⁰⁰ These new systems may have been regarded as a second phase of the 2000 renovation; a 2011 article reported that "the church was restored by the Jessamine County Fiscal Court in 2005."⁷⁰¹ Sometime between 2011 and July 2012, site managers removed the west louver of the cupola and largely resided that face of the cupola, covering the opening.⁷⁰² Steel angles were added as temporary bracing across cracks in the foundation between about 2011 and 2013.

700. Greg Kocher, "Dramatic tribute restaged," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 1 September 2004, E3.

701. Peter Brackney, "Olde Hall Church a quaint fixture in Jessamine County," *KyForward*, 29 November 2011, <https://www.kyforward.com/peter-brackney-olde-hall-church-a-quaint-fixture-in-jessamine-county/>.

702. The louver was in place in a music video that was in filmed the church sometime before November 29, 2011, and was released in June 2012 "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI>.



1 **Figure 46.** (Top) North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, summer 1977. These are the earliest photographs
 2 of the church located to date and they appear to show the building largely as built in 1912. Note the horizontal-panel entry
 3 doors, north chimney, and louvers on the face of the cupola, all now missing. Note also the propane tank along the north wall
 4 and the privy in the distance at left. (Source: Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory, JS56. Reprinted with permission from the
 5 Kentucky Heritage Council) Bottom photo is a similar view in October 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



1 **Figure 47.** (Top) West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, summer 1977. These are the earliest photographs
 2 of the church located to date and they appear to show the building largely as built in 1912. Note the entry doors and louvers
 3 on the face of the cupola, all now missing. The south chimney had been removed before this photograph was taken. Note
 4 also manse at left. (Source: Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory, JS56. Reprinted with permission from the Kentucky Heritage
 5 Council) Bottom photo is a similar view from October 2020 (Source: RATIO Architects)



1 **Figure 48.** (Top) West façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the church prior
 2 to the Jessamine County renovation. Note louver on west face of cupola and horizontal-panel front doors. (Source: W. Stephen
 3 McBride) March 2021 photo of a similar view (Source: WLA Studio)



1 **Figure 49.** West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of
2 the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. Note manse in distance at left. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) See Figure
3 47 for a similar view in 2020.



1 **Figure 50.** East and north elevations of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the
 2 church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) Similar view of the east and north elevations
 3 in 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



1 **Figure 51.** Sanctuary of Fee Memorial Church, facing east, ca. 1994-2000. This is one of the earliest known interior photographs
 2 of the church and shows furnishings that are no longer present. Note center section of dais balustrade and pulpit. (Source: W.
 3 Stephen McBride) View in the sanctuary, facing east, 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



1 **Figure 52.** Sanctuary of Fee Memorial Church, facing northeast, ca. 1994-2000. This is one of the earliest known interior
2 photographs of the church and shows furnishings that are no longer present. Note Gothic Revival pews and schoolhouse
3 pendant shade resting on dais. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) See figure 51 for a similar view in 2020.



1 **Figure 53.** North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of
 2 the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. (Source: Camp Nelson Civil War District National Register nomination)
 3 Similar view of the north elevation and west façade in 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



1 **Figure 54.** North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca.2000. This appears to document the exterior during
 2 the Jessamine County renovation. Note louver on west face of cupola and horizontal-panel front doors. (Source: Camp Nelson
 3 Civil War District National Register nomination) See Figure 46 for a similar view in 2020.



4 **Figure 55.** West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 2000-2005. This appears to show the building near
 5 the end of the Jessamine County renovation. Note modern replacement doors on church, west louvers of cupola, and manse in
 6 distance at left. (Source: W. Stephen McBride)

Part 1.C Physical Description

Site

The immediate surroundings of the John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church (Fee Memorial Church) consist of a mown turf grass that descends a slope from northwest to southeast. [Figure 56, Figure 57] A crabapple tree (*Malus* sp.) between the church's west façade and Church Street appears to have been planted sometime between 1956 and 1980. [Figure 58] A concrete walkway once extended from the front door of the church to the edge of Church Street (formerly the intersection of Front and Row Streets); much of this walkway is now covered with grass. [Figure 59]

The stone foundation exists of the manse or parsonage (described in more detail in section 1.A) that was demolished around 2007. [Figure 60]

The foundation is in fair condition overall but is now overgrown with brush and small trees. This overgrowth threatens the physical integrity of the foundation, a key historic resource on site.

Site managers installed a wayside interpretive sign in front of the west façade around 2000. [Figure 61] The sign has experienced differential settlement and is now leaning. The panel and frame are currently covered in heavy biological growth and most of the content is not legible. A related interpretive sign is also present northwest of the church.⁷⁰³ [Figure 62]

703. The forthcoming "Camp Nelson National Monument Cultural Landscape Report" will include a full description and analysis of site conditions.



Figure 56. Fee Memorial Church from apparent site of dormitory, facing southeast; overgrown manse foundation is at left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 57. Fee Memorial Church and context from the south, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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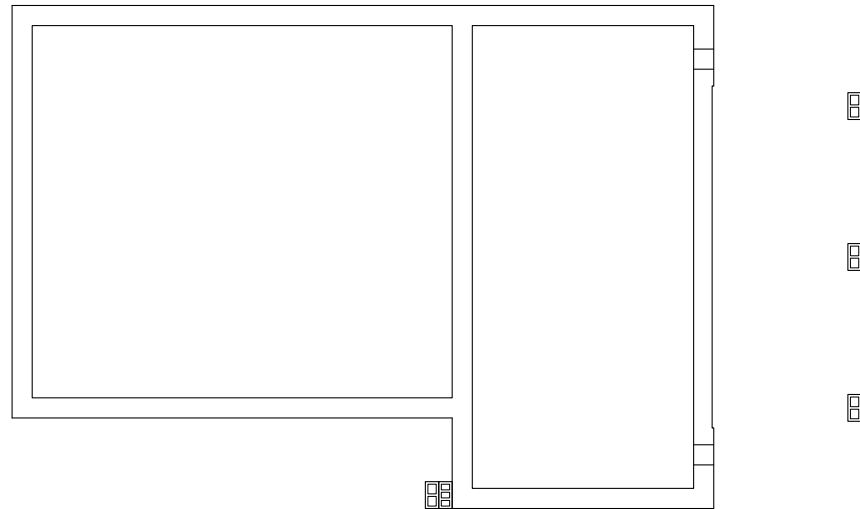
Figure 58. View of Fee Memorial Church from Church Street (formerly Row Street), facing east. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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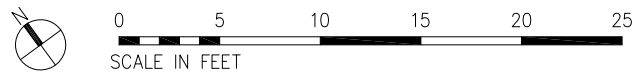


Figure 59. Immediate context of Fee Memorial Church showing partially exposed concrete walkway, uneven steps, and wayside interpretive sign. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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Existing Foundation Plan



1 **Figure 60.** Existing foundation plan of manse associated with Fee Memorial Institute and Fee Memorial church; scaled drawing
2 included in Appendix B. (RATIO Architects)



3 **Figure 61.** Refugee School wayside interpretive sign in
4 front of church, showing biological growth. (Source: RATIO
5 Architects, 2020)



6 **Figure 62.** Refugee Camp wayside interpretive sign west of
7 church. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

21 Exterior

22 Illustrations located in Appendix B include scaled
23 drawings the exterior elevations of the building.

24 With the exception of alterations to the front
25 door and the west face of the cupola, the church's
26 exterior appears to retain its general appearance
27 from the time of its construction in 1912. It is a
28 one-story, gable-front wood-frame building on a
29 cast-in-place concrete foundation. The exterior is
30 clad in wood weatherboard siding and openings
31 feature triangular heads-- a Carpenter Gothic
32 shape referred to as a "peak head" in some period
33 sources. The building features seven double-hung
34 wood sash windows with a three-over-two-lite
35 configuration. The roof's narrow overhangs
36 include fascias with crown molding and boxed
37 eaves.

38 The west façade is divided into two unequal bays;
39 the narrower north bay contains a pair of doors
40 topped by a triangular transom while the south bay
41 contains a single window. [Figure 63, Figure 64]

1 Two concrete steps lead up to this door. A cupola
2 rises from the north face of the roof just behind
3 the west façade and is centered on the entrance
4 below. This cupola is clad in weatherboard siding
5 and is topped by a hipped roof capped by a tapered
6 finial. Its west and north sides originally featured
7 louvered openings with triangular tops; the west
8 opening was covered with replacement siding
9 during the 2000s and is no longer visible on the
10 exterior. [Figure 65]

11 The north and south elevations each contain three
12 evenly spaced windows. [Figure 66, Figure 67]
13 Two evenly spaced foundation vents are present at
14 each of these elevations, with one larger opening
15 below the easternmost window of the south
16 elevation. The east elevation has a grade-level
17 crawlspace access door but no openings in the
18 wood superstructure. [Figure 68, Figure 69] The
19 main roof and the cupola are covered with two
20 different types of metal roofing.



42 **Figure 63.** North elevation and west façade, facing southeast. Note modern siding covering west face of cupola where a
43 louvered opening was formerly present. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 64.** West façade and south elevation, facing northeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



2 **Figure 65.** Detail of east and north elevations of cupola, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 66.** North elevation and west façade, facing southeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



2 **Figure 67.** South elevation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 68.** East and north elevations, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



2 **Figure 69.** East and north elevations, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Foundation

The church rests on a cast-in-place concrete foundation. The concrete bears the marks of board forms and likely dates from the building's construction in 1912. [Figure 70] The concrete appears to be unpainted in photographs taken about 1994-2000 and appears to have received the present paint during the 2000-2005 renovation.

The county added steel angles sometime between about 2005 and 2013 in an attempt to secure large cracks in the foundation. [Figure 71] Further description of the foundation can be found in the Structural Systems section.



Figure 70. Detail of board-formed concrete foundation at south elevation showing typical exterior surface and modern lattice applied over crawlspace vents. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Siding

The exterior of the church is clad in wood weatherboard siding with an exposed width of approximately 4 1/2". The siding is mounted directly to the building's studs, with no sheathing present. [Figure 72] The county installed many replacement boards during the 2000-2005 renovation. Holes in the siding are apparent at the north, east, and south elevations. Some of these holes are the result of the loss of individual boards, while others appear to have been created by insects, birds, or other animals. The siding and other exterior woodwork show signs of extensive paint delamination and failure (see Exterior Paint Finishes), much of it linked to inadequate management of rainwater runoff from the roof. The siding ranges in condition from good to poor, with most being in fair condition.



Figure 71. Angle irons in place at crack on south elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 72. Detail of a missing section of siding at the south end of the east elevation, showing weatherboards nailed directly to studs with no sheathing. The back side of the interior wainscoting is visible between the studs. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

1 Windows, Louvers, and Vents

2 The church's seven double-hung windows follow
 3 a Carpenter Gothic shape, using a triangular head
 4 to approximate the effect of a pointed arch. [Figure
 5 73, Figure 74] Sometimes referred to as "peak
 6 head windows" in period sources, windows in this
 7 shape appear in millwork catalogues published
 8 between 1891 and 1917. Below the triangular
 9 head of the windows, the windows are two-over-
 10 two wood sash. The muntin of the upper sash
 11 splits into a "Y" shape, forming a square lite set
 12 on a 45° angle within the peak of the window and
 13 forming triangular tops for the two vertical lites.
 14 The muntins include a relatively wide, flat exterior
 15 face. Simple, angular detached sash lugs or stops
 16 are mounted below the upper sash and are nearly
 17 concealed within the track; these may be later
 18 additions or may indicate that the upper sash were
 19 not intended to operate. The windows feature
 20 simple exterior casings of flat, 4"-wide boards. The
 21 triangular head of the window features a narrow
 22 wood drip molds along the upper edges of the
 23 casing. The casings terminate into plain wood sills.

24 The lower sash are hung from sash weights on
 25 cords and pulleys that are visible from the interior
 26 and are fitted with simple tongue-lifts. No locks
 27 are present, but wire hooks are centered on the top
 28 of the meeting rail of the lower sash. [Figure 75]
 29 It is unclear whether these hooks were intended
 30 to secure the windows in a particular location or
 31 whether they were used to hang decorations, light
 32 fixtures, or other items.

33 The double front doors are topped by a divided-
 34 lite triangular transom. [Figure 76, Figure 77]
 35 It is divided into four triangular lites by a central
 36 vertical muntin and two muntins that extend from
 37 the bottom of the vertical muntin to the centers of
 38 the top sides. In contrast to the wide muntins of the
 39 windows, the transom's muntins are narrow.

40 Photographs taken about 1994-2000 show the
 41 windows in fair to poor condition, with broken
 42 lites in most of the windows. The windows
 43 underwent limited repair, reglazing, and selective
 44 replacement of components during the 2000-
 45 2005 renovation. Replacement muntins are easily
 46 identified by their wider and flatter profile when
 47 compared with the originals. Work on the windows
 48 appears to have been left incomplete; most of the
 49 sash lack glazing putty, with the new glass secured



Figure 73. Typical "peak head" window at south elevation. Note typical deterioration of sill and bottom sash caused by lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 74. Typical interior face and trim of windows; west window of north elevation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

1 only by metal clips. Plastic sheeting was installed
2 over the exterior face of these windows during
3 that renovation and appears to have been removed
4 sometime between 2012 and 2015, with traces
5 remaining around the transom.

6 The windows are in fair condition overall.
7 Inadequate management of rainwater runoff from
8 the roof has damaged the windows. This is most
9 apparent at the south elevation, where the sills
10 have been largely destroyed and the bottom sash
11 are experiencing paint loss and deterioration, but
12 damage of a similar character is also present at the
13 north elevation. [Figure 78, Figure 79]

14 The north and west faces of the cupola
15 originally featured louvers with triangular tops,
16 corresponding with the design of the building's
17 other openings. The casing and sills of the louvers
18 matched those of the window openings. These
19 louvers allowed the sound of the church's bell to be
20 heard more clearly and provided ventilation for the
21 building's attic. Sometime between 2011 and July
22 2012, site managers removed the west louver and
23 largely resided that face of the cupola, covering the

24 opening.⁷⁰⁴ The north louver remains intact and is
25 in fair to poor condition, with extensive paint loss.
26 It is boarded over at the interior face. [Figure 80]

27 Two evenly spaced foundation vents are present
28 at the north and south elevations, with one larger
29 opening below the easternmost window of the
30 south elevation. [Figure 81] These openings
31 appear to be cast into the concrete foundation. The
32 original treatment of these openings is unclear.
33 Builders may have left the smaller openings open
34 or may have fitted them with metal grilles or wood
35 louvers. The larger opening is similar in size and
36 placement to a coal chute door. It contains a
37 wooden frame of unknown date and is boarded
38 over with tongue-and-groove bead-board. All five
39 of these openings are covered at the exterior with
40 modern diagonal lattice panels installed in 2000.

41 704. The louver was in place in a music video that was in
42 filmed the church sometime before November 29,
43 2011, and was released in June 2012 "Shooter Jen-
44 nings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted
45 5 June 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVB-](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVB-mqAofmHI)
46 [mqAofmHI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVB-mqAofmHI).



47 **Figure 75.** Detail showing typical muntin profiles and wire
48 hook at meeting rail on lower sash. (Source: RATIO Architects,
49 2020)



50 **Figure 76.** Entrance with modern replacement doors
51 installed during 2000-2005 renovation. These doors have a
52 very different appearance from the original horizontal-panel
53 doors. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 77.** Detail of triangular transom. (Source: RATIO 3
2 Architects, 2020)



3 **Figure 78.** Detail of typical windowsill at south elevation.
4 Note extensive deterioration of sill and bottom sash caused
5 by lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater
6 runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



7 **Figure 79.** Detail of typical windowsill at north elevation.
8 Note typical deterioration of sill and bottom sash caused by
9 lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff
10 from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



11 **Figure 80.** Detail of east and north elevations of cupola,
12 facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



13 **Figure 81.** Detail of foundation vents. (Source: RATIO
14 Architects, 2020)



¹ **Figure 82.** Entrance with modern replacement doors installed during 2000-2005 renovation. These doors have a very different
² appearance from the original horizontal-panel doors. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Doors

The church's main entrance was fitted with a pair of doors featuring five horizontal panels in photographs taken about 1994-2000. These doors appear to have matched the surviving interior door and are consistent with the church's 1912 date of construction. The same photographs show the doors fitted with a pair of glazed residential storm doors that likely dated from the 1980s or 1990s. During the 2000-2005 renovation, builders replaced the doors with a pair of modern replacement "Colonial" six-panel wood doors. [Figure 82] These doors are now in poor condition, with extensive deterioration characteristic of new-growth wood in an exterior application. The doors exhibit multiple holes and failure of joints and are now held together by plywood panels on the interior and exterior faces. [Figure 83]

The east elevation contains a crawlspace access door. This door is composed of vertical boards held together by two horizontal battens on the interior face and likely dates from the 2000-2005 renovation. It is mounted on triangular strap hinges and is secured from the exterior by a barrel bolt. This door appears to be in fair to good condition.

The interior of the church contains one door between the vestibule and sanctuary. It features five horizontal panels and is consistent with the church's 1912 date of construction. [Figure 84] Someone has pieced out the strike face with a narrow strip of wood. The door is fitted with a mortise lock, stamped metal knobs and combination escutcheons, and butt hinges with ball finials, all hardware consistent with a date around 1910. [Figure 85] The vestibule face of the door is also fitted with the pull of a Suffolk thumb latch, mounted upside-down and apparently intended only for use as a pull. [Figure 86] This door is in fair to good condition, with an area of damage to the strike and sanctuary faces just below the mortice lock.



Figure 83. Typical deterioration at modern wood replacement doors. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 84. Sanctuary face of door between vestibule and sanctuary, facing west. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 85.** Detail of hardware at vestibule door. (Source: 2
RATIO Architects, 2020)



3 **Figure 86.** Detail of part of Suffolk latch installed upside- 4
down and used as a pull on vestibule door. (Source: RATIO 5
Architects, 2020)

26 Roof

27 The main building features a gable roof with
28 narrow overhangs that include fascias with crown
29 molding and boxed eaves. Examination of the
30 underside of the roof within the attic reveals skip-
31 sheathing composed of a mix of boards that appear
32 to have been new and salvaged at the time of the
33 church's construction. [Figure 87] These boards
34 contain very few nail holes, suggesting that the
35 original roof was likely of standing-seam metal. The
36 skip-sheathing is covered by a layer of plywood.
37 Three-tab composition shingles covered the roof
38 in photographs taken around 1994-2000; this same
39 roofing appears to be in place in a 1980 bird's eye
40 photograph. The main roof is covered with metal
41 roofing installed during the 2000-2005 renovation.
42 This roofing includes exposed fasteners, a profile
43 often called "rib," and a green paint finish. There
44 appears to be a lack of adequate flashing at the
45 base of the cupola, leading to deterioration of the
46 cupola's siding and trim. The main roof appears to
47 be in good condition overall.

6 The roof is not fitted with gutters or downspouts;
7 such features may never have been present. The
8 lack of adequate management of rainwater runoff
9 from the roof has contributed to deterioration
10 of the building's historic fabric, particularly at
11 the north and south elevations, where siding,
12 windows, and other components have suffered
13 extensive damage. [Figure 88, Figure 89] The
14 west face of the cupola appears to shed water
15 down onto part of the west façade, including the
16 entrance. Deterioration at these areas is evident
17 in photographs taken before the 2000-2005
18 renovation and in evidence of deterioration that
19 occurred between 2005 and 2020.

20 Unlike the roof of the main building, the cupola
21 includes continuous board sheathing. [Figure 90]
22 The cupola's roof is of metal dates to before 1977.
23 It appears to be an earlier form of metal rib roofing
24 with three triangular ribs per face of the roof. The
25 cupola roof appears to be in fair condition.



1 **Figure 87.** View southwest in attic showing back side of 4
 2 weatherboard siding at west façade and skip-sheathing at 5
 3 roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020) 6
 7



Figure 88. Extensive deterioration of sill and bottom sash 4
 located at south elevation caused by lack of gutters and 5
 downspouts to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: 6
 RATIO Architects, 2020) 7



8 **Figure 89.** Typical deterioration of sill at north elevation 4
 9 and bottom sash caused by lack of gutters and downspouts 5
 10 to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO 6
 11 Architects, 2020) 7



12 **Figure 90.** View into cupola from attic, facing north. (Source: 4
 13 RATIO Architects, 2020) 5

Chimneys

Historic photographs taken in 1980 and around 1994-2000 show that a square brick chimney was present on the north face of the roof. Builders demolished most of this chimney when they installed the present roof during the 2000-2005 renovation, but a portion of its base remains in place within the attic. [Figure 91] Its location is marked by a square panel in the ceiling of the sanctuary. [Figure 92]

A second chimney was present on the south face of the roof, diagonally opposite the north chimney. Builders demolished this chimney sometime before 1977, but a portion of its base remains in place within the attic. [Figure 93] A circular stovepipe opening cover is present in the ceiling of the sanctuary below.



Figure 91. View east in attic showing base of north chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 92. Sanctuary, facing east. Note patch at underside of north chimney at upper left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 93. View southeast within attic. The studs in the foreground define the south wall of the vestibule; The base of the south chimney is visible at center right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Exterior Paint Finishes

Historic finish analysis was not included in the scope of this project. Photographs taken in 1977, 1980, and between 1994-2000 suggest that the church had a monochromatic white paint scheme at that time. Site managers retained this scheme during the 2000-2005 renovation and during a subsequent repainting campaign sometime between 2012 and 2015. The 1994-2000 photographs, believed to show the church in its most deteriorated condition, show the building with weathered and failing paint finishes but suggest that some early finishes might survive, particularly on the upper parts of the walls. Future historic finish analysis may reveal evidence of earlier finish schemes.

The siding and other exterior woodwork show signs of extensive paint delamination and failure. This appears to be from a combination of inadequate surface preparation, inadequate handling of rainwater runoff, and inadequate flashing; the composition of the paint may also have contributed to this failure. The lack of gutters and downspouts causes rainwater to run down the north and south side elevations and part of the west façade, contributing to the deterioration of the paint finishes as well as the historic fabric including siding, trim, windows, and doors. Paint failure is also evident on the siding of the cupola, particularly at boards that are in contact with the roof of the main building. [Figure 94] Paint failure and deterioration at these areas is evident in photographs taken before the 2000-2005 renovation. Failure to address the rainwater runoff issues appears to have contributed to subsequent paint failure and deterioration of historic fabric between 2005 and 2020.



Figure 94. Detail of east and north elevations of cupola, showing paint deterioration. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Building-Wide Systems and Considerations

Structural Systems

This structural assessment was based on examination of structural components for the building that were readily visible from the crawlspace and the attic hatch, an examination of the exterior of the building made from the ground, physical measurements of key structural components, and photographs taken inside and outside the building. No attempt was made to expose structural components not readily visible. Some small samples of wood were taken from one of the wood floor members for examination. Appendix C includes a structural assessment for the building.

Code Requirements

This project is under the jurisdiction of the 2018 Kentucky Building Code (KBC) which references the 2015 International Building Code (IBC) and the International Existing Building Code (IEBC). The Fee Memorial Church is a historic building and is therefore subject to the provisions of KBC Chapter 34-Existing Structures, and IEBC Chapter 12 - Historic Buildings. Generally, this structure will be evaluated based on making "Repairs" as it is defined in these two codes sections.

Building Structure Physical Description & Condition Assessment

Wood Floor Joists

The first-floor structure consists of wood joists spanning the width of the building, supported by a central wood beam at the interior end and a concrete foundation wall at the exterior ends. [Figure 95] The wood joists are approximately $1\frac{3}{4}" \times 9\frac{1}{2}"$, spaced at 24" on center. The joists bear on a wood plate on the top of the exterior foundation walls and are toe-nailed into the plate. The wood joists do not exhibit excessive water damage or wood rot but exhibit widespread insect damage. Small pin holes in the surface of many joists, likely caused by powder post beetles, appear minor on the surface, but the damage is more evident inside. These insects have bored into the surface of the wood, turning the wood fiber inside the joists to powder, compromising the structural integrity of the joists. The full extent of this damage cannot be determined as it is largely hidden inside the joists, but it must be assumed that most, if not all, the joists are compromised to some degree.

Analysis assuming typical structural properties and healthy wood material indicates the floor live load capacity for the joists is approximately 50 to 60 pounds per square foot (PSF), below the 100 PSF floor live load for public gathering space required by the KBC. As noted above, the joists exhibit



Figure 95. Crawlspace looking west, showing joists. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 96.** Crawlspace facing northwest, showing central beam. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

2 widespread insect damage, meaning that their
3 capacity is likely even lower. Remedial measures
4 will be required to bring the joists into compliance
5 with a live load capacity of 100 PSF.

6 The first floor is somewhat bouncy when subjected
7 to a heel drop. While this does not constitute a
8 serious structural deficiency, a stiffer floor is always
9 desirable for public buildings. Remediation of
10 the existing floor structure's insufficient capacity
11 will help alleviate this condition. The first floor
12 is sagging slightly in front of the raised platform.
13 There was no specific structural cause seen from
14 below the floor in the crawlspace, but this is likely
15 just the natural floor settlement that is common in
16 building of this age.

17 The raised wood stage or dais at the front of the
18 main church room served as a choir loft and pulpit
19 for church services. The floor below is not visible,
20 but it is likely that the framing for the 17"-tall
21 platform is an overbuild on the main floor level.
22 The platform is in fair structural condition with

23 no obvious deficiencies; however, removing a
24 section of the flooring to examine the framing is
25 recommended.

26 *Central Wood Floor Beam*

27 A central beam made up of four, 2" × 9 ½" wood
28 joists nailed together supports the floor joists
29 along the interior ends, and a series of column
30 members support the joists on the ends. [Figure
31 96] The farthest-spaced columns require a span of
32 12', but the rest are 5'-to-6' spans. There is no
33 visible anchorage between the beam and columns.
34 The ends of the beams bear directly on the east
35 and west concrete foundation walls. The project
36 team noted insect damage like that found in the
37 joists in some areas of the central beam; it is likely
38 that the inside of some of the layers of the built-up
39 beam are damaged to the point of compromising
40 integrity.

41 Analysis of the beam, assuming typical structural
42 properties and healthy wood material, indicates
43 the floor live load capacity for the beam is



1 **Figure 97.** Detail of displacement at east face of foundation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

2 approximately 50 to 60 PSF, below the 100
 3 PSF floor live load for public gathering space
 4 required by the KBC. The beam does not meet
 5 this requirement in its current state, especially
 6 when the insect damage is considered. Remedial
 7 measures will be required to bring the beam system
 8 into compliance with a live load capacity of 100
 9 PSF.

10 *Internal Column Supports*

11 The internal columns supporting the central beam
 12 are at somewhat random spacing between 5' and
 13 12'. Three of the columns are concrete, two are
 14 stone, and one is wood. The stone and concrete
 15 columns are in fair condition and seem to be part
 16 of the original construction of the church. It is not
 17 clear if the columns bear on a footing below grade
 18 except for the easternmost wood column, which
 19 may date from the 2000-2005 renovation and sits
 20 on a small concrete footing. The wood column
 21 did not appear to have the insect pin holes seen in
 22 the beam and joists, but some damage cannot be
 23 ruled out. It is likely that some remedial measures

24 to improve the structural capacity of the wood
 25 column are needed.

26 *Perimeter Concrete Foundation Walls*

27 The exterior foundation walls support the wood
 28 framed walls and floor joists and are constructed
 29 of board-formed concrete. There are several
 30 openings in these walls including crawlspace vent
 31 openings on the north and south sides, an access
 32 door opening on the east side, and an unidentified
 33 opening on the south side near the east corner.
 34 The concrete walls are battered with a thickness of
 35 12" at the top and 15" at grade. There is a 2" x 12"
 36 wood plate on top of the wall upon which the joists
 37 and exterior walls rest. There does not appear to
 38 be any anchorage of the wood plate to the top of
 39 the concrete wall. The outside face of the wall has
 40 shifted outward beyond the exterior wood siding
 41 in a few locations. The project team noted the
 42 most severe outward shift on the east side where
 43 the face of concrete is approximately 2 1/2" beyond
 44 the wood siding. [Figure 97] This shift has created
 45 a ledge where water, snow, and ice can collect.



Figure 98. Detail of hole at north wall below east window as observed during site visit. This appears to be caused by insect damage and possibly by water infiltration. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

In other locations, the outward shift is relatively minor.

There are significant vertical cracks in the walls on the north, south, and west sides of the foundation. Typically, the face of the wall has shifted out of plane on either side of these cracks. On the north and south sides, site managers have made a repair with one or two angle iron stiffeners bolted across the crack on both the inside and outside of the wall. The inner and outer angles are clamped together with steel bolts through the concrete wall. There is a smaller crack repair at the southwest corner of the foundation made with a metal strap bolted to the concrete. Site managers apparently made these repairs to restrict the wall from shifting further and to prevent the crack from widening. These cracks are likely the result of differential foundation settlement on the north and south sides of the building. It is not clear if there is a below grade footing under the foundation walls, but it is unlikely. Builders likely cast the base of the wall directly on the subgrade excavation, and it is subject to the bearing stiffness and stability of the soil mass. Depending on the depth of the base of the wall, freeze thaw cycles may be contributing to the settlement. The roof does not have gutters and downspouts, and water drips straight down onto the ground next to foundation wall, exacerbating the foundation settlement. The most evident result of this wall settlement is outward movement, especially visible at the top



Figure 99. View inside hole at north wall showing deterioration of wall framing. Note wire nail now exposed. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

of the wall. Contributing to this movement is the lack of mechanical anchorage between the wood floor system and foundation wall which would help restrain the top of the wall. The existing angle iron crack repairs have provided a stopgap measure for limiting the movement of the wall on either side of the cracks. However, a more comprehensive repair system is needed to manage these cracks over the life of the building. While it is not practical to try and correct the movement that has already occurred around these cracks, stabilization and remedial measures to hold the walls in their current position will help prevent further movement.

Although the foundation walls have suffered some cracking and some outward movement, they are otherwise in fair condition and are robust enough to continue to support the loads imposed by the church building if remedial measures are implemented to address the structural issues described above.

Wood Framed Exterior Walls

The exterior wood-framed walls consist of wood studs on a wood bottom plate that in turn rests on the ends of the floor joists. The studs measure $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ and are spaced at 16" on center. The exterior wood siding is nailed directly to the studs with no underlying sheathing, and there does not appear to be any insulation in the stud spaces. Interior and exterior finishes hide most of the studs, and they are not open to direct examination. The project team discovered one location on the interior of the north wall where severe wood rot has damaged both the studs and the interior wood paneling. [Figure 98, Figure 99] This condition



1 **Figure 100.** View southwest in attic showing roof framing. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

2 exists at the bottom of the north wall near the
 3 front stage. The team slightly opened this area by
 4 removing some paneling and examining the wood
 5 deterioration. The damage appears to be the result
 6 of insects, possibly termites. This condition does
 7 not appear to be widespread, but it is possible that
 8 some other areas of termite damage could exist but
 9 are hidden behind the wall finishes.

10 In general, the walls appear to be in fair structural
 11 condition and have adequate capacity to support
 12 roof and ceiling loads. However, the lack of
 13 exterior sheathing behind the siding means the
 14 walls do not have the full shear capacity that would
 15 be required if the building were to meet the code-
 16 prescribed modern wind and seismic loads. KBC
 17 and IEBC code provisions for existing historic
 18 buildings state that the structure does not have
 19 to meet modern wind and seismic design load
 20 requirements if there is no evidence of “substantial
 21 structural damage” to the existing lateral load
 22 system.

23 *Roof Framing*

24 The project team examined and measured the roof
 25 framing from a ladder that extended up into the
 26 ceiling hatch. The team did not go into the attic at
 27 the time of the site visit. The roof framing consists
 28 of 1 ¾" × 6" sloped wood rafters spaced at 24" on
 29 center. [Figure 100] The ceiling joists are also of
 30 1 ¾" × 6" and spaced at 24" on center. Between
 31 each rafter and ceiling joist, there is a vertical wood
 32 member nailed to the apex of the two opposing
 33 rafters and extending down and nailed to the side
 34 of the corresponding ceiling joist. This vertical
 35 member is intended to provide roof support for the
 36 ceiling joist. The ceiling joists span approximately
 37 22' over the width of the church structure.
 38 These joists require a center support to span that
 39 distance. The rafters and joists visible from the
 40 ceiling hatch are in fair to good condition. Some
 41 water staining is present due to past roof leakage,
 42 but leaks do not have appear to have seriously
 43 damaged the members. The attic was dry at the
 44 time of the site visit, but the project team noted



Figure 101. View southeast within attic. The studs in the foreground define the south wall of the vestibule. The base of the south chimney is visible at center right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 102. View east in attic showing base of north chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

that there are no specific attic vents in the gable end walls or along the eave or ridge. There is a vent in the cupola, and gaps in the siding over the gable end walls are probably letting some air circulate, but it is recommended that new vents be added to allow for better air circulation in the attic.

The roofing material consists of metal over a wood decking material and is relatively new. The decking is fastened to wood skip-sheathing composed of boards approximately 1" thick and of varying widths. Sheathing in the vicinity of the ceiling hatch exhibits some water staining from past roof leakage, but serious damage does not appear present.

Originally, there were two brick chimneys extending from the first-floor ceiling through the roof on the north and south sides. During past alterations, workers have demolished both below the roofline, leaving a short portion of each within the attic. [Figure 101, Figure 102] The remaining bases of the chimneys are not visible from the exterior and are currently dead weight bearing on the ceiling joists.

Cupola

Wood members frame the cupola, which extends over the entry vestibule and houses an iron bell. The cupola has a metal roof laid over a wood deck. [Figure 103] The roof over the cupola is much older than the main roof. There is a wood air vent on the north wall of the structure, and it appears there once was one on the west side that has been covered over with siding. The wood wall and roof framing are in fair condition, but some water



Figure 103. View into cupola from attic, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

staining is present suggesting past roof leakage. The wood structure supporting the iron bell looks to be in fair condition, but it may be inadequate.

Additional structural information may be found in Appendix C: Structural Assessment.

Mechanical, Electrical, and Plumbing Systems

Heating, Ventilation, & Air Conditioning (HVAC) Systems

As built in 1912, the church relied on operable windows and doors for ventilation. The church's two brick stovepipe chimneys appear to have served stoves in the northeast and southwest portions of the sanctuary. These stoves were most likely fueled by coal, although they may have burned wood. They were probably similar in character to the potbellied stove visible in a 1912 photograph of one of the Fee Memorial Institute classrooms. [Figure 104] The southeast part of the crawlspace, which contains an opening that may have once been fitted with a coal chute door, may have been used for coal storage.

The south chimney was removed before 1977. Photographs of the church taken in 1977 and between 1994-2000 show a small oil or propane tank along the north elevation, near the location of the north chimney. This tank likely served a stove or heater connected to the north chimney during the church's later years. Of the two interior photographs taken between 1994-2000, one shows this side of the room, but no stove, heater, or stovepipe is visible.

An electric heat pump system was installed in the building around 2004-2005. An exterior Rheem "Classic" heat pump is in place along the north elevation. [Figure 105] An air handler and an insulated trunk duct are mounted along the south side of the central beam within the crawlspace, with insulated flexible ducts connecting to floor registers along the exterior walls of the sanctuary and vestibule and along the face of the dais. [Figure 106] Some of the insulation on the trunk line has been torn loose and several of the flexible ducts have fallen loose, leaving the ducts and the floor registers open to the crawlspace. Park staff are unsure when the system was last used or whether it remains operable.

Lighting & Electricity

As built in 1912, the church design makes effective use of daylight between sunrise and sunset. When daylight was not available, illumination likely took the form of kerosene lamps. These may have included lamps on wall-mounted brackets, ceiling-hung lamps, table or floor lamps on the dais, or a combination of various kinds of lamps.



Exhibit at Farmers' Institute, Fee Memorial, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

Figure 104. Interior of one classroom in the school/recitation hall used as an exhibit space during a "Farmer's Institute" conference held at the church and school in 1912. ("Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 670-671)



Figure 105. Heat pump at north elevation, facing south. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 106. Crawlspace looking west, showing air-handler and flexible ducts. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

1 A clue to the church's lighting may be found in a
 2 memory of one of the Hall's other public buildings;
 3 Patricia R. True Walker (1928-1998), who spent
 4 most of the summer of 1938 with her grandmother
 5 in Poortown, remembered going to an event in
 6 the Benevolent Hall, which was lit by coal oil
 7 (kerosene) lamps mounted on the walls.⁷⁰⁵

8 Electricity became available in the Camp Nelson
 9 area in June 1938, when the Rural Electrification
 10 Administration (REA), a New Deal program that
 11 brought electricity to rural areas, completed 126
 12 miles of rural lines in Jessamine, Fayette, and
 13 Madison Counties. Although electric power was
 14 now available, it is unclear when residents of the
 15 Hall first connected to the utility.⁷⁰⁶ Sallie Steele
 16 Overstreet (born 1929 in Camp Nelson) later
 17 recalled that her family got electricity at their home
 18 about 1950.⁷⁰⁷ The building's present electrical
 19 systems are believed to date from the 2000-2005
 20 renovation. A circuit-breaker panel manufactured
 21 by Murray Electrical Products is mounted on the
 22 north wall of the vestibule.

23 The interior of the church is fitted with four
 24 "schoolhouse"-type electric pendants, three in
 25 the sanctuary and one in the vestibule. These
 26 pendants follow a style common from the 1920s
 27 through the 1940s, with bell-shaped brass canopies
 28 and shade-holders, chains, and milk glass shades.
 29 [Figure 107, Figure 108] The two photographs
 30 taken inside the church between 1994-2000 show
 31 only the lower part of the sanctuary, but the shade
 32 from one of these fixtures is visible laying on the
 33 dais. It is presumed that electricians rewired the
 34 fixtures during the 2000-2005 renovation. The
 35 existing chains appear to be modern replacements
 36 likely dating from the 2000s. The fixtures appear
 37 to be in fair condition overall. The shade for the
 38 vestibule fixture is currently resting on the dais.
 39 One photograph from around 1994-2000 shows
 40 an electric task lamp, of a form sometimes called
 41 a piano, desk, or banker's lamp, standing on the

705. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7d513tx55j>.

706. "Power Surges to Bluegrass Farm Homes," *Lexington Leader*, 16 June 1938, 1-2.

707. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, <https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7f4q7qrb6w>.



Figure 107. Typical "schoolhouse"-type electric pendant. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 108. Detail of shade holder of vestibule pendant showing later chain of dissimilar finish. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 109. Detail of damaged light switch cover at north wall of vestibule showing stained finish of modern plywood paneling below ca. 2000-2005 paint finish. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

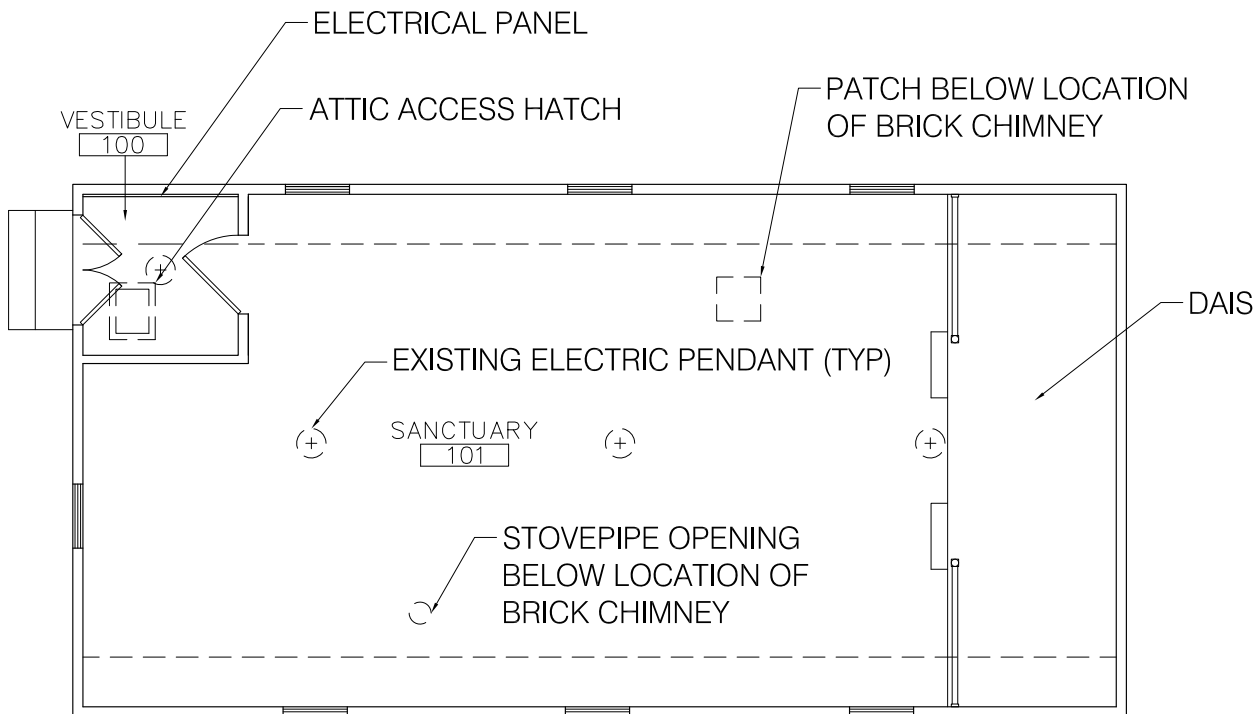
1 pulpit and plugged into an outlet centered on
2 the face of the dais; this lamp is no longer in the
3 building. Some of the lights were functional during
4 a 2020 site visit. [Figure 109]

5 Plumbing Systems

6 The church does not appear to have ever been
7 fitted with plumbing systems. A 1950 aerial
8 photograph suggests that an outhouse was present
9 along the rear of the lot, roughly in line with the
10 north elevation. A 1956 aerial does not appear to
11 show that outhouse but appears to show another
12 along the rear of the lot roughly aligned with
13 the south elevation. It is reported that a pair of
14 outhouses were present in a ruined state behind
15 the church in the 1990s.

16 Accessibility

17 The site currently includes no parking and no
18 accessible path to the church. The church is
19 accessed by entry doors several steps above grade,
20 making it inaccessible for anyone who cannot
21 climb steps. The existing concrete steps have
22 experienced differential settlement and no landing
23 is present outside the entry doors. Raised wood
24 thresholds at the entry door and the door between
25 the vestibule and sanctuary may present tripping
26 hazards.



Existing First Floor Plan

27 **Figure 110.** Existing first floor plan, scaled drawing located in Appendix B. (Source: RATIO Architects)

Interior

The Fee Memorial Church contains approximately 1,160 square feet (gross) of interior space on one level above a crawlspace. [Figure 110] Most of the interior consists of the sanctuary or audience room, measuring approximately 23' - 3" × 47' - 0". A vestibule measuring approximately 7' - 4" × 7' - 0" occupies the northwest corner of the building. An unfinished attic is present above the first-floor ceiling.

001 Crawlspace

The crawlspace between the first floor and grade appears to have been minimally excavated and roughly follows the slope of the hill on which the church stands. [Figure 111] The floor of the crawlspace appears to be a mix of dirt, gravel, and debris. [Figure 112] The cast-in-place concrete foundation walls are exposed at the perimeter. A beam composed of dimensional lumber runs east-west down the center of the church, with floor joists spanning between the north and south side walls and the beam. This beam spans between the east and west walls and is supported by three intermediate piers, three of cast concrete and two consisting of rectangular blocks of stone. A modern wood post is also present beneath the dais. The floor is covered with debris, much of it apparently dating from the 2000-2005 renovation, including scraps of modern lumber along the south wall.

100 Vestibule

A vestibule measuring approximately 7' - 4" × 7' - 0" occupies the northwest corner of the building. [Figure 113] Examination of the wall and ceiling framing within the attic and of the wall treatments in the vestibule and sanctuary indicate that the vestibule was part of the church's original construction in 1912. The west wall contains a pair of entry doors and triangular transom while the east wall contains a wide door opening into the sanctuary. This space originally provided an entry that could mediate between exterior weather and the sanctuary during cold weather. A panel in the ceiling provides access to the attic and a bell-rope from the cupola passes through this panel and provided the means for ringing the church's bell. [Figure 114] The bell-rope is weighted with a small section of iron pipe and is secured by a hook mounted to the south casing of the entry door. No attempt was made to ring the bell during the site visit out of concern for the structural stability of the bell cage.



Figure 111. Crawlspace looking west. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 112. Crawlspace facing northwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Walls

The wall materials and treatments within of the vestibule follow those found in the sanctuary and are described in detail in that room. A modern electrical panel is mounted on the north wall and a modern peg rail of unfinished wood is mounted to the south wall. Both of these features likely date from the 2000-2005 renovation.

Ceiling

The vestibule ceiling includes a flat portion approximately 13' - 9" high containing the attic access panel and a sloped portion along the north wall following the underside of the roof. Examination of areas of damage along the north wall indicate that the ceiling was of flat plaster. This flat plaster appears to be covered with fibrous paper, the top of which bears a pale greenish-blue painted finish that appears to match that seen on the fiberboard on the walls of the sanctuary.



Figure 113. Interior of vestibule, facing west. Note bell-rope mounted to upper left corner of door casing and modern circuit-breaker box on north wall at right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

[Figure 115] A layer of additional finishes extends over this blue paint but is now peeling due to water damage.

Floor

The floor of the vestibule follows the same treatment as that of the sanctuary; this is described in detail in that room. [Figure 116]



Figure 114. Upper part of vestibule, facing west. Note attic hatch, bell-rope, and pendant fixture. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 115. Detail of damage to lower edge of sloped ceiling along north wall; note fibrous paper with pale greenish-blue paint finish. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 116. Vestibule floor, looking west from sanctuary. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 117.** Sanctuary, facing east. Note patch at underside of north chimney at upper left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

2 **101 Sanctuary**

3 The sanctuary or audience room, measuring
4 approximately 23' -3" x 47' -0", occupies the
5 entire first floor with the exception of the small
6 corner vestibule. [Figure 117] The north and
7 south walls each contain three windows, and one
8 window is centered on the portion of the west
9 exterior wall south of the vestibule. [Figure 118]
10 A dais, 7' -8" deep and 1' -5" high, extends across
11 the east end of the room.

12 *Walls*

13 The sanctuary's walls are trimmed by a wood
14 wainscot 37 ½" in height. [Figure 119] The
15 wainscot consists of tongue-and-groove boards
16 with beaded edges, a cap molding, and wide
17 quarter-round shoe molding. A small section of
18 the cap molding north of the door to the vestibule
19 has been replaced with a molding of dissimilar
20 profile. This appears to date from the 2000-2005
21 renovation. Visual examination of the wainscot
22 suggests that it originally featured a reddish-brown
23 stained finish that later darkened to a dull blackish

24 brown. Subsequent paint finish layers appear to
25 include a light orange, light cream (likely the finish
26 visible in the photographs taken between 1994-
27 2000), white (possibly a primer), and the present
28 dark cream (believed to date from the 2000-2005
29 renovation). [Figure 120] The wainscot appears to
30 be in good condition except for a hole in the north
31 wall below the east window; this hole appears to
32 be the result of insect damage, possibly combined
33 with water infiltration through the windowsill
34 caused by the lack of management of rainwater
35 runoff from the roof. [Figure 121]



1 **Figure 118.** Sanctuary, facing west. Note stovepipe opening for south chimney at upper right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



4 **Figure 119.** Detail of west wall of sanctuary showing
5 typical finishes: bead-board wainscoting, plywood paneling
6 covering flat plaster, and typical window casing. (Source:
7 RATIO Architects, 2020)



2 **Figure 120.** Detail of wainscot at south wall showing
3 underlying finish layers. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 121. Detail of hole at north wall below east window as observed during site visit. This condition appears to be caused by insect damage and possibly by water infiltration. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 122. Detail of wall surface behind loose paneling at west wall of sanctuary; note pale greenish-blue paint over fibrous paper. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 123. View of sanctuary ceiling south of vestibule, facing southeast; note broken plaster keys and snakeskin at left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Above the wainscot, the walls appear to have originally been covered with smooth plaster over wood lath. Examination behind a loose section of the existing paneling appears to show a thick, fibrous paper covered with a pale greenish blue (robin's egg or seafoam) paint finish over the top of flat plaster. [Figure 122] At a later date, likely between 1955-1975, the blue paint finish was covered with plywood paneling featuring a golden-brown natural wood finish. Standard 8' sheets of paneling were mounted above the wainscot, with smaller sections filling in the space between these and the ceiling; a horizontal molding was used to cover the joint between the sheets and a quarter-round shoe molding. The plywood paneling was painted off-white during the 2000-2005 remodeling.

Ceiling

The sanctuary ceiling includes a flat portion approximately 13' - 9" high at the center and sloped portions along the north and south walls following the underside of the roof. These surfaces were originally covered with lath and plaster. Examination of the upper side of the

ceiling within the attic suggests that builders removed the plaster during a later remodeling; broken plaster keys are strewn across the lath, but none appear to remain in place. [Figure 123] Builders likely installed a new ceiling finish in its place, likely a fiberboard like that seen on the upper walls of the sanctuary. This may have been a finished surface or a substrate for the 12"-square acoustical ceiling tiles now in place and that were likely installed between 1955-1975. Small, circular ceiling medallions that appear to be made of plastic were installed over the ceiling tiles at the location of each pendant light fixture. The ceiling appears to have been painted white during the 2000-2005 renovation. The ceiling finishes are in fair condition.



1 **Figure 124.** Seam at sanctuary floor, facing southeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

1 Floor

2 The room is fitted with tongue-and-groove flooring
3 running east-west. A north-south seam is present
4 running parallel to the west wall roughly in line
5 with the shoe molding on the east face of the
6 vestibule wall. [Figure 124] This seam ends before
7 reaching the south wall. It may reflect the laying of
8 the floorboards after the framing of the vestibule
9 partitions, a typical practice of the period, or later
10 replacement of the floorboards at the west end
11 of the room. This seam does not appear to mark
12 the location of a partition. It is unclear whether
13 the floorboards were painted in the photographs
14 from 1994-2000. They are now painted a light gray
15 color, a finish presumably dating from the 2000-
16 2005 renovation. The floor appears to be in good
17 condition with the modern paint finishes in fair to
18 good condition.

19 Dais

20 The face of the dais is clad in beaded boards
21 matching those of the wainscot. The upper and
22 lower ends of these boards are trimmed by narrow
23 ogee moldings. The ends of the dais floorboards
24 are exposed, showing their tongue-and-groove
25 construction. A balustrade along the face of the
26 dais includes turned balusters and newels that
27 match porch newels in catalogs dating from 1895
28 to 1911.⁷⁰⁸ [Figure 125] This balustrade originally
29 included three sections, with two gaps providing
30 access to the dais.

31 The interior photographs taken between 1994-
32 2000 show that the balustrade included the present
33 south section and a center section that appears
34 to have been removed during the 2000-2005
35 renovation. The north section is missing in the
36 photographs; however, a stray baluster is visible
37 laying on the floor in the photograph. The north
38 section of the balustrade appears to have been
39 reinstalled during the 2000-2005 renovation; it
40 bears the same traces of early finishes as seen



Figure 125. Detail of dais showing balustrade, edge of floor, and wainscot. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 126. Detail of west face of dais after investigative removal of south step. Note evidence of earlier finishes. The debris is from a mouse nest that had been built inside the step. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

708. Foster-Munger Company, *Official Price List, January 10th, 1895* (Oshkosh, WI: Globe Printing Co., 1895), 128, <https://archive.org/details/officialcatalogu-00fost/page/128/mode/1up>; Gernert Bros. Lumber Co. (Louisville: Gernert Bros. Lumber Co., 1898), 89; *Illustrated Catalogue of B. F. Biggs Pump Company, Fourth Edition, 1900* (Lafayette, IN: B. F. Biggs Pump Co., 1900), 166; *General Catalog 1911-1912* (LaCrosse, WI: Segelke & Kohlhaus Mfg. Co., 1911), 297, <https://archive.org/details/GeneralCatalog1911-1912/page/n300/mode/1up>.

on the south section and is larger than the now-missing middle section.

Two simple wooden box steps are currently in place at the location of the gaps in the balustrade. Investigative removal of the south step revealed that it is mounted over unfinished wood at the floor and what may be the original stained finish at the face of the dais. [Figure 126] A mouse nest composed of various fibers and at least one mouse



1 **Figure 127.** Upper (east) face of south section of dais balustrade. Note curtain hardware mounted to newel and wall. (Source:
2 RATIO Architects, 2020)

3 skull was located in one of the two chambers of
4 the void. The north step was not in place in the
5 photographs taken between 1994-2000; the face
6 of the dais was painted, but the image appears to
7 show signs of the step's former location. A step
8 currently in this location likely dates from the
9 2000-2005 renovation.

10 It appears that the congregation fitted the east face
11 of the dais balustrade with curtain hardware to
12 accommodate fabric modesty panels behind the
13 balusters. [Figure 127] Mounting brackets for a
14 small curtain rod remain in place at the south wall
15 and the newel of the south section and the north
16 section appears to retain ghost marks of matching
17 hardware. The wall bracket is mounted over
18 the plywood paneling, indicating that someone
19 installed or reinstalled after the installation of the
20 paneling. The face of the dais and the balustrade
21 components appear to retain traces of a finish
22 sequence matching the wainscoting: a stained
23 finish, a pale orange, light cream, white, and the
24 present dark cream. [Figure 128, Figure 129,
25 Figure 130]



26 **Figure 128.** Detail of south section of dais balustrade
27 showing evidence of earlier finishes. (Source: RATIO
28 Architects, 2020)



5 **Figure 129.** Detail of north section of dais balustrade
6 showing evidence of earlier finishes. (Source: RATIO
7 Architects, 2020)

8 201 Attic

9 An unfinished attic covers the entire building above
10 the flat ceiling. It is accessed by a small panel in
11 the ceiling of the vestibule. The floor of the attic
12 consists of the upper side of the ceiling joists and
13 lath. Its ceiling consists of the roof rafters and
14 sheathing. The east and west gable ends show
15 exposed studs and the back side of the wood
16 weatherboard siding. [Figure 131] The bases of
17 two brick chimneys remain in place within the
18 attic. [Figure 132, Figure 133] The attic contains
19 debris including broken plaster keys, a rusty can of
20 Raid-brand wasp and hornet spray, and snakeskins
21 indicating past rodent and snake infestation.
22 [Figure 134]

23 A hole in the sheathing of the main roof provide
24 access into the cupola. [Figure 135] A ferrous
25 metal bell is mounted within a wood cage in the
26 cupola, with a bell-rope that passes down through
27 the access panel to the vestibule below. Future
28 examination of the upper side of the bell may
29 reveal the marks of its manufacturer and possibly
30 its date of manufacture.



1 **Figure 130.** Detail of west face of dais after investigative
2 removal of south step. Note evidence of earlier finishes; The
3 debris is from a mouse nest that had been built inside the
4 step. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



31 **Figure 131.** View southwest in attic showing back side of
32 weatherboard siding at west façade and skip-sheathing at
33 roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



34 **Figure 132.** View southeast within attic. The studs in the
35 foreground define the south wall of the vestibule. The base
36 of the south chimney is visible at center right. (Source: RATIO
37 Architects, 2020)



1 **Figure 133.** View east in attic showing base of north
 2 chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO
 3 Architects, 2020)



4 **Figure 134.** View of sanctuary ceiling south of vestibule,
 5 facing southeast; note broken plaster keys and snakeskin at
 6 left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



40 **Figure 135.** View into cupola from attic, facing north.
 41 (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

7 Furniture

8 The following pieces of furniture are either present
 9 in the building at this time or were present in past
 10 photographs of the interior. Some of these items
 11 may have been present in the church during its
 12 period of operation.

13 Gothic Pews (ca.1885-1915)

14 Interior photographs of the church taken between
 15 1994-2000 show at least six pews that likely dated
 16 from around 1880 to around 1915. These pews
 17 featured raised panels with pointed arch tops along
 18 the aisle end and plain end panels at the other end.
 19 Both end panels featured armrests with scrolled
 20 top and bottom ends. Circular bosses or rosettes
 21 were mounted on the outer faces of the armrest
 22 scrolls and on a lower projection of the end panel
 23 on the aisle end. One photograph shows two pews
 24 with the aisle ends facing the center aisle, three
 25 pews that appear to have the outer end facing
 26 the center aisle, and a sixth pew in the distance
 27 with its two ends concealed from the camera. The
 28 back sides of the pews were fitted with hymnal
 29 racks. The County appears to have removed the
 30 pews from the building before 2012 and NPS staff
 31 located them in storage elsewhere on site in 2021.

32 Vernacular Pews

33 The church currently contains fifteen pews of a
 34 simple, vernacular design. [Figure 136] Eleven of
 35 these measure 8' -0" long and four measure 6' -0"
 36 long. The pews feature simple board end panels
 37 cut in at the top to form a small horizontal armrest
 38 and then angling up to the top of the back. The
 39 end panels and armrests are topped by a simple



Figure 136. Details of typical vernacular pews. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

bullnose cap molding. The pews are not fitted with hymnal racks but holes in the back faces may indicate that they were once present. The simple design of these pews could suggest an early date or local production. They appear to have been present in the church in the photographs taken between 1994 and 2000.

The unfinished undersides of the pew seats bear perpendicular saw marks characteristic of a vertical sawmill. Vertical sawmills—known by many other names including “sash,” “up-and-down,” and “up-down” sawmills—used a reciprocating saw blade mounted vertically in a rectangular “sash frame.” A log was mounted in a carriage that moved it against the blade in regular intervals. The speed of the carriage depended on the hardness of the wood and the condition of the saw blade. Vertical sawmills produced evenly spaced saw marks perpendicular to the length of the board. Vertical sawmills operated in the eastern United States from the seventeenth century. While circular saws largely replaced vertical saws between 1850 and 1875, some older sawmills may have remained in operation until after 1900.⁷⁰⁹ The origin of these pews is unclear.

709. Donald A. Hutslar, “Ohio Waterpowered Sawmills,” *Ohio History* 84 (1975), 32-33; James L. Garvin, A *Building History of Northern New England* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001), 19; Donald A. Hutslar, “Ohio Waterpowered Sawmills,” *Ohio History* 84 (1975), 36; Thomas Durant Visser, *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1997), 27.

Pulpit (ca.1895-1925)

A wooden pulpit was present on the dais in photographs taken around 1994-2000 and also appears in a music video released in 2012.⁷¹⁰ The face of the pulpit featured a large rectangular panel trimmed by narrow ogee moldings. The main desk surface projected from the base and was trimmed with a narrow crown molding. A sloped book rest was built on the top of the desk surface. The 2012 music video suggests that the pulpit had a dark red stained finish, likely intended to imitate mahogany. It may have been part of the church’s original furnishings. The pulpit was no longer in the building as of 2020.

Chairs (ca.1900-1920)

Photographs taken around 1994-2000 and a music video released in 2012 both show a pair of wood dining chairs in the church. These chairs had cylindrical front and back legs, the back legs extending up to form the sides of the chair back, which was composed of two horizontal elements supporting seven narrow, cylindrical spindles. The upper horizontal element featured a rectangular panel containing a stamped pattern. These chairs were probably manufactured around 1910.⁷¹¹ The 2012 music video indicates that the chairs both had a dark brown stained finish. They were no longer in the building as of 2020.

Beckwith Parlor Gem Organ (ca.1909-1918)

This organ was produced by the Beckwith Organ Company of Chicago, a subsidiary of Sears, Roebuck & Company that produced reed organs in factories in Louisville, Kentucky, and St. Paul, Minnesota. [Figure 137] It is part of a broader type of reed organ sometimes called a pump organ because the two pedals are used to pump a bellows to pull air in across the reeds. Organs of this style, with tall top sections and unfinished back sides, were typically marketed as “parlor organs” for home use, while organs without top sections and including finished back sides were marketed as “chapel organs” suitable for placement at the front of a small church that could not afford a pipe

710. “Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video),” YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI>.

711. A similar chair can be found in Catalogue 1911-12, (Marietta, OH: Marietta Chair Company, 1911), 53, <https://archive.org/details/highgradechairs00mari/page/53/mode/1up>.



Figure 137. Beckwith Parlor Gem Organ. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

organ. Reed organs were more affordable than pianos and were popular instruments for middle-class American families from the 1870s to the 1900s but declined rapidly in popularity by the 1910s.

This particular organ model appears to date from the 1910s. The case design does not appear in the Beckwith catalogs for 1904 or 1908. It matches “No. 46H136 Beckwith Parlor Gem Organ” in the 1917 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog with the exception of the mirror in the center panel of the top section.⁷¹² The catalog reports that this model cost \$49.65 and that it shipped from the Louisville factory. The stop board bears images of a medal awarded to the company at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907. The case is of quarter-sawn oak and the area beneath the keyboard cover indicates that the finish originally conformed to the “golden oak” color popular in the United States from the 1890s into the 1910s.

It is unclear whether this organ was historically associated with the church or the Fee Memorial Institute, with the Hall community, or whether it

712. Sears, Roebuck and Company. *1917 Sears Roebuck Catalogue*. New York :Chelsea House Publishers, 1968, 852.



Figure 138. Thomas Trianon Organ. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

was acquired at a later date. The organ’s age would suggest that it could have been purchased new around the time of the building’s construction in 1912. An adjustable piano stool (from around 1895-1915) was present with the organ in a music video released in 2012; it is unclear whether this stool was present in the building or whether it was brought in as a set decoration.⁷¹³

Thomas Trianon Organ (ca.1969-1979)

This organ, the Trianon Model 606, was produced by the Thomas Organ Company of Sepulveda, California. [Figure 138] Founded in Ontario in 1875, the Thomas Organ Company relocated to Sepulveda in 1956. The company’s products peaked in popularity during the 1960s and it ceased operations in 1979.⁷¹⁴ This model was available with multiple case designs, including some with carving and incised decoration. A service information booklet for this model was copyright November 1969.⁷¹⁵ The origin of this organ is unclear.

713. “Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video),” YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI>.

714. Frank Pugno, “Thomas Organs,” accessed 4 February 2021, <http://theatreorgans.com/hammond/keng/ken.html/Thomas%20Organs%20Page.htm>.

715. Thomas Transistor Organ, Trianon Model 606, Service Information (Sepulveda, CA: Thomas Organ Company, 1969), accessed 4 February 2021, <https://www.ebay.com/itm/Thomas-Organ-Models-Pick-1-606-904-Trianon-Electra-Palace-III-/373178861354>.



50 **Figure 139.** Crucifix. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



51 **Figure 140.** Plaque on north wall of vestibule. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

53 Other Furnishings

54 Other furnishings are currently present in the
55 church or are known from interior photographs.

56 One of the photographs of the church interior
57 taken between 1994-2000 appears to show a
58 rectangular area of discoloration centered on
59 the east wall's plywood paneling, likely marking
60 the location where a picture had hung against
61 the paneling for many years. A framed picture
62 depicting a full-length standing Jesus Christ,
63 appearing to correspond with the size of the
64 rectangular outline on the wall, was visible standing
65 on a pew on the dais. This appears to have been
66 a print of Warner Sallman's painting *Jesus, The*

1 *Light of the World* (1955). It matches the size and
2 appearance of lithograph prints of the painting
3 produced by Kriebel & Bates (copyright 1956) that
4 featured a textured glossy finish suggestive of an oil
5 painting.⁷¹⁶ The picture is no longer in the building.

6 The other photograph taken between 1994-2000
7 appears to show a larger rectangular area of
8 discoloration at the east end of the north wall,
9 just above the wainscot. A rectangular board that
10 appears to correspond to the size of this outline
11 is visible hanging over the dais balustrade; this
12 may have been a chalkboard. It is no longer in the
13 building.

14 One of the photographs taken between 1994-2000
15 shows a small vase or compote containing flowers
16 standing on one corner of the pulpit. This appears
17 to have had a polygonal form with sloped sides, a
18 shape common for milk glass, compotes, planters,
19 and candy dishes of the period 1950-1970. The
20 flowers were presumably artificial. The vase is no
21 longer in the building.

22 A small crucifix is mounted on the wall of the
23 sanctuary adjacent to the vestibule door. [Figure
24 139] The cross is of wood with a double border
25 of gold stripes. A brass figure of Jesus Christ and
26 a brass scroll bearing "INRI" are mounted to the
27 cross. This crucifix appears to date from the period
28 1950-1970. A small plaque memorializing the 2000
29 renovation of the church hangs on the north wall
30 of the vestibule. [Figure 140]

31 The dais is currently fitted with a painted backdrop
32 composed of panels bearing a stylized image of
33 the Hickman covered bridge (1838, demolished
34 1933) over the Kentucky River at the village of
35 Camp Nelson. This was reportedly painted as the
36 backdrop for a play presented in the building in the
37 2000s. It was in place in a music video filmed in the
38 building in 2011 and released in 2012.⁷¹⁷

39

40 716. Kriebel & Bates, an affiliate of the Church of God (An-
41 derson, Indiana), was formed specifically to market
42 Sallman's works. They produced hundreds of millions
43 of prints of Sallman's better-known painting, *Head of*
44 *Christ* (1940) over several decades, making his works a
45 common sight in churches between the 1950s and the
46 1980s.

47 717. "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video),"
48 YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHl>.

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Part 1.D Evaluation of Significance

Introduction

The John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church / Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson (Fee Memorial Church) is a significant resource associated with the post-Civil War experiences of African Americans in Kentucky. In addition to its significance as a landmark public building of a Black community, it is also the only surviving building associated with the primary campus of Ariel Academy (later known as the Camp Nelson Academy and the Fee Memorial Institute), a school that provided education for Black Kentuckians from 1868 to 1924.

Evaluation of Significance

The church and the manse/parsonage (then extant) were classified as noncontributing resources within the Camp Nelson Civil War District, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001. This district's period of significance of June 1863 to June 1866 excluded all later resources, including those associated with the post-1866 experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the village of Ariel / Hall. This period of significance was followed for the Camp Nelson Historic and Archaeological District, designated a National Historic Landmark in 2013. These prior evaluations rightly sought to document the significance of the Civil War period history of the entire Camp Nelson site.

National Register listings in Jessamine County from the 1970s and 1980s focused on high-style architecture and historically significant properties like large houses, former plantations, and resources associated with the early settlement of the county. Beginning in the 1980s, listings began to include wider ranges of resources, including several districts, recognizing the broader scope of American history. Awareness of the significance of vernacular built resources, cultural landscapes, archaeological resources, and resources associated with African American history grew nationally from the 1980s onward. The 2001 listing of the Camp Nelson Civil War District reflects this trend toward significant resources that are not

limited to buildings; the district contains only one extant building from the period of significance but includes five sites and eighteen structures. The national significance of the Civil War period at Camp Nelson helped to make the case for this evaluation.

The public has recognized the post-1866 significance of the site of the National Home for Colored Refugees for many years. For example, historian Brian Eades noted in a 1995 study of the history of the Black community at Camp Nelson, prepared to support the preservation of the site and the development that ultimately led to the creation of Camp Nelson National Monument, "Hall (or Ariel) is a significant historical site because it symbolizes the end of slavery and the birth of freedom for thousands of Kentucky bondsmen."⁷¹⁸ Since the 1990s, awareness of the significance of the Ariel/Hall community and its institutions has grown.

The Fee Memorial Church is the only surviving building associated with Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute. While the Nicholasville campus retains the Bradley Memorial Building (1931, Archibald Garfield Lamont, architect), this resource was only used by the school for just over two years before the Fee Memorial Institute merged with Ingleside Seminary and moved to Virginia. The school used the Fee Memorial Church for twelve years prior to its relocation to Nicholasville. The adjacent manse foundation and potential archaeological resources on the former campus site are other significant resources associated with the school. The property appears to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places with state-level significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Religion, and Education. The church is eligible under National Register Criteria Consideration A, being a religious property that derives its primary significance from historical importance to the story of African Americans in Jessamine County after the Civil War. As the community's most intact historic

⁷¹⁸ Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers: A History of the Black Community at Camp Nelson, Jessamine County, Kentucky, A Report Prepared for the Camp Nelson Preservation & Restoration Foundation* (1995), 20.

building, oldest public building, and the last building associated with the school that operated here from 1868 to 1924, the church offers a unique connection to a critical aspect of the state's history and a dimension of the Kentucky experience distinct from that of white Kentuckians during the same period.

If a future theme study is conducted on Reconstruction and Interracial Democracy, it should consider the Fee Memorial Church as an example, potentially with national significance. The Fee Memorial Church is more than a church, it also represents Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute and the profound and sincere efforts toward building an interracial society that were promoted from within the abolition movement into the post-Civil War Reconstruction era.

Period of Significance

As noted above, the period of significance for the existing National Register district is June 1863 to June 1866, covering the Civil War and activities through the closure of Camp Nelson in 1866, and renders the church and associated resources as noncontributing. The Fee Memorial Church possesses a potential period of significance of 1912 to 1991. This covers its entire period of use by the congregation. Because much of this period was an era of steep decline for both the church and community and 1991 is currently within fifty years of the present date, a narrower period of significance may be warranted. Based on information contained in this HSR, and in consultation with NPS staff, the following period of significance and areas of significance are recommended:⁷¹⁹

- Epoch 1: 1912-1924

- State-level significance in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage: Black.
- Further evaluation may find national-level significance in this epoch.

719. The inclusion of two epochs was a suggestion provided by NPS staff; the two epochs were developed in a discussion with Barbara Judy, Ellen Rankin, and Megan Jenkins.

- Epoch 2: 1925-1991

- Local-level significance in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Black
- Further evaluation may find additional significance in this epoch.

For the purposes of this HSR, Epoch 1 has been used as the period of significance.⁷²⁰ The church's association with the Fee Memorial Institute lasted until 1924, when the school relocated to Nicholasville. This move seems to have accelerated the decline of the community that had begun in the 1910s. The period between 1912 and 1924 saw the church and community's experiences with the first part of the Great Migration and Rev. H. W. McNair's work to create conditions for Black Kentuckians to live a successful life as modern farmers in the area instead of relocating to Northern cities.

In addition to the church, the former campus of Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute is a cultural landscape and is also likely to possess archaeological resources that may yield information on the history of the school. The period of significance for the archaeological resources would be 1868 to 1924, covering the full operation of the school. These resources exist on the same site as Civil War era archaeological resources associated with the National Home for Colored Refugees and the earliest buildings used by the school and the church had been built as a part of the refugee camp in 1864-1865.

Evaluation of Integrity

Evaluation of the building's historic fabric dating from the period of significance—from its construction in 1912 through 1924—considers the seven aspects of integrity identified in the National Register Criteria for Evaluation: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The retention of essential physical features from the period of significance

720. Should a future National Register nomination include Epoch 2 in the period of significance for the resource, the preparer of that documentation would need to evaluate the resource under Criteria Consideration G as a property that continues to achieve significance into a period less than fifty years before the nomination.

1 is necessary for the property to have sufficient
 2 integrity to convey its significance. Character
 3 defining features of the church during its period
 4 of significance include its shape and form, cupola,
 5 original fenestration, concrete foundation, painted
 6 weatherboard siding and trim, interior spatial
 7 configuration of the vestibule and sanctuary,
 8 and interior features and finishes including a
 9 paneled wood door, bead-board wainscoting,
 10 smooth plaster walls and ceiling (now covered
 11 or removed), wood floors, dais balustrade, wood
 12 window and door casings, and the church bell.

13 **Location**

14 The building retains integrity of location. The
 15 building remains in its original location and has
 16 never been moved.

17 **Design**

18 The building retains integrity of design. The
 19 building's overall appearance, fenestration, spatial
 20 configuration, and most of its finish materials
 21 retain a high degree of integrity to the original
 22 1912 design. Alterations postdating the period
 23 of significance have been comparatively minor,
 24 including unsympathetic replacements of the entry
 25 doors, removal of the west louver of the cupola,
 26 and later treatments in place of interior flat plaster
 27 surfaces.

28 **Setting**

29 The building retains integrity of setting. The
 30 immediate surroundings of the church are a
 31 mowed lawn and likely resemble their conditions
 32 during the period of significance. The site's
 33 wider context has changed since the period of
 34 significance through the demolition of the other
 35 buildings of the Fee Memorial Institute campus,
 36 including the large dormitory, school, and manse,
 37 the demolition of many of the historic buildings on
 38 neighboring blocks, and the transformation of the
 39 surrounding land from agricultural uses to new-
 40 growth forest. Despite these changes, the setting
 41 continues to convey the basic physical conditions
 42 under which the building was construction and the
 43 functions it was designed to serve.

44 **Materials**

45 The building retains integrity of materials. Aside
 46 from the cast-in-place concrete foundation, the
 47 building's materials are modest, mass-produced
 48 items like wood weatherboard siding, tongue-and-

49 groove bead-board, and wood windows, which are
 50 all representative of the period of construction.
 51 Some of the siding was replaced in kind during
 52 the 2000-2005 renovation and during subsequent
 53 repairs in 2011-2012. The most notable alteration
 54 to the building's interior materials was the removal
 55 or covering of the original plaster surfaces of the
 56 upper walls and ceilings with modern materials
 57 including acoustical tiles and plywood paneling.

58 **Workmanship**

59 The building retains integrity of workmanship. The
 60 board-formed concrete foundation, interior and
 61 exterior wooden components, including mass-
 62 produced items like wood weatherboard siding,
 63 tongue-and-groove bead-board, wood windows,
 64 and a paneled wood door are all representative
 65 of the workmanship of both factory-based
 66 craftspeople and craftspeople working in the field
 67 to construct the building during the 1910s.

68 **Feeling**

69 The building retains integrity of feeling in its
 70 present condition. Feeling is an intangible quality
 71 of a historic property that evokes the sense and
 72 experience of the period of significance. The
 73 building's exterior and interior character, interior
 74 spatial volumes, and exterior and interior materials
 75 and finishes contribute to its integrity of feeling.

76 **Association**

77 The building retains a high degree of integrity of
 78 association. The building itself is a direct link to
 79 the story of the community of Ariel / Hall during
 80 the twentieth century, and it is the last remaining
 81 building from the Fee Memorial Institute campus
 82 connected to the experiences of the African
 83 Americans who settled on the site of the National
 84 Home for Colored Refugees in the late-1860s, the
 85 people educated at Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson
 86 Academy/Fee Memorial Institute between 1868
 87 and 1924, and the broader experiences of Black
 88 Kentuckians on the site during the Civil War.

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Part 2.A Treatment and Use

Introduction

The Scope of Work for this Historic Structure Report (HSR) included the following note regarding the treatment of the Fee Memorial Church:

The National Park Service has not yet completed a planning process to establish the administratively determined Management Category and Ultimate Treatment. However, because the John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church represents important resources and values that warrant special consideration in park planning and operations, the Historic Structure Report treatment section will assign it to the Management Category “Should Be Preserved and Maintained” pending completion of a planning effort and administrative determination. Consistent with Director’s Order 28, the Historic Structure Report treatment section will assign the church the Ultimate Treatment of “Preservation”, as characterized in *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties*.⁷²¹

The Fee Memorial Church was classified as a noncontributing resource within the Camp Nelson Civil War District, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001. This district’s period of significance of June 1863 to June 1866 excluded all later resources, including those associated with the post-1866 experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the village of Ariel/Hall. This period of significance was followed for the Camp Nelson Historic and Archaeological District, designated a National Historic Landmark in 2013.

The NPS Historic Preservation Training Center (HPTC) conducted a site visit in June 2021, during the preparation of this HSR. HPTC assessed the building and created a Class C estimate for a possible 2022-2023 project. The trip report issued by HPTC recommended moving the building off

its foundation, replacing the foundation; “Once a sufficient foundation has been established, the building should be moved back into place and positively attached to the new foundation and restored.” This report notes, “A further conversation is needed to make design decisions regarding any exterior and interior restoration since the extensive work of the early 2000s was not documented and significant changes have been made.”⁷²²

Laws, Regulations, and Functional Requirements

Applicable laws, regulations, and requirements that apply to the treatment recommendations include the following:

- Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). This act mandates that federal agencies, including the NPS, take into account the effects of their actions on properties listed or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and give the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation an opportunity to comment.
- National Park Service Cultural Resources Management Guideline (Director’s Order 28). This order requires planning for the protection of cultural resources on park property.
- Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.
- Architectural Barriers Act (ABA), 1968.
- Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), 1990.
- Kentucky Building Code (KBC), 2018. The KBC references the 2015 International Building Code (IBC) and the International Existing Building Code (IEBC). The Fee

721. Statement of Work: Contract No. P16PC00098, Task Order No. 140P5120F0044, Camp Nelson National Monument, Nicholasville, KY – PMIS 310595, John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church Historic Structure Report (May 2020), 7.

722. Kyle Bernard to Ernest Price, Memorandum (Trip Report), H30 (HPTC), 21 June 2021.

Memorial Church is a historic structure and is therefore subject to the provisions of KBC Chapter 34 – Existing Structures and IEBC Chapter 12 – Historic Buildings.

- International Building Code (IBC), 2015.
- International Existing Building Code (IEBC), 2015.
- National Fire Protection Association (NFPA) 914.
- International Energy Conservation Code, 2015.

The NPS Denver Service Center references the 2015 IEBC as a standard. The 2015 IEBC includes the following statement in paragraph 408.1, Historic Buildings: “[t]he provisions of this code that require improvements relative to the building’s existing condition or, in the case of repairs, that require improvements relative to a building’s predamage condition, shall not be mandatory for historic buildings unless specifically required by this section.”⁷²³ Paragraph 408.2, Life Safety Hazards states: “[t]he provisions of this code shall apply to historic buildings judged by the building official to constitute a distinct life safety hazard.”⁷²⁴

The Fee Memorial Church retains its historic configuration, with a single means of egress. IBC Table 1014.1 notes that fifty persons is the maximum allowable occupant load with a single means of egress for occupancies A (Assembly), B (Business), and E (Education). The sanctuary (room 101) contains 1,036 square feet. Per IBC Table 1004.1.2, a Business occupant load of 100 SF/person would allow ten persons, an Assembly occupant load of 15 SF/person would allow sixty-nine persons, and an Educational occupant load of 20 SF/person would allow fifty-one persons. The entry doors and the door between the vestibule and sanctuary swing inward, against the direction of exit travel; per IBC 1008.1.2, doors shall swing in the direction of exit travel where serving an occupant load of fifty or more persons.

Executive Order 13514 issued in 2009 directs

723. International Building Code Council, 2015 International Existing Building Code, Fifth Printing, (Country Club Hills, IL: Publications, 2014).
724. Ibid.

all federal agencies to implement sustainable design and construction practices. The relevant guidelines in this executive order require “... managing existing building systems to reduce the consumption of energy, water, and materials, and identifying alternatives to renovation that reduce existing assets’ deferred maintenance costs... [and] ensuring that rehabilitation of federally-owned historic buildings utilizes best practices and technologies in retrofitting to promote long term viability of the buildings.”⁷²⁵

Recommended Ultimate Treatments

The Fee Memorial Church’s Management Category has not yet been determined and the national monument needs to complete a planning process to determine this category. The Scope of Work for this HSR included the following note:

The National Park Service has not yet completed a planning process to establish the administratively determined Management Category and Ultimate Treatment. However, because the John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church represents important resources and values that warrant special consideration in park planning and operations, the Historic Structure Report treatment section will assign it to the Management Category “Should Be Preserved and Maintained” pending completion of a planning effort and administrative determination. Consistent with Director’s Order 28, the Historic Structure Report treatment section will assign the church the Ultimate Treatment of “Preservation”, as characterized in *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties*.⁷²⁶

725. “Executive Order 13514 of October 5, 2009: Federal Leadership in Environmental, Energy, and Economic Performance,” (Washington, D.C.: Federal Register 74, no. 194, October 8, 2009).

726. Statement of Work: Contract No. P16PC00098, Task Order No. 140P5120F0044, Camp Nelson National Monument, Nicholasville, KY – PMIS 310595, John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church Historic Structure Report (May 2020), 7.

Fee Memorial Church – Preservation

The recommended ultimate treatment for the Fee Memorial Church is a Preservation treatment, maintaining the building in its current form, anticipating regular maintenance and significant repair campaigns every ten to fifteen years. A preservation treatment would allow interpretation of the building and would maintain this significant resource for future generations. This treatment and associated interpretation may be enhanced by further research and archaeological investigation. A preservation treatment should be regarded as a treatment of indefinite length, requiring regular maintenance and cyclical repairs to maintain the present condition of the resource. When unsympathetic modern elements (e.g. modern entry doors) require replacement, a preservation treatment would not preclude replacement of these elements with new elements more closely resembling the lost historic features (e.g. the historic entry doors).

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties defines Preservation as follows:

Preservation is defined as the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction... The Standards for Preservation require retention of the greatest amount of historic fabric along with the building's historic form.⁷²⁷

A preservation treatment would not preclude the research and investigation leading to an ultimate rehabilitation treatment. For this reason, a preservation treatment could serve as an intermediate level of treatment until research and investigation are completed and funding can be secured for a rehabilitation treatment.

Work by NPS staff:

- Monitor the building's conditions and document them on a quarterly basis using a maintenance checklist. Copies of the checklist should be kept on file at the national monument so that changes in condition are documented.
- Continue regular maintenance of the building.
- Implement an Integrated Pest Management (IPM) plan to address insects, rodents, snakes, etc. This would include regular inspection for termite infestation and for other wood-destroying insects. It would also include preventing access to birds, squirrels, mice, bats and other rodents by ensuring window and door openings are tightly sealed and that appropriate mesh is provided behind all louvers.

Preservation work should be assumed to include the following:

Consider the interpretive potential of maintenance, repair, and preservation work.

Stabilization Design Phase

- Conduct a full structural design phase to determine final treatments. The ultimate repair treatments should be based on a full structural design phase. This will include destructive investigation to confirm the scope of repair needs, including investigation to determine footing and bearing conditions of the existing foundation. Two approaches to foundation repair have been proposed based on observational reports. Advantages and disadvantages of each approach are outlined below:

Approach 1. Retain historic concrete foundation and repair in place.

Advantages

- Maintains historic fabric of foundation
- Avoids risks from moving building
- Likely to be less costly than Approach 2

Disadvantages

- Existing cracks will remain visible
- Tie rod and strongback anchors and plates would be visible at the exterior

727. Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties (Revised)* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017) 2, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf>.

Approach 2. Move building off historic concrete foundation and onto cribbing, demolish historic concrete foundation, build new concrete foundation matching appearance of historic foundation, and move building onto new foundation.

Advantages

- Provides a new foundation designed and built per current codes and practices

Disadvantages

- Removes historic fabric of foundation
- Two moves and temporary placement of building may worsen existing structural deficiencies and present risk for additional damage
- Potential to disturb archaeological resources
- Likely to be more costly than Approach 1

- Evaluate whether heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning (HVAC) systems are needed for the building's proposed use. The national monument currently sees most visitation in the summer, during hot, humid weather. If HVAC systems are required, they should be designed to work with the historic fabric of the building and should be designed for efficient operation. The potential for condensation inside the building walls should be given particular attention. Care should be taken to minimize the visual, auditory, and sensory impact of new systems. For example, an earth-coupled (geothermal) system might be used in place of visible, noisy, and vandal-prone exterior air-cooled condensing units (ACCU). The installation of such a system would have to be carefully coordinated on a site with potential subsurface archaeological resources; depending on the depth of archaeological resources, a vertical (well) loop might be more suitable than a horizontal loop.
- Evaluate options for fire suppression systems in light of the selected HVAC treatments. Because of the site's rural location, it may be necessary to add a water reservoir for a fire suppression system. Care should be taken to minimize the visual impact of such a reservoir. There may be potential to supply this system with rainwater collected from the building's roof in a subsurface cistern.

- Complete a Historic Furnishings Report as a part of the development of the interpretation of the building, including research on and management treatments for the pews, organs, and other furnishings currently and historically present in the building.

Site

Follow recommendations in forthcoming Camp Nelson Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) once approved by NPS management. Site recommendations may include:

- Regularly maintain area around building. Mow the area around the church regularly to prevent future overgrowth. Avoid the use of outdoor power maintenance equipment (such as the "weed-eater" or leaf blowers) or chemical pesticides as these may damage historic materials including stone and wood. Assume major cleanups in spring and fall with monthly monitoring the rest of the year.
- Ensure positive drainage away from foundation.
- Preserve the Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins.
- All future site improvements should reflect the simple, rural character of the setting. Future development should not have an adverse effect on the historic resources. Site improvements must also be designed to avoid disturbance of sensitive archaeological resources, including both Civil War resources and those associated with the Ariel/Hall community. Refer to the CLR for recommendations on site furnishings, benches, lighting, plantings, and other site features.
 - The provision of visitor parking and walkways must be carefully designed to avoid altering the historic character of the Fee Memorial Church's setting.
 - Consider strategies to blend new features into the site (e.g. pavement matched to the color of the local soil). Screening of new features should be carefully designed to reflect the simple, rural character of the setting.
 - Interpretation of the location of the dormitory and recitation building and of the Refugee Home buildings will be a key part of the site's interpretation. Wayside interpretive signage will likely be an important part of the site.

- While national monument staff do not anticipate the need for a visitor center, contact station, office, storage, or primary maintenance facility at the Fee Memorial Church, a restroom may be desirable to support visitor and programming use of the building.
 - A restroom cannot be accommodated within the footprint of the Fee Memorial Church and should be assumed as a freestanding restroom structure elsewhere on site. The restroom building might also include a maintenance storage space.
 - The exterior of the building might also be used as a surface for interpretive signage, reducing the number of new features introduced to the site.
 - The restroom building should be well-designed and built to provide a durable, clean, and sanitary facility.
 - Careful placement and design are needed to make the structure unobtrusive and to avoid giving the impression that it was historically present on the site while also making it convenient for visitor use.
 - While it may be possible to install a restroom on the site of one of the privies documented in historic photographs, the steep slope of the hill between the building façade and the privy sites may make such a location infeasible.
 - A prefabricated restroom structure might be appropriate for the site, but care must be taken in its selection, siting, and exterior finish.
- The national monument may desire to construct a pavilion or amphitheater somewhere on the seven-acre site to continue the heritage of music in the Ariel/Hall community. The location of such a feature must be carefully planned to avoid disturbance of archaeological, architectural, and landscape resources.
 - It might be possible for such a pavilion to reconstruct the footprint and volume of the Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute Dormitory building.

Exterior

- Maintain historic shape and form of building.
- Replace existing concrete stoop with a compatible stoop including a ramp accommodating compliant access.
- Implement structural repairs following structural design phase (see Stabilization Design Phase, above). This will likely include repair or replacement of the concrete foundation, repairs and reinforcement of the floor structure, the addition of lateral bracing to the walls, connecting the superstructure to the foundation, and repairs and reinforcement of the cupola, bell, and roof structure. Structural repairs to the wood-frame portions of the building should not be visible at the exterior or interior. Depending on the treatment of the foundation, some repair features (e.g. tie rods and plates) may be visible at the exterior; care should be taken to minimize the visibility of these features without compromising their structural performance.
- Provide appropriate louvers, screens, or other covers at foundation openings.
- Stabilize cupola. Provide appropriate screens behind cupola louvers and other attic openings to prevent ingress of insects, bats, and other pests.
- Maintain existing roofing and plan for eventual replacement in-kind.
- Install gutters and downspouts to direct rainwater away from the building's walls and foundation. While there is no evidence that gutters and downspouts were historically present, the lack of these features has caused significant damage to historic fabric, including wood siding, trim, and windows. The site is expected to see increased rainfall associated with extreme weather events and management of rainwater is essential to preserving the building's vulnerable historic fabric. These features should be sized appropriately to handle rainwater runoff from the roof, should be of unobtrusive design (half-round gutters and round downspouts), and should be painted to match adjacent surfaces. These carefully-designed interventions will protect the building from further damage while avoiding changes to its character and integrity.
- Monitor and document deterioration of exterior wooden components as a part of routine maintenance inspections. Prioritize maintenance of historic fabric and consider

strategies like epoxy consolidation where possible. Replace deteriorated exterior wooden components in-kind. If the exterior wood is found to be old-growth yellow poplar, consider the use of preservative-treated yellow poplar to match the rot-resistance and paint retention properties of old-growth yellow poplar.

- Retain and repair historic wood sash windows, including entry transom, and associated frames, sills, and casings. Consider the installation of painted sheet metal flashing on windowsills to address long-term issue of wood sill deterioration.
 - Consider installation of low-profile exterior storm sash to protect historic sash from weathering and storm damage. Storm sash should be placed on the exterior to protect the historic sash, should be painted to match the sash color, should include muntins or frames the same size or narrower than the sash rails and stiles, and should provide adequate weepholes at the sill. The storm sash glazing may be fitted with clear films to reflect heat and ultraviolet light that may cause deterioration of interior materials, furnishings, and exhibits. These films should present a clear appearance comparable to the existing glass, should not be reflective or mirrored in appearance, and should not alter the color of the historic sash's painted components (e.g. muntins) when viewed through the glass from the exterior.
- Replace deteriorated modern entry doors. These new doors could match the appearance of the lost historic entry doors. Provide compliant hardware for access.
- Maintain existing exterior finish scheme (monochrome white). Prepare, prime, and paint all exterior wood surfaces.
- Consider the addition of lightning protection.
- Consider the installation of unobtrusive exterior lighting. It is recommended that all fixtures be discreet, full-cutoff fixtures and care should be taken to avoid glare, light pollution, and other light nuisances that would detract from the historic character of the site. Unobtrusive contemporary exterior and site lighting does not draw attention to itself and does not pretend to have been present during the period of interpretation. It should highlight

the building's architecture without drawing attention to the fixtures themselves. New site and exterior lighting designed to mimic fixtures from a period when no such exterior lighting was present risks presenting a false sense of history and is not recommended.

Interior

- Complete structural repairs (see notes under Exterior).
- Retain interior configuration of vestibule and sanctuary.
- Retain and repair paneled wood door between vestibule and sanctuary. If hardware modification is needed to provide compliant access, historic hardware should be removed, cataloged, and stored.
- Maintain modern interior alterations including plywood paneling, acoustical ceiling tiles, composite board, and gypsum board. Repair as required.
- Retain bead-board wainscoting and interior wood trim, including baseboards, chair rail, and window and door casings. Repair damaged sections of wainscoting, interior trim, and other woodwork, prioritizing maintenance of historic fabric and replacement in-kind.
- Retain dais balustrade and steps.
- Retain historic wood floors. Prioritize maintenance of historic fabric and replace damaged components in-kind.
- Retain bell and bell-rope system.

Building Systems

- All new building systems should be carefully designed to minimize damage to the historic fabric of the building during installation and operation. All hardware and other visible features should be designed to minimize their visual impact on the interior.
- Maintain existing pendant light fixtures. Install discreet contemporary light fixtures to accommodate interpretive use and programming. Unobtrusive contemporary lighting does not draw attention to itself and does not pretend to have been present during the period of interpretation. It should address functional requirements without drawing attention to the fixtures themselves. New lighting designed to mimic fixtures from a period when no such lighting was present risks presenting a false sense of history and is not recommended.

- Implement HVAC systems following design phase (see Stabilization Design Phase, above).
- Install fire and security alarm system consistent with the rest of the national monument.
- Install fire suppression system.
- Provide restrooms outside of the building (see Site, above).

Visitor Safety and Accessibility

- Provide compliant accessible entry and egress at main entrance (see Exterior, above). Because of the small space of the vestibule and the width of the leaves of the entry doors, consider the installation of mechanical operators on the exterior double doors and interior door.
- It may be necessary to reverse the swing of the entry and vestibule doors to follow the direction of travel for egress. If the interior vestibule door presents a problem, consider propping or fixing it in an open position rather than removing it.
- Because the installation of a ramp or lift to access the dais would likely be intrusive within the building interior, it is recommended that programming of the interior be designed to avoid staff or visitor access to the dais.
- Exit signage and emergency lighting should be designed to minimize its visual impact on the interior (e.g., transparent, edge-lit exit signs rather than internally illuminated box exit signs).
- Provide accessible restrooms outside of the building (see Site, above).

Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins – Preservation

It is recommended that the Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins receive a Preservation treatment, maintaining the ruins in their present condition. Reconstruction of the house is not recommended due to lack of available evidence of its appearance and lack of potential interpretive value for the site. A preservation treatment would allow interpretation of the ruins and would maintain this resource for future generations. This treatment and associated interpretation may be enhanced by further research and archaeological investigation. A preservation treatment should be regarded as a treatment of indefinite length, requiring regular maintenance and cyclical repairs to maintain the present condition of the resources.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties defines Preservation as follows:

Preservation is defined as the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction... The Standards for Preservation require retention of the greatest amount of historic fabric along with the building's historic form.⁷²⁸

The following work should be anticipated as a part of a preservation treatment of the Manse/Parsonage Foundation. All treatment should be coordinated with the treatment recommendations in the Camp Nelson Cultural Landscape Report.

- Remove small trees and shrub sprouts from inside and within five feet from the perimeter of the Manse/Parsonage Foundation. Regularly inspect larger trees that have root systems that may grow under foundation. Prune roots or remove as necessary to alleviate possible damage.
- Install a weed barrier/landscape cloth inside of the Manse/Parsonage Foundation ruins to prevent future growth of vegetation and reduce ongoing maintenance.
- Regularly inspect masonry of Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins. Locate missing stones or fallen pieces. Store in safe place for future repairs.
- Provide interpretation of the house and its relationship to the church, school, and community.

728. Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties (Revised)* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017) 2, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf>.

Alternative Treatments

An alternative treatment for the Fee Memorial Church would be a Rehabilitation treatment. This treatment would include sympathetic adaptations to support interpretive use while restoring the church to its appearance during the period between its construction in 1912 and the departure of the Fee Memorial Institute in 1924. The building's size and interior configuration would remain as they are today. Features postdating the period of interpretation (e.g. plywood paneling and acoustical ceiling tiles) would be removed and features from the period of interpretation that have been removed (e.g. the entry doors and the louvers on the west face of the cupola) would be restored. Sympathetic adaptations to support interpretive use will retain and preserve the building's historic character and fabric.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties defines Rehabilitation as follows:

Rehabilitation is defined as the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values. The Rehabilitation Standards acknowledge the need to alter or add to a historic building to meet continuing or new uses while retaining the building's historic character.⁷²⁹

Rehabilitation of the Fee Memorial Church will address long-term maintenance problems, including rainwater management, while accommodating interpretive and programmatic needs of the national monument. Rehabilitation work should seek to maintain the building's historic fabric while accommodating contemporary needs. This rehabilitation would support interpretation of the story of the congregation established at Camp Nelson in 1864, the story of Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute, and the story of the Ariel/Hall community. This would allow for a multi-

dimensional interpretation of the experiences of African Americans in Kentucky after the Civil War. To the extent feasible, this rehabilitation should accurately represent the church's appearance during the period 1912-1924, providing visitors with an authentic experience of the last surviving building associated with the church and school in Ariel/Hall.

The following work should be anticipated to support a future rehabilitation project:

Work by NPS staff:

- Monitor the building's conditions and document them on a quarterly basis using a maintenance checklist. Copies of the checklist should be kept on file at the national monument so that changes in condition are documented.
- Continue regular maintenance of the building.
- Implement an Integrated Pest Management (IPM) plan to address insects, rodents, snakes, etc. This would include regular inspection for termite infestation and for other wood-destroying insects. It would also include preventing access to birds, squirrels, mice, bats and other rodents by ensuring window and door openings are tightly sealed and that appropriate mesh is provided behind all louvers.

Rehabilitation work should be assumed to include the following:

Rehabilitation Design Phase

- Complete interior and exterior historic finish analysis to determine the Fee Memorial Church's finish scheme during the period of interpretation.
- Conduct a full structural design phase to determine final treatments. The ultimate repair treatments should be based on a full structural design phase. This will include destructive investigation to confirm the scope of repair needs, including investigation to determine footing and bearing conditions of the existing foundation. Two approaches to foundation repair have been proposed based on observational reports. Advantages and disadvantages of each approach are outlined below:

729. Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (Revised) (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017) 2, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf>.

Approach 1. Retain historic concrete foundation and repair in place.

Advantages

- Maintains historic fabric of foundation
- Avoids risks from moving building
- Likely to be less costly than Approach 2

Disadvantages

- Existing cracks will remain visible
- Tie rod and strongback anchors and plates would be visible at the exterior

Approach 2. Move building off historic concrete foundation and onto cribbing, demolish historic concrete foundation, build new concrete foundation matching appearance of historic foundation, and move building onto new foundation.

Advantages

- Provides a new foundation designed and built per current codes and practices

Disadvantages

- Removes historic fabric of foundation
- Two moves and temporary placement of building may worsen existing structural deficiencies and present risk for additional damage
- Potential to disturb archaeological resources
- Likely to be more costly than Approach 1

- Conduct a structural and architectural design phase for the reconstruction of the two brick chimneys. Reconstruction of the chimneys may present structural challenges because the original chimneys were carried by the ceiling framing. The chimneys height and proportions may also make them vulnerable to storm damage, creating the potential for collapse and water infiltration in a severe storm. This design phase should evaluate at least two potential treatments.
 - Reconstruction of the chimneys in brick per their original design. The chimneys would be non-functional (“dummies”) and could include internal reinforcement.
 - Additional structure may be required to provide adequate support for the chimneys.
 - Reconstruction of the chimneys as silhouettes or “ghosts.” This treatment has been used on other sites, most famously in the “ghost structures” (1974-1976, Robert Venturi, William Rauch, and Denise Scott Brown) at Franklin Court in Philadelphia, designed to interpret lost buildings associated with Benjamin Franklin.
 - The chimneys might follow this approach or might consist of a frame with a cladding that evokes the appearance of the original brick chimneys. This cladding might consist of a material like perforated metal, with the perforation pattern used to evoke the appearance of the original chimney.
- Evaluate whether heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning (HVAC) systems are needed for the building’s proposed use. The national monument currently sees most visitation in the summer, during hot, humid weather. If HVAC systems are required, they should be designed to work with the historic fabric of the building and should be designed for efficient operation. The potential for condensation inside the building walls should be given particular attention. Care should be taken to minimize the visual, auditory, and sensory impact of new systems. For example, an earth-coupled (geothermal) system might be used in place of visible, noisy, and vandal-prone exterior air-cooled condensing units (ACCU). The installation of such a system would have to be carefully coordinated on a site with potential subsurface archaeological resources; depending on the depth of archaeological resources, a vertical (well) loop might be more suitable than a horizontal loop.
- Evaluate options for fire suppression systems in light of the selected HVAC treatments. Because of the site’s rural location, it may be necessary to add a water reservoir for a fire suppression system. Care should be taken to minimize the visual impact of such a reservoir. There may be potential to supply this system with rainwater collected from the building’s roof in a subsurface cistern.

- Complete a Historic Furnishings Report as a part of the development of the interpretation of the building, including research on and management treatments for the pews, organs, and other furnishings currently and historically present in the building.

Site

Follow recommendations in forthcoming Camp Nelson Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) once approved by NPS management. Site recommendations may include:

- Regularly maintain area around building. Mow the area around the church regularly to prevent future overgrowth. Avoid the use of outdoor power maintenance equipment (such as the “weed-eater” or leaf blowers) or chemical pesticides as these may damage historic materials including stone and wood. Assume major cleanups in spring and fall with monthly monitoring the rest of the year.
- Ensure positive drainage away from foundation.
- All future site improvements should reflect the simple, rural character of the setting. Future development should not have an adverse effect on the historic resources. Site improvements must also be designed to avoid disturbance of sensitive archaeological resources, including both Civil War resources and those associated with the Ariel/Hall community. Refer to the CLR for recommendations on site furnishings, benches, lighting, plantings, and other site features.
 - The provision of visitor parking and walkways must be carefully designed to avoid altering the historic character of the Fee Memorial Church’s setting.
 - Consider strategies to blend new features into the site (e.g. pavement matched to the color of the local soil). Screening of new features should be carefully designed to reflect the simple, rural character of the setting.
 - Interpretation of the location of the dormitory and recitation building and of the Refugee Home buildings will be a key part of the site’s interpretation. Wayside interpretive signage will likely be a key part of the site.
 - While national monument staff do not anticipate the need for a visitor center, contact station, office, storage, or primary maintenance facility at the Fee Memorial Church, a restroom may be desirable to support visitor and programming use of the building.
 - A restroom cannot be accommodated within the footprint of the Fee Memorial Church and should be assumed as a freestanding restroom structure elsewhere on site. The restroom building might also include a maintenance storage space.
 - The exterior of the building might also be used as a surface for interpretive signage, reducing the number of new features introduced to the site.
 - The restroom building should be well-designed and built to provide a durable, clean, and sanitary facility.
 - Careful placement and design are needed to make the structure unobtrusive and to avoid giving the impression that it was historically present on the site while also making it convenient for visitor use.
 - While it may be possible to install a restroom on the site of one of the privies documented in historic photographs, the steep slope of the hill between the building façade and the privy sites may make such a location infeasible.
 - A prefabricated restroom structure might be appropriate for the site, but care must be taken in its selection, siting, and exterior finish.
 - The national monument may desire to construct a pavilion or amphitheater somewhere on the seven-acre site to continue the heritage of music in the Ariel/Hall community. The location of such a feature must be carefully planned to avoid disturbance of archaeological, architectural, and landscape resources.
 - It might be possible for such a pavilion to reconstruct the footprint and volume of the Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute Dormitory building.
 - Preserve the Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins.

Exterior

- Maintain historic shape and form of building.
- Replace existing concrete stoop with a compatible stoop including a ramp accommodating compliant access.
- Implement structural repairs following structural design phase (see Rehabilitation Design Phase, above). This will likely include repair or replacement of the concrete foundation, repairs and reinforcement of the floor structure, the addition of lateral bracing to the walls, connecting the superstructure to the foundation, and repairs and reinforcement of the cupola, bell, and roof structure. Structural repairs to the wood-frame portions of the building should not be visible at the exterior or interior. Depending on the treatment of the foundation, some repair features (e.g. tie rods and plates) may be visible at the exterior; care should be taken to minimize the visibility of these features without compromising their structural performance.
- Remove modern lattice and boards from concrete foundation; provide appropriate louvers, screens, or other covers at foundation openings.
- Restore cupola. Repair or replace finial. Reconstruct missing louver on west face of cupola. Provide appropriate screens behind cupola louvers and other attic openings to prevent ingress of insects, bats, and other pests.
- Replace existing roofing with new roofing compatible with the period of interpretation.
- Install gutters and downspouts to direct rainwater away from the building's walls and foundation. While there is no evidence that gutters and downspouts were historically present, the lack of these features has caused significant damage to historic fabric, including wood siding, trim, and windows. The site is expected to see increased rainfall associated with extreme weather events and management of rainwater is essential to preserving the building's vulnerable historic fabric. These features should be sized appropriately to handle rainwater runoff from the roof, should be of unobtrusive design (half-round gutters and round downspouts), and should be painted to match adjacent surfaces. These carefully-designed interventions will protect the building from further damage while avoiding changes to its character and integrity.
- Prioritize retention of historic painted weatherboard siding and trim. Consider strategies like epoxy consolidation where possible. Where historic material is deteriorated beyond repair or is missing entirely, it should be replaced in-kind. If the exterior wood is found to be old-growth yellow poplar, consider the use of preservative-treated yellow poplar to match the rot-resistance and paint retention properties of old-growth yellow poplar.⁷³⁰ Prepare, prime, and paint all exterior wood surfaces.
- Retain and restore historic wood sash windows, including entry transom, and associated frames, sills, and casings. Consider the installation of painted sheet metal flashing on windowsills to address long-term issue of wood sill deterioration.
 - Consider installation of low-profile exterior storm sash to protect historic sash from weathering and storm damage. Storm sash should be placed on the exterior to protect the historic sash, should be painted to match the sash color, should include muntins or frames the same size or narrower than the sash rails and stiles, and should provide adequate weepholes at the sill. The storm sash glazing may be fitted with clear films to reflect heat and ultraviolet light that may cause deterioration of interior materials, furnishings, and exhibits. These films should present a clear appearance

730. Yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*, American Tulipwood) was perhaps the most common building wood in use in the Eastern United States at the time of the Fee Memorial Church's construction. Old-growth yellow poplar is rot-resistant and holds paint well, while new-growth yellow poplar is prone to rot and paint failure. Through decades of research, the Purdue Wood Research Laboratory has identified strategies for treatment of new-growth yellow poplar to bring it close to the properties of old-growth yellow poplar. Michael O. Hunt and Daniel L. Cassens, "Comparative Decay Resistance of Heartwood of Yellow Poplar and Southern Pine" (Purdue University, 2008), <https://ag.purdue.edu/fnr/Documents/ExtWoodHistoricPreserva/decayresistance.pdf>; Michael O. Hunt, Terry Amburgey, Daniel L. Cassens, H. Michael Barnes, Ramsay Smith, Tom Kohlmeier, Kris Owen, Robert R. Leavitt, and Daniel Warner, "Preservative-Treated Yellow Poplar for Above-Ground Use," Proceedings of the International Convention of Society of Wood Science and Technology and United Nations Economic Commission for Europe – Timber Committee, Geneva, Switzerland, 11-14 October 2010, https://www.fwrc.msstate.edu/pubs/WS7_2010.pdf.

comparable to the existing glass, should not be reflective or mirrored in appearance, and should not alter the color of the historic sash's painted components (e.g. muntins) when viewed through the glass from the exterior.

- Replace deteriorated modern entry doors with new doors matching the appearance of the lost historic entry doors. Provide compliant hardware for access.
- Restore exterior finish scheme from the period 1912-1924.
- Consider reconstruction of chimneys, weighing maintenance and structural factors as well as the potential for damage in high winds.
- Consider the addition of lightning protection.
- Consider the installation of unobtrusive exterior lighting. It is recommended that all fixtures be discreet, full-cutoff fixtures and care should be taken to avoid glare, light pollution, and other light nuisances that would detract from the historic character of the site. Unobtrusive contemporary exterior and site lighting does not draw attention to itself and does not pretend to have been present during the period of interpretation. It should highlight the building's architecture without drawing attention to the fixtures themselves. New site and exterior lighting designed to mimic fixtures from a period when no such exterior lighting was present risks presenting a false sense of history and is not recommended.

Interior

- Complete structural repairs (see notes under Exterior).
- Retain interior special configuration of vestibule and sanctuary.
- Retain and repair paneled wood door between vestibule and sanctuary. If hardware modification is needed to provide compliant access, historic hardware should be removed, cataloged, and stored.
- Remove plywood paneling, acoustical ceiling tiles, composite board, and gypsum board. Restore smooth plaster surfaces. If historic plaster is no longer present (as may be the case on the ceiling), it may be replaced in kind or could be replaced with another material providing a matching appearance as long as that material is suitable for the building's environmental conditions.
- Retain bead-board wainscoting and interior

wood trim, including baseboards, chair rail, and window and door casings. Repair damaged sections of wainscoting, interior trim, and other woodwork, prioritizing maintenance of historic fabric and replacement in-kind.

- Retain dais balustrade and steps. Consider restoration of the missing center section of the balustrade if this does not preclude contemporary interpretive use of the interior.
- Retain historic wood floors. Prioritize maintenance of historic fabric and replace damaged components in-kind.
- Restore interior finish scheme from the period 1912-1914.
- Retain bell and bell-rope system. Restore bell to functional condition.

Building Systems

- All new building systems should be carefully designed to minimize damage to the historic fabric of the building during installation and operation. All hardware and other visible features should be designed to minimize their visual impact on the interior.
- Install discreet contemporary light fixtures to accommodate interpretive use and programming. Unobtrusive contemporary lighting does not draw attention to itself and does not pretend to have been present during the period of interpretation. It should address functional requirements without drawing attention to the fixtures themselves. New lighting designed to mimic fixtures from a period when no such lighting was present risks presenting a false sense of history and is not recommended.
- Implement HVAC systems following design phase (see Rehabilitation Design Phase, above).
- Install fire and security alarm system consistent with the rest of the national monument.
- Install fire suppression system.
- Provide restrooms outside of the building (see Site, above).

Visitor Safety and Accessibility

- Provide compliant accessible entry and egress at main entrance (see Exterior, above). Because of the small space of the vestibule and the width of the leaves of the entry doors, consider the installation of mechanical operators on the exterior double doors and interior door.
- It may be necessary to reverse the swing of the entry and vestibule doors to follow the

direction of travel for egress. If the interior vestibule door presents a problem, consider propping or fixing it in an open position rather than removing it.

- Because the installation of a ramp or lift to access the dais would likely be intrusive within the building interior, it is recommended that programming of the interior be designed to avoid staff or visitor access to the dais.
- Exit signage and emergency lighting should be designed to minimize its visual impact on the interior (e.g., transparent, edge-lit exit signs rather than internally illuminated box exit signs).
- Provide accessible restrooms outside of the building (see Site, above).

Future Investigation

Additional outreach by NPS and Camp Nelson National Monument staff:

- A public call for information, memories, and photographs of the Ariel/Hall community, Fee Memorial Church, and Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute. This could build upon the 1994 oral history project while helping to gain exposure for the story of the community and its connection to Camp Nelson. Contemporary media may make it possible for NPS to reach far-away descendants of the community who may have documentation.
 - National monument staff should establish and maintain contact with descendants of the Ariel/Hall community, including those who no longer reside in the vicinity of Camp Nelson.
 - Conduct an oral history project to record memories and stories passed down in families descended from the Ariel/Hall community.

Physical investigations by a team of historic preservation professionals:

- Complete interior and exterior historic finish analysis to determine the Fee Memorial Church's finish scheme during the period of interpretation.
- Complete HABS documentation of the Fee Memorial Church.
- Conduct an archaeological survey and targeted investigation of the Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute

campus site. This could help to reveal the location of the Refugee Home era buildings, the postbellum buildings (dormitory, recitation building), structures, and features on the property. This will likely also reveal evidence of material culture associated with the Refugee Home as well as the school and church.

- Additional development on the site could destroy archaeological resources and should not be implemented until after an archaeological survey and targeted investigation have been completed.
- Consider interpretation of the footprint of lost buildings as a part of the long-term interpretation of the Fee Memorial Church.
- Consider documentation of the remaining historic resources in the Ariel/Hall community to HABS/HAER/HALS standards.

National Register Nomination

The Fee Memorial Church was classified as a noncontributing resource within the Camp Nelson Civil War District, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001. This district's period of significance of June 1863 to June 1866 excluded all later resources, including those associated with the post-1866 experiences of Black Kentuckians who settled in the village of Ariel/Hall. This period of significance was followed for the Camp Nelson Historic and Archaeological District, designated a National Historic Landmark in 2013.

The Fee Memorial Church should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. This nomination could be for the church itself or for the Fee Memorial Institute, with the church as a contributing resource. Regardless of the selected title, the nomination should include the Fee Memorial Church, the Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins, and, if possible, the site of Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute as contributing resources. If possible, the listing should encompass the full boundaries of the Fee Memorial Institute campus.

The property is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A and Criteria Consideration A, being a religious property that derives its primary significance from historical importance to the story of African Americans in Kentucky after the Civil War, including its association with Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute. Based

on information contained in Part 1 of this HSR, and in consultation with NPS staff, the following period of significance and areas of significance are recommended:

- Epoch 1: 1912-1924
 - State-level significance in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage: Black.
 - Further evaluation may find national-level significance in this epoch.
- Epoch 2: 1925-1991
 - Local-level significance in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Black
 - Further evaluation may find additional significance in this epoch.

For the purposes of this HSR, Epoch 1 has been used as the period of significance.

In addition to the Fee Memorial Church and the Manse/Parsonage Foundation Ruins, the former campus of Ariel Academy / Camp Nelson Academy / Fee Memorial Institute is likely to possess archaeological resources that may yield information on the history of the school. Pending further archaeological investigation, the site may also be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D, being likely to yield information important to the history of African American education in Kentucky after the Civil War. The period of significance for the archaeological resources would be 1868 to 1924, covering the full operation of the school. These resources exist on the same site as Civil War era archaeological resources associated with the National Home for Colored Refugees and the earliest buildings used by the school and the church had been built as a part of the refugee camp in 1864-1865.

If a future theme study is conducted on Reconstruction and Interracial Democracy, it should consider the Fee Memorial Church as an example, potentially with national significance. The Fee Memorial Church is more than a church, it also represents Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute and the profound and sincere efforts toward building an interracial society that were promoted from within the abolition movement into the post-Civil War Reconstruction era.

Future Building Uses

Preliminary discussions among NPS staff have identified the following appropriate activities and uses for the Fee Memorial Church:

Interpretation and programming:

- There is a strong desire to have the interior of the church contain an exhibit interpreting the story of the National Home for Colored Refugees and the community of Ariel/Hall. This fulfills a larger interpretive goal of telling the story of the Civil War's effects. This will bridge between the story of Camp Nelson during the Civil War and the United States as it exists today. This interpretation can be done in many ways and may not preclude other uses of the building interior.
 - The heritage of music in the Ariel/Hall community suggests the potential for an outdoor music performance space, possibly a pavilion or amphitheater for concerts and public presentations. The location of this facility will have to be carefully planned (see Site recommendations). Music could form a key part of the site's interpretation going forward.

Homecomings/reunions for descendants of the Ariel/Hall community.

As noted in the Laws, Regulations, and Functional Requirements section, existing code would require a second means of egress and a change in the swing of doors if the building is to be occupied by fifty or more persons. For this reason, it is recommended that any future use scenario include an occupant load of less than fifty persons.

Resilience to Natural Hazards

Fee Memorial Church is susceptible to threats associated with climate change. Resource Briefs prepared for the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, located approximately 85 miles southwest of Camp Nelson National Monument, offer relevant findings for understanding the threats associated with climate change that may impact the Fee Memorial Church. The effects of climate change include both changes in average conditions, trending toward higher temperatures and increased precipitation, and in intensity of particular events (e.g., more intense storms, floods, or droughts).⁷³¹

The area around Camp Nelson National Monument has seen an increase in mean annual temperature. The period between 2001 and 2011 was warmer than any previous decade in every region of the United States. Compared with the 1971-1999 average, mean annual temperature is projected to increase two to three degrees (Fahrenheit) by about 2050 and four to eight degrees by 2100, depending on the greenhouse gas emissions scenario. Temperature increases are likely to be most extreme in the summer and fall. In addition to warmer average temperatures and changes in precipitation, climate change is likely to cause “more frequent heat waves, droughts, floods, and an extended frost-free season.”⁷³² Both the number of days with a maximum temperature above ninety-five degrees (Fahrenheit) and the length of the frost-free season are projected to increase by twenty to thirty days per year between 2041-2070 compared with 1980-2000.⁷³³ Threats to the Fee Memorial Church posed by rising temperatures include increased crystallization of efflorescent salts due to increased evaporation rates, shrinking and cracking of wooden components, the potential for damage or

destruction by potential future wildfires, and added stress from sudden thermal change.⁷³⁴

The region saw an increase in average precipitation between 1991-2011 relative to the 1901-1960 average. Compared with the 1971-1999 average, precipitation is likely to increase in the winter and spring and decrease in the summer. Precipitation variability is likely to remain large over the coming decades.⁷³⁵ “Small changes in total annual precipitation may mask large shifts in the precipitation regime and associated impacts to ecosystems. . . . Heavier rain events and an increased number of days between rain events will lead to both more frequent droughts and more severe flooding and erosion.”⁷³⁶

The trend toward increased precipitation presents threats to the Fee Memorial Church’s historic fabric, which has suffered damage from inadequate rainwater management. An increase in extreme rain events would stress the building’s ability to shed water. The extreme rain events will result in accelerated decay of wooden components and masonry due to increased extremes of wetting and drying. The extreme cycle of wetting and drying will also increase the deposition and the eventual infiltration of salts into the porous material of the structure. While the building does not appear to be vulnerable to flooding, its location on a hillside makes it susceptible to the effects of erosion caused by extreme rain events. Higher relative humidity would increase the moisture absorption rates for wood, brick, and porous stone. This increased moisture absorption would result in the decrease of crystallization and dissolution of salts within the masonry. The increased moisture would also increase the rates of growth of vegetation on masonry surfaces, increase the rate of corrosion

731. Bill Monahan & Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Resource Brief: Recent Climate Change Exposure of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park* (National Park Service, 29 July 2014), 2.

732. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 6.

733. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 2, 4-6, 11.

734. Rockman, Marcy, Marissa Morgan, Sonya Ziaja, George Hambrecht, and Alison Meadow. *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy* (Washington, DC: Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science and Climate Change Response Program, National Park Service, 2016), 20-24.

735. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 2, 4-5.

736. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 6.

of ferrous metal features, and accelerate the deterioration of wooden components.⁷³⁷

Increasing temperatures are associated with an increased frequency and intensity of severe weather. Tornadoes and high winds present a particular threat to the building.⁷³⁸ Storm systems and hurricanes have made landfall can also cause significant damage far inland. In 2008, Hurricane Ike made landfall in Texas and Louisiana and swept inland across the United States and into Canada. Although Ike's direct path was northwest of the Ohio River, the Ohio Valley, in proximity to Camp Nelson, saw significant damage to buildings in Louisville, Kentucky, New Albany and Madison, Indiana, and Cincinnati, Ohio. Several hurricanes are documented as passing over the direct vicinity of Camp Nelson in 1915, 1939, 1969 (Camille), and three in 2017 (Cindy, Harvey, and Nate).⁷³⁹ Severe weather threats include destruction of or damage to the building itself, including displacement from the foundation, loss of the roof, cupola, or windows, as well as the potential for wind-borne debris to damage the building. Aside from the potential damage from high winds, increasing storm events will increase weathering of exterior building components, accelerating deterioration of historic fabric and increasing maintenance needs.

In addition to its effects on natural and cultural resources, climate change will affect visitation patterns. Because Camp Nelson National Monument was created in 2018, long-term visitation data does not yet exist. Long-term average monthly visitation to the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park between 1979 and 2013 shows a very strong relationship with temperature. Projections of visitation under four potential climate change scenarios indicate that annual visitation is likely to increase between nine and twenty-eight percent. This increase is likely to be stronger in the shoulder season (two months on either side of peak season) and low season (three contiguous months with least visitation) but

may still be substantial during peak season (three busiest contiguous months).⁷⁴⁰

In addition to the threats posed by climate change, environmental pollution is a concern. Carbon dioxide, sulfur oxide, and nitrogen oxide from fossil-fuel-based power generation, automobile exhaust, and industrial pollution cause acid rain, which has been widely documented as a cause of deterioration of historic buildings, particularly masonry materials and metals. Particulate pollution from fossil-fuel combustion can accumulate on building materials and surfaces over time and may cause permanent staining.

Adaptation is the process of adjustment to actual natural hazards and the environment and its effects; human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate. **Mitigation** is the lessening of the potential adverse impacts of natural hazards through actions that reduce hazard, exposure, and vulnerability. **Resilience** is the ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring the preservation, restoration, or improvement of its essential basic features, structures, and functions.

Cultural resources including historic buildings "are fixed in place or derive much of their significance from the place within which they were created. Many are non-living, and all are unique. As a result, the capacity of cultural resources to adapt to changing environments is limited."⁷⁴¹ As stated in the Director's Policy Memorandum 14- 02, "NPS cultural resource management must keep in mind that (1) cultural resources are primary sources of data regarding human interactions with climate change; and (2) changing climates affect the preservation and maintenance of cultural resources."⁷⁴²

737. Ibid.

738. "A history of twisters: Tornadoes in Kentucky since 1950," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), accessed 13 October 2021, <https://data.courier-journal.com/tornado-archive/>.

739. NOAA Historical Hurricane Tracks, National Ocean Service, accessed 13 October 2021, <https://oceanservice.noaa.gov/news/historical-hurricanes/>.

740. Nicholas Fisichelli & Pamela Ziesler, *Park Visitation and Climate Change: Park-Specific Brief: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site: How might future warming alter visitation?* (National Park Service, 19 June 2015).

741. National Park Service, "Cultural Resources and Climate Change," (n.p., 2016), accessed December 9, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/climatechange/upload/06-CCRP-Cultural-Resource-Brief-FEB-2016.pdf>.

742. John B. Jarvis, February 10, 2014, 2.

The treatment recommendations focus on mitigation, lessening the potential adverse impacts of natural hazards on the building and increasing its resilience, the ability to survive and recover from the effects of a hazardous event. These include adding gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff and direct it away from the building, adding storm windows to protect the historic sash from weathering and storm damage, and adding lateral bracing and connecting the wood structure to the concrete foundation to reduce the potential for damage or destruction from high winds.

Implications – Adapting to Natural Hazards and Increased Climate Variability

According to NPS documents, impacts to buildings and structures related to temperature and drought extremes include: deterioration, conflagration, and desiccation.⁷⁴³ A loss of resource integrity may occur over time from conditions related to increased climate variability and its impacts. Typically, documentation is one of the first mitigation techniques undertaken in response to deterioration. This HSR document, which includes narrative, photographs, measured drawings, and recommendations, fulfills this first step in the mitigation process.

The Fee Memorial Church exhibits signs of previous deterioration and recommendations for treatment are included in this document. The treatment recommendations also address many of the threats inherent from the increase in climate variability. The treatments would be designed to provide a more stable exterior for the Fee Memorial Church, with the goal of allowing this resource to better withstand the pressures presented by climate variability.

743. Marcy Rockman, "An NPS Framework for Addressing Climate Change with Cultural Resources," *The George Wright Forum* 32, no. 1 (2015), accessed December 9, 2016, <http://www.georgewright.org/321rockman.pdf>.

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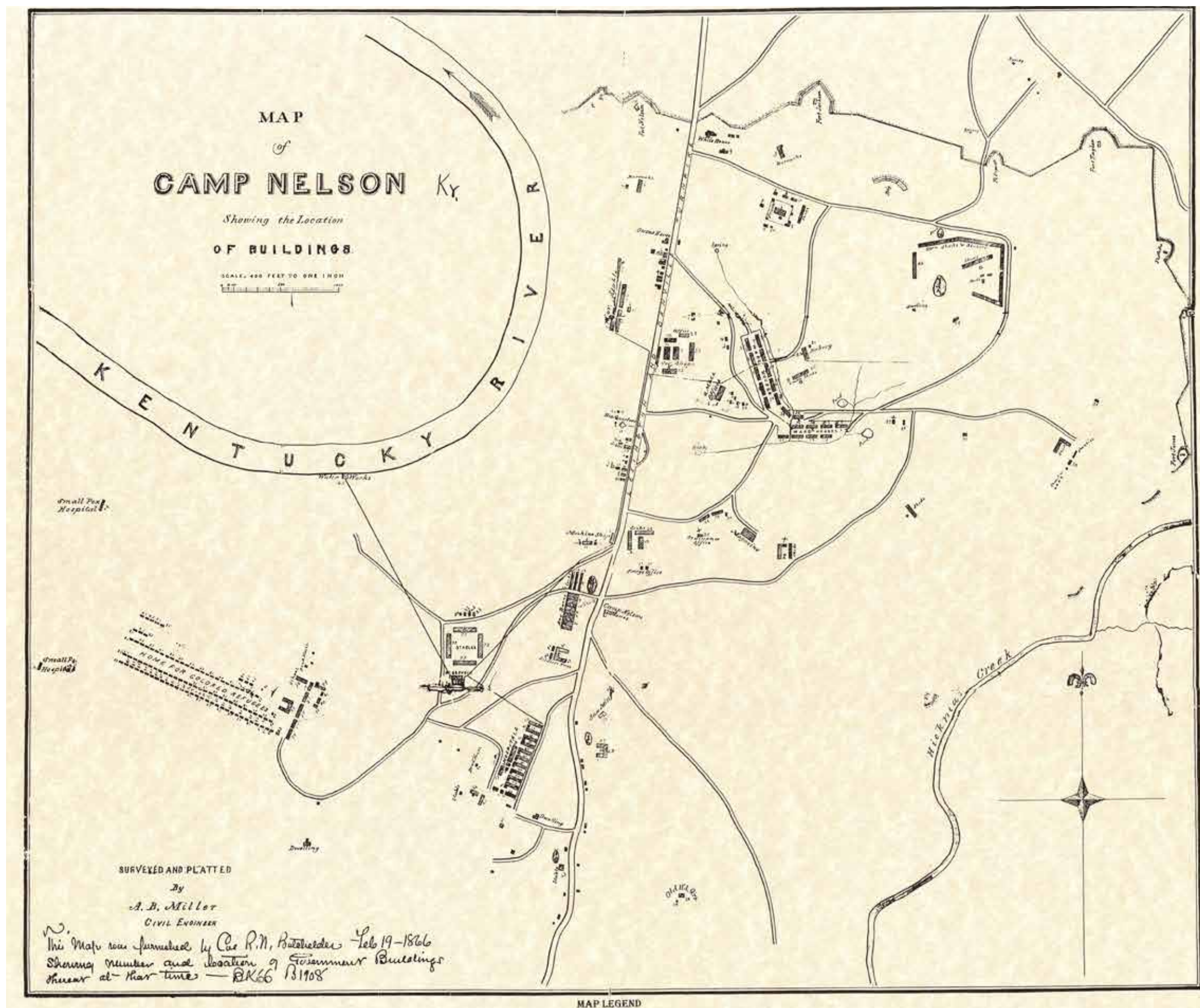
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¹ Appendix A. Historic Maps

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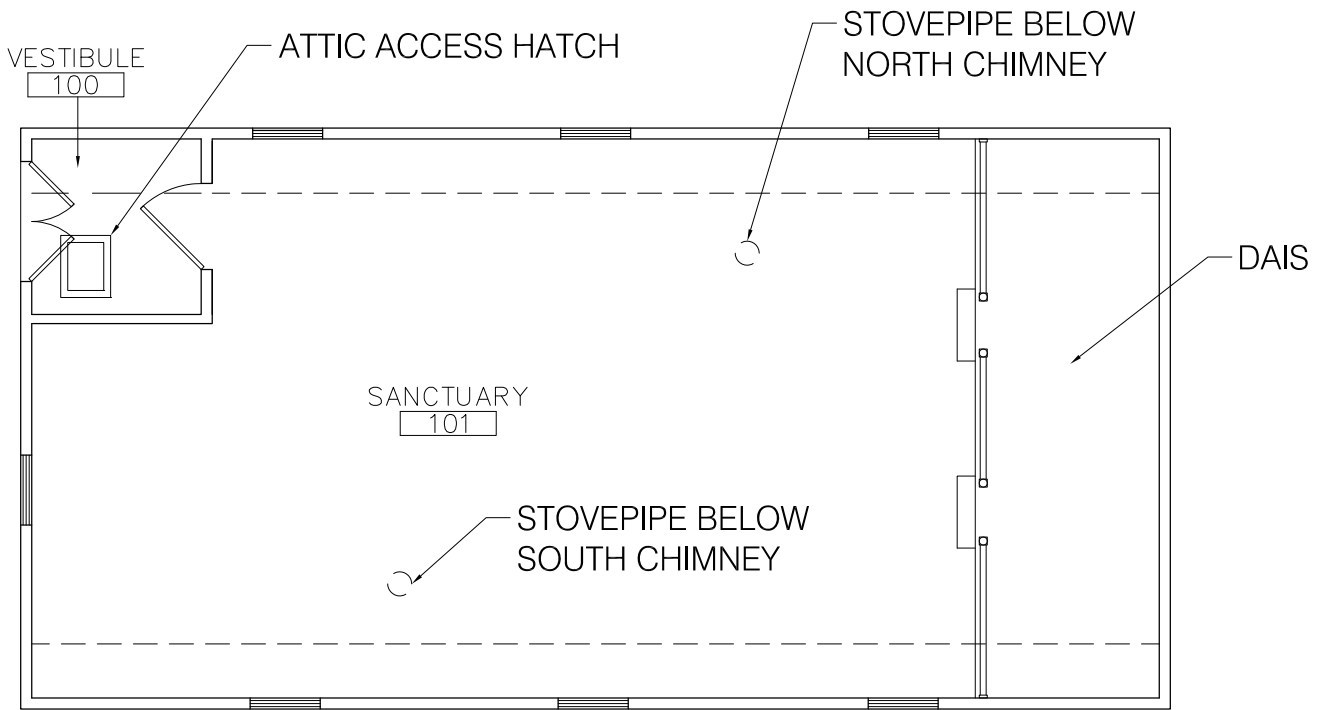
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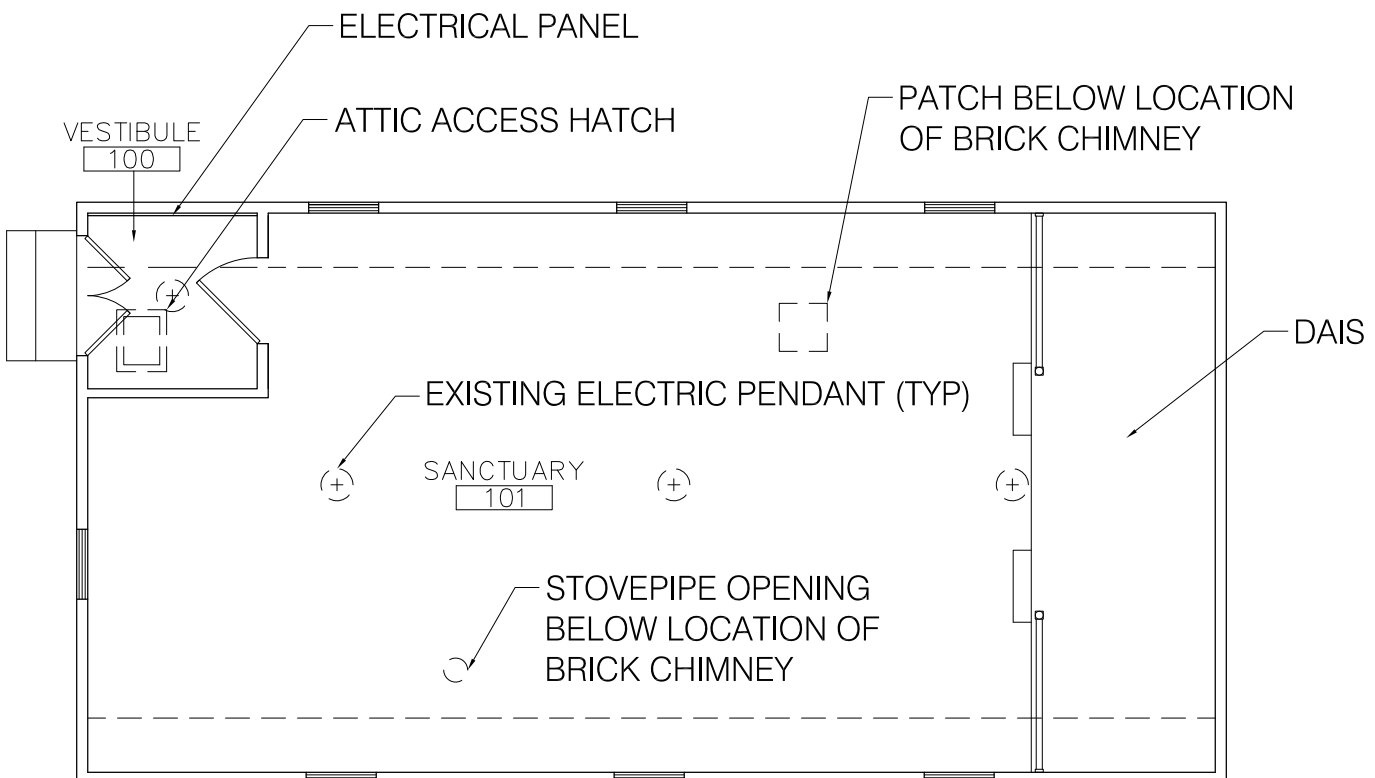
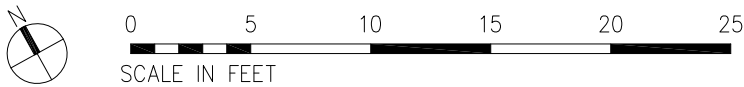
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3	Sheet 1	Reconstructed First Floor Plan 1912 / Existing First Floor Plan
4	Sheet 2	Reconstructed West Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation
5	Sheet 3	Reconstructed North Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation
6	Sheet 4	Reconstructed East Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation
7	Sheet 5	Reconstructed South Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation
8	Sheet 6	Reconstructed Section 1912 / Section Facing West
9	Sheet 7	Reconstructed South Interior 1912 / Existing South Interior Elevation
10	Sheet 8	Manse associated with Fee Memorial Institute and Fee
11		Memorial Church 1912 Sketch Floor Plan / Existing Foundation Plan
	Sheet 9	1866 - National Home for Refugees Area Map
	Sheet 10	1937 - Village of Hall
	Sheet 11	1998 - Village of Hall

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Reconstructed First Floor Plan 1912

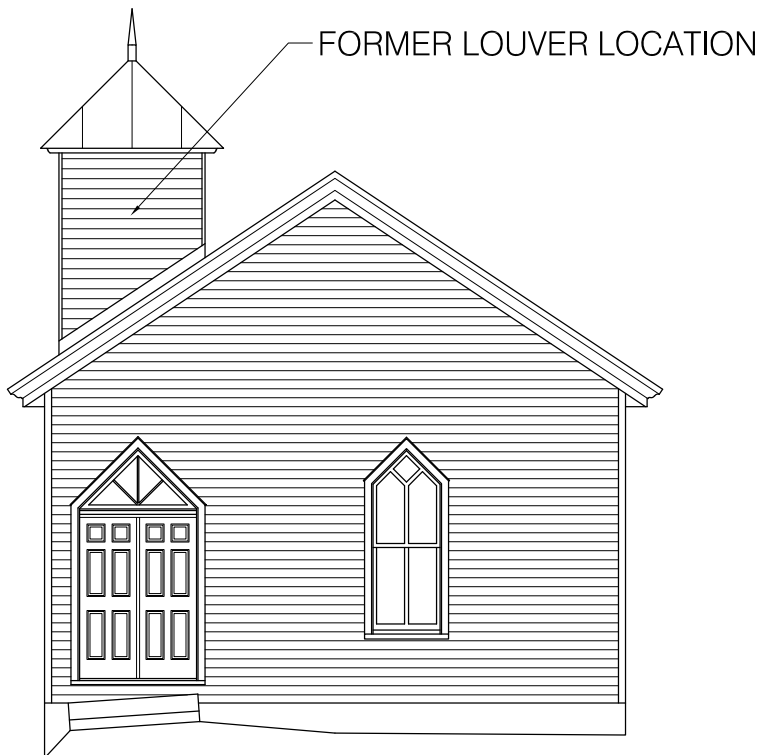


Existing First Floor Plan

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Reconstructed West Elevation 1912



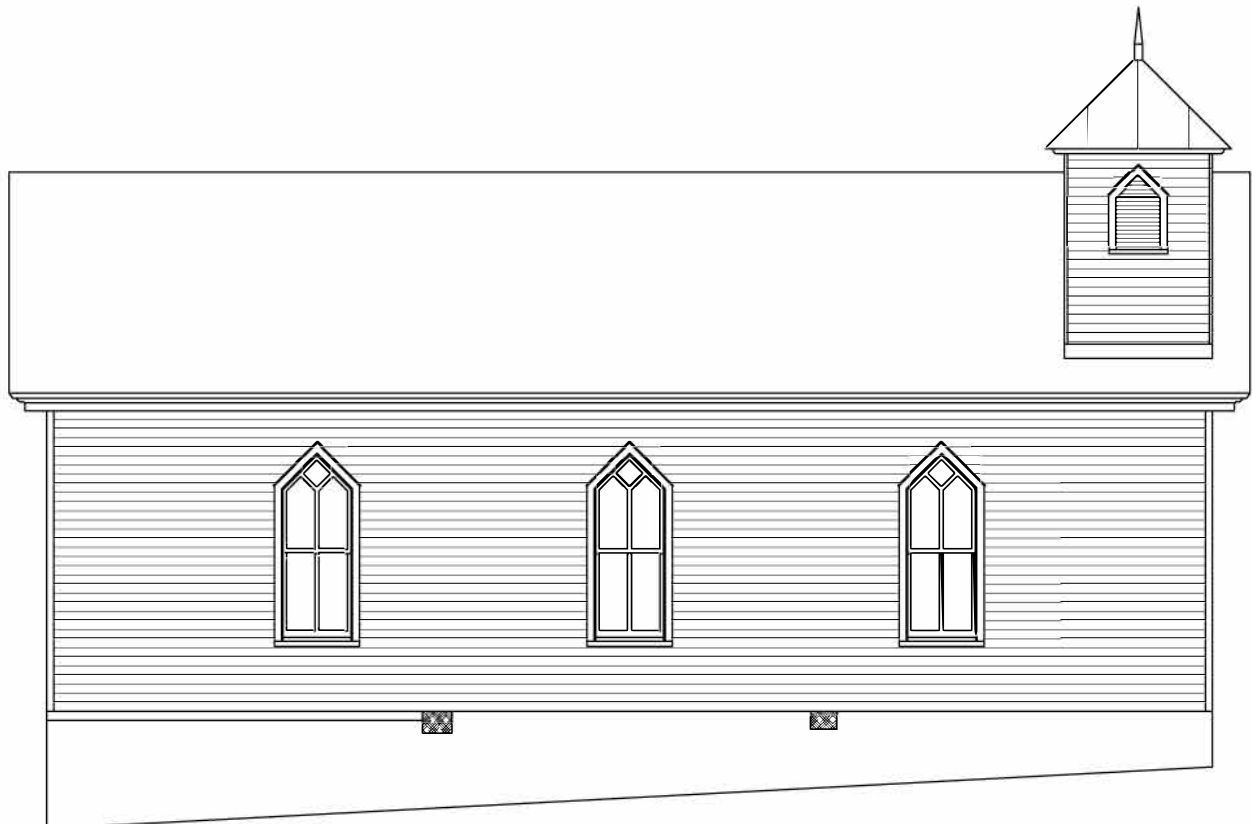
Existing West Elevation

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Reconstructed North Elevation 1912

0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE IN FEET



Existing North Elevation

WLA Studio, Athens, GA
RATIO Architects, Indianapolis, IN

Fee Memorial Church
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, INTERIOR REGION 2

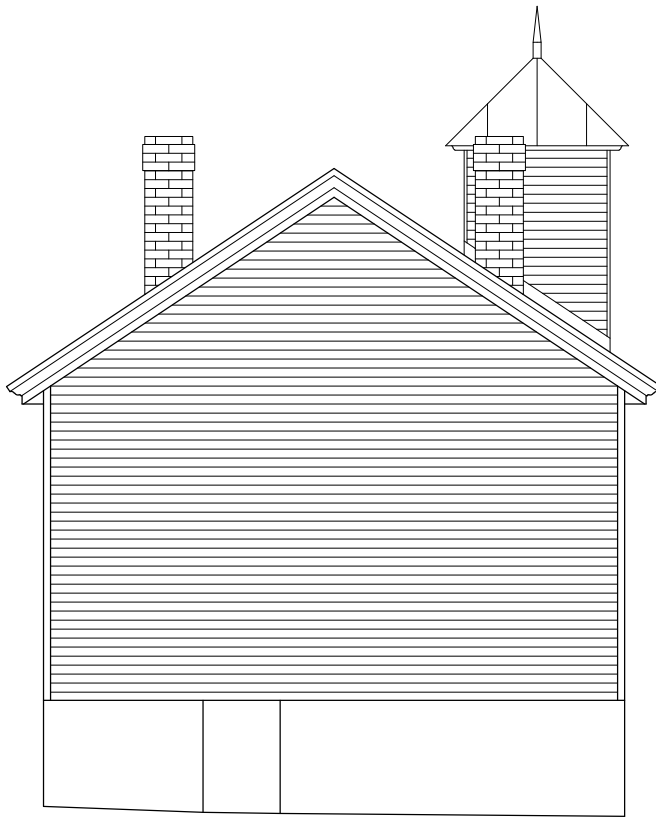
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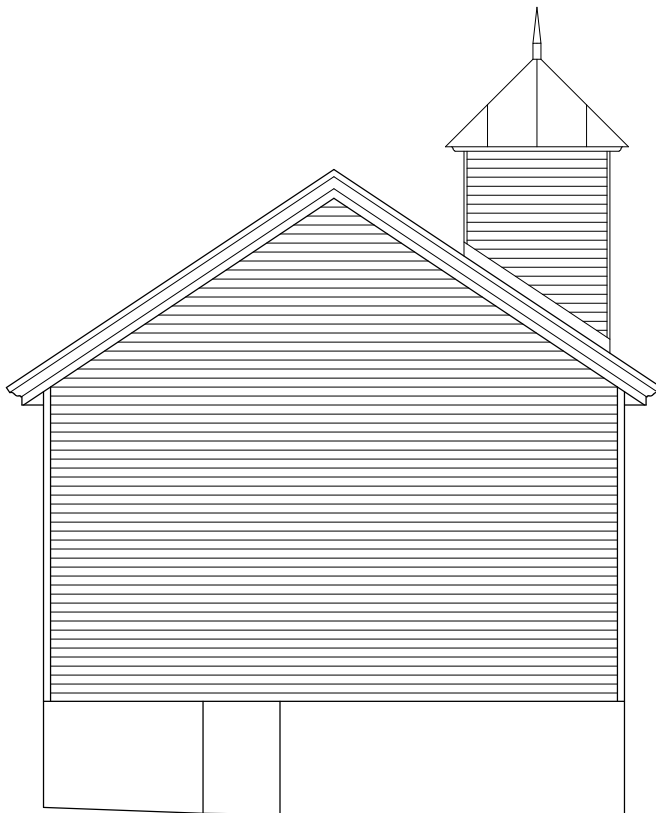
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Reconstructed East Elevation 1912



Existing East Elevation

WLA Studio, Athens, GA
RATIO Architects, Indianapolis, IN

Fee Memorial Church
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, INTERIOR REGION 2

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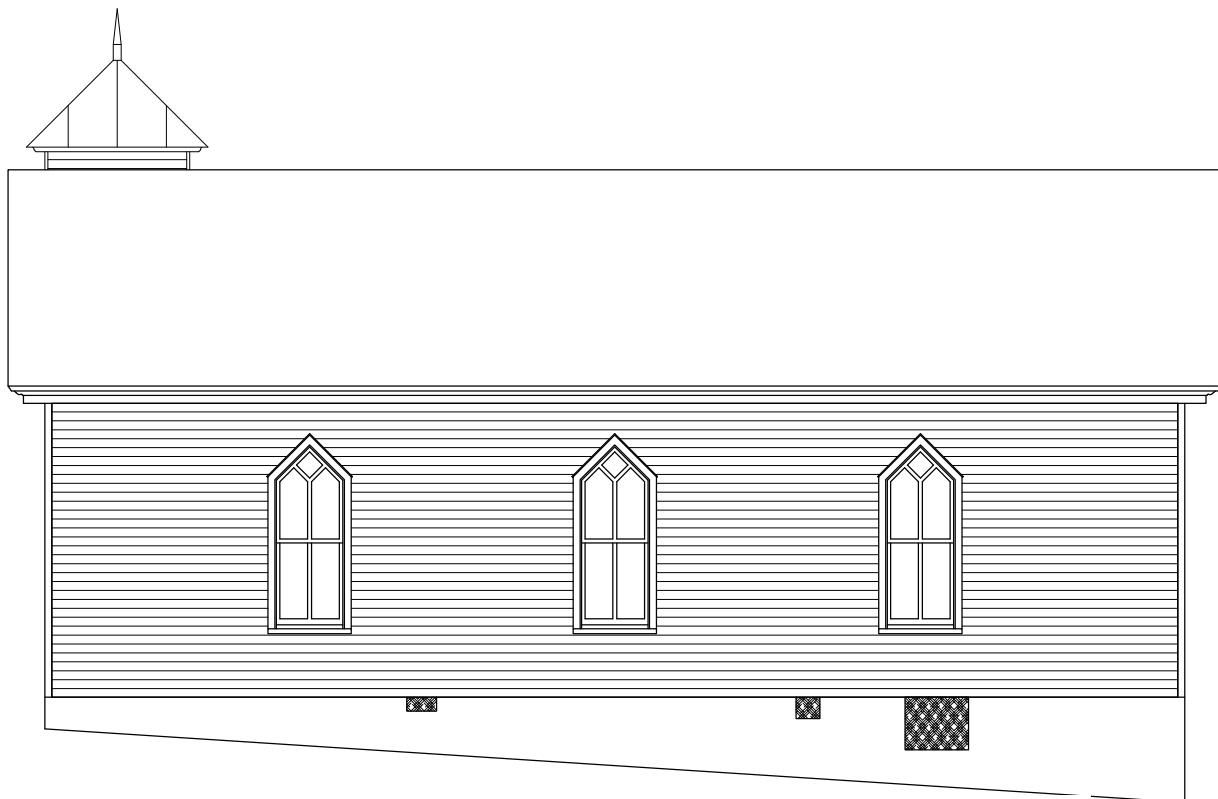
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Reconstructed South Elevation 1912



Existing South Elevation

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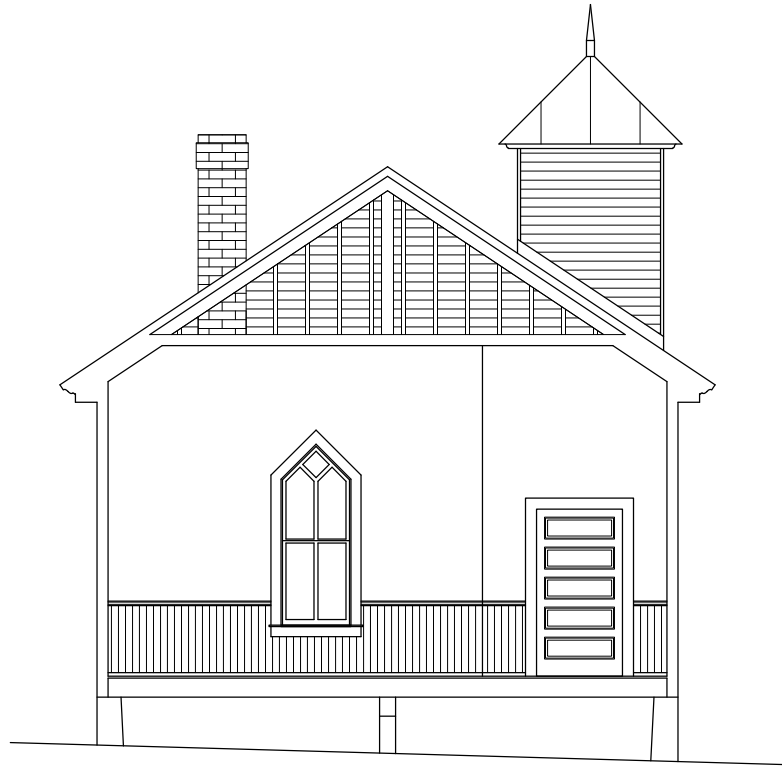
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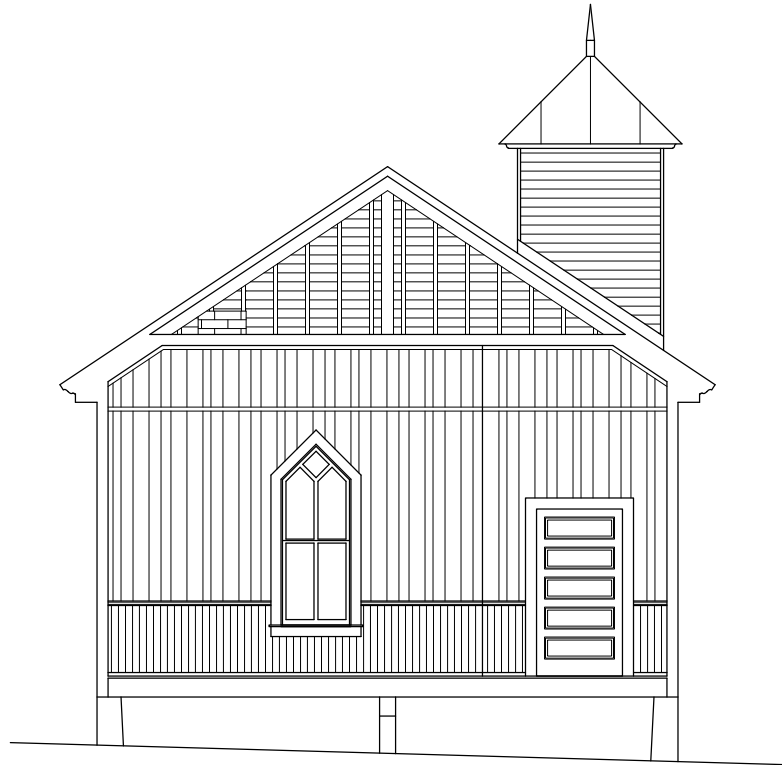
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Reconstructed Section 1912



Existing Section Facing West

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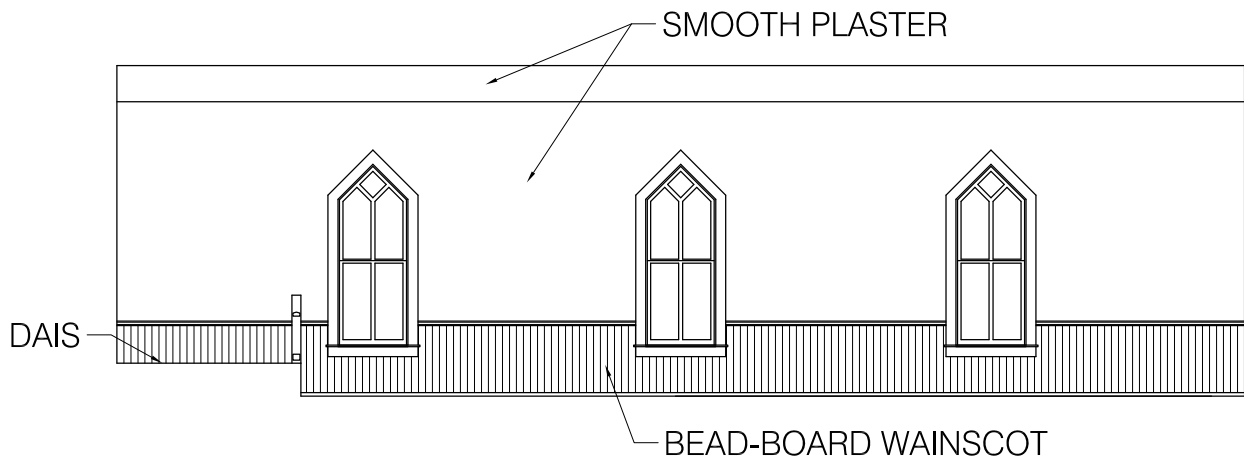
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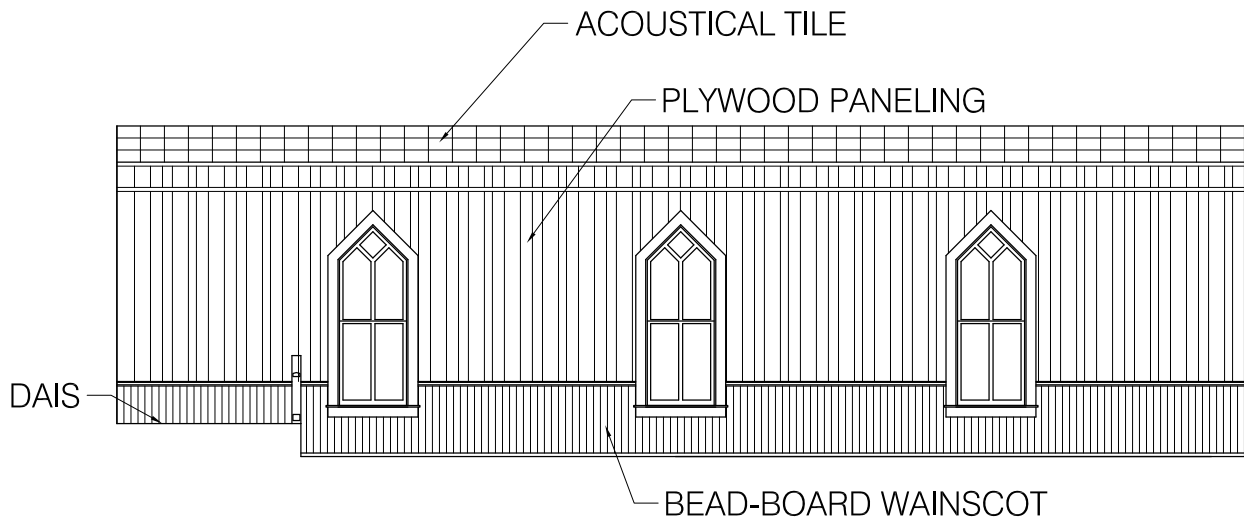
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Reconstructed South Elevation 1912



Existing South Elevation of Sanctuary

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Fee Memorial Church
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT
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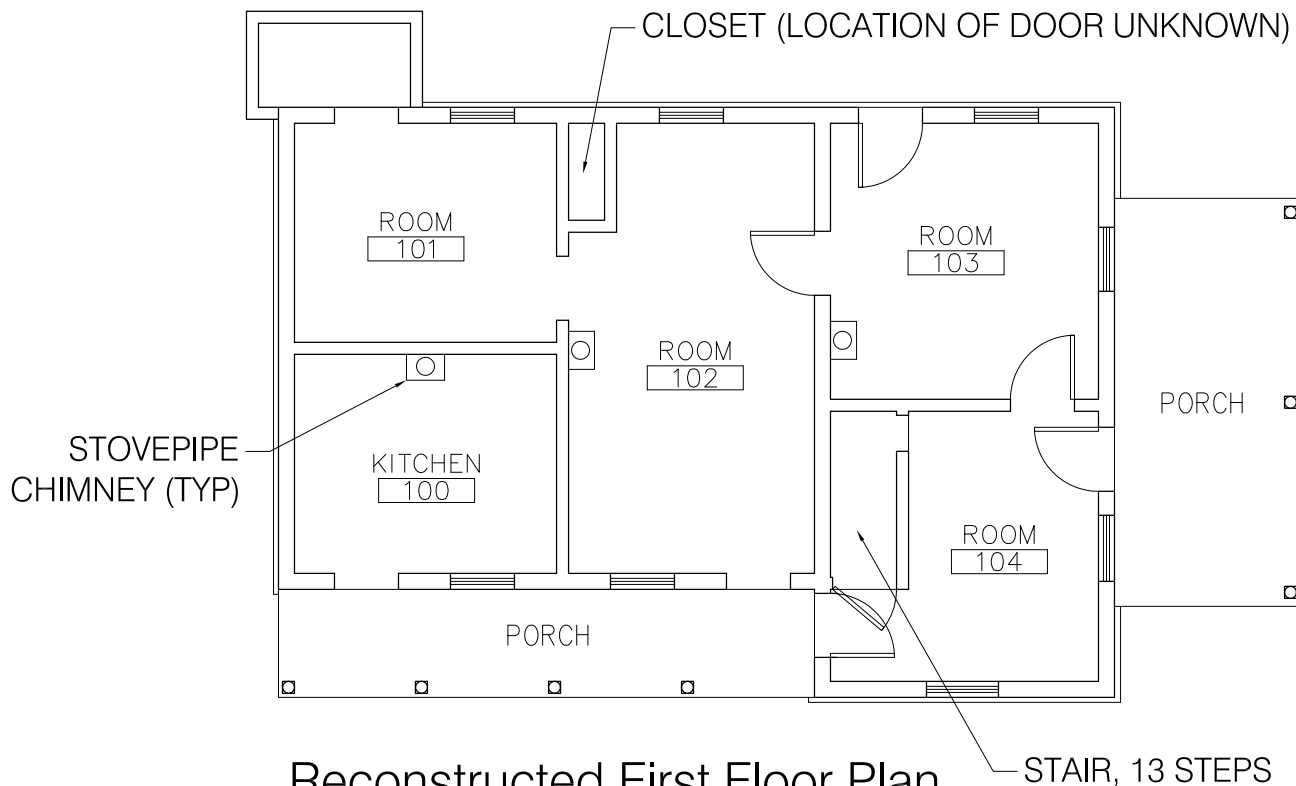
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Manse associated with Fee Memorial Institute and Fee Memorial Church, Arial/Hall, KY.

Based on 2020 measurements of stone foundation and photographs, measurements, and a sketch plan prepared by Stephen McBride in the 1990s.

WLA Studio, Athens, GA
RATIO Architects, Indianapolis, IN

Fee Memorial Church
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, INTERIOR REGION 2

RECORDED BY:
BEN ROSS
RATIO

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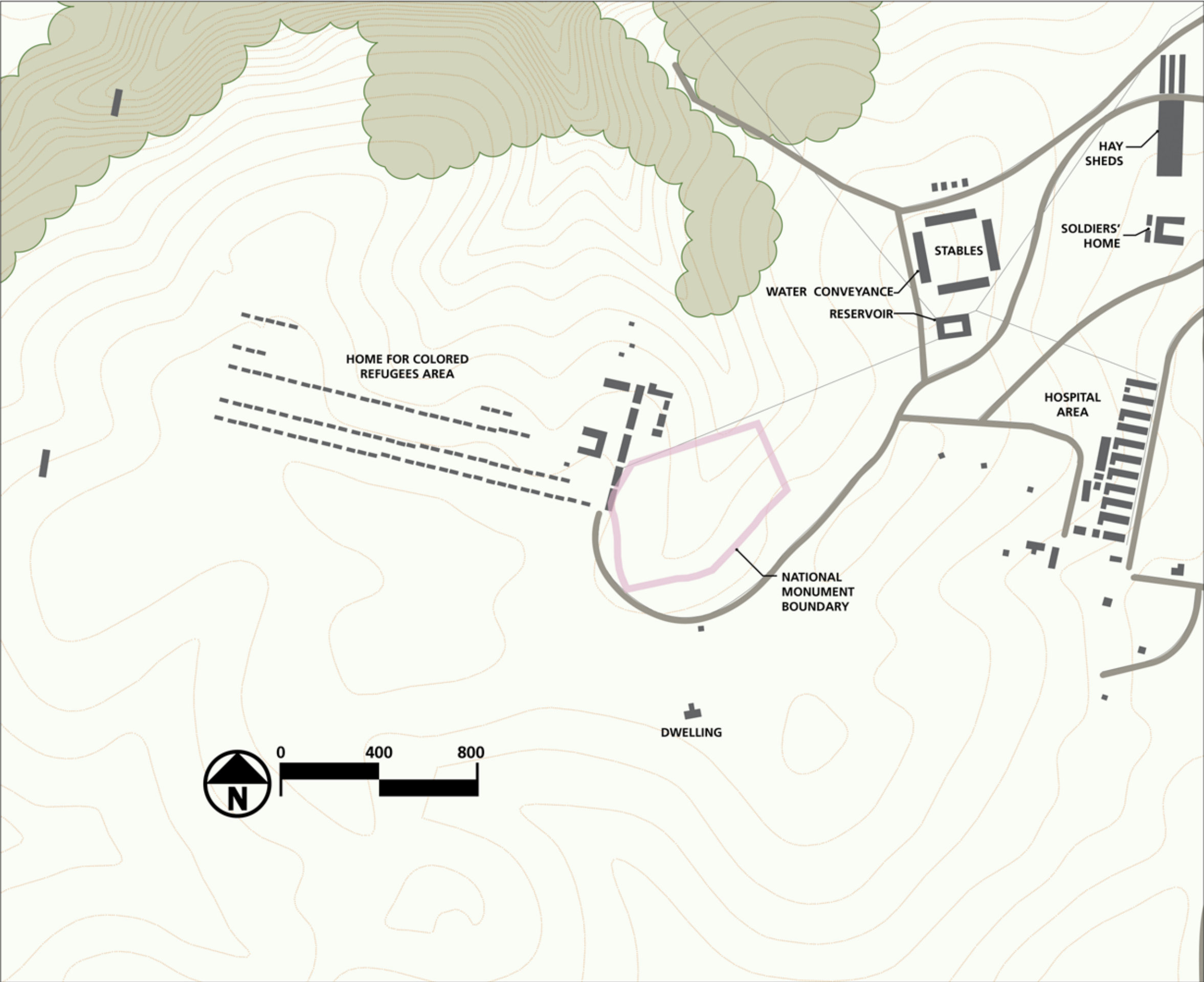
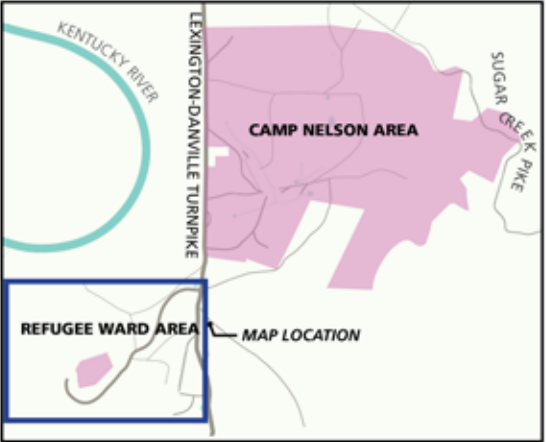


Illustration Key

-  **APPROXIMATE NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY**
-  **APPROXIMATE TREELINE**
-  **WATER**
-  **PASTURE/GRASS**

- Notes:**
1. Fencelines approximated from aerial imagery and known existing fences.
- Credits:**
1. ESRI
2. Historic Aerials, NETR Online
3. Google Earth



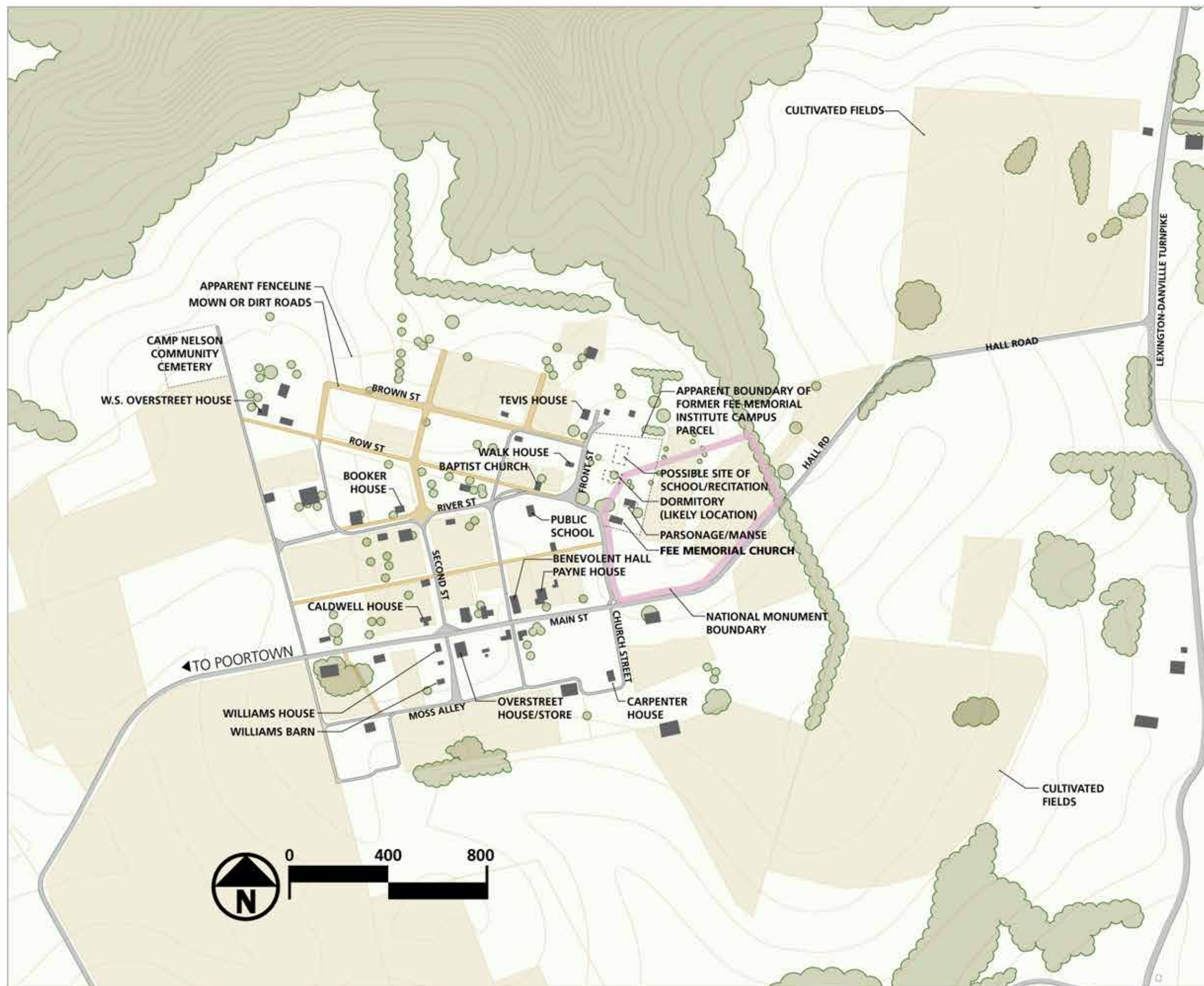


Illustration Key

-  APPROXIMATE NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY
-  APPROXIMATE TREELINE
-  WATER
-  CULTIVATED FIELDS
-  PASTURE/GRASS

Notes:

1. Cultivated field areas approximated from aerial imagery.

Credits:

1. ESRI
2. Historic Aerials, NETR Online
3. Google Earth



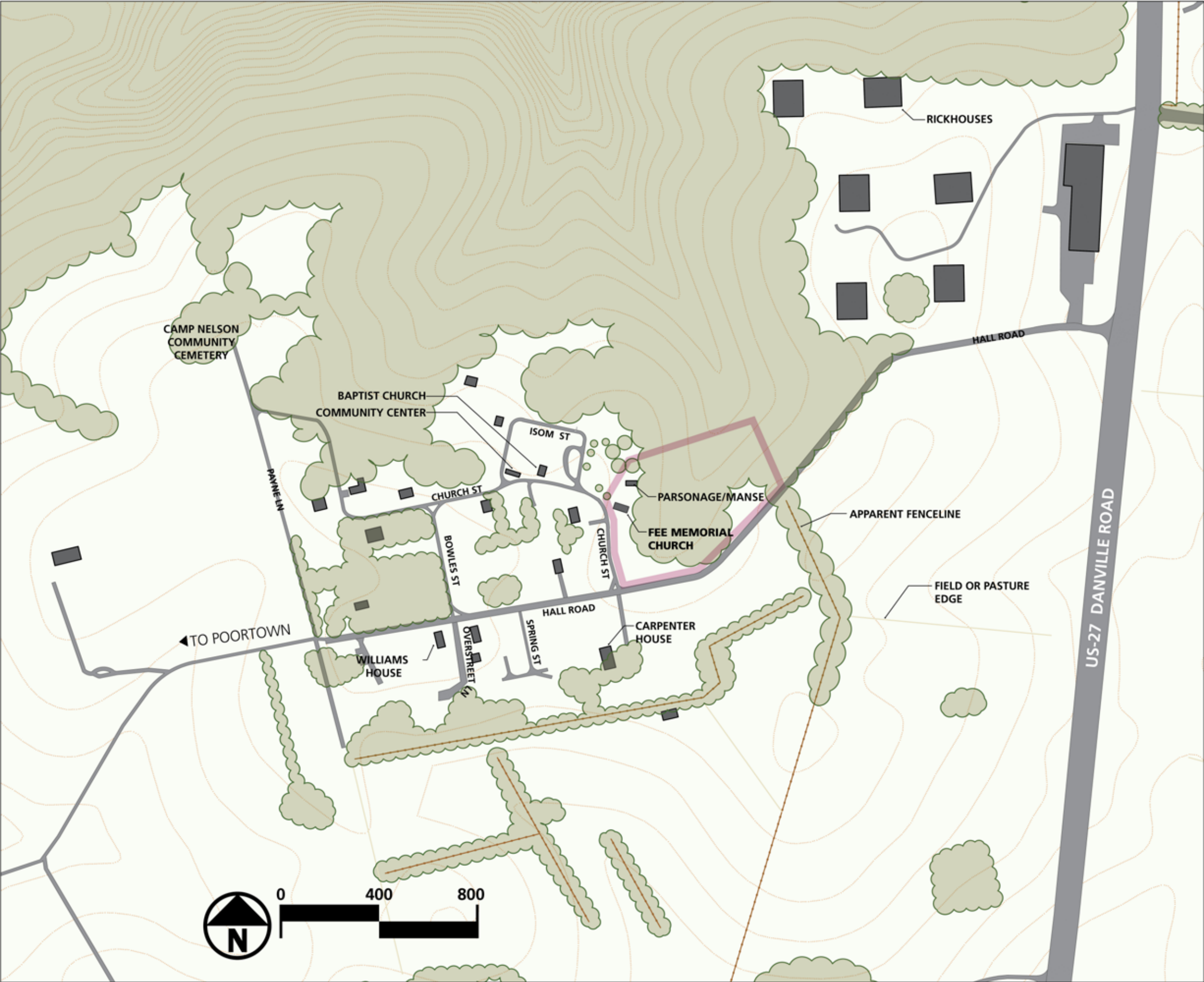
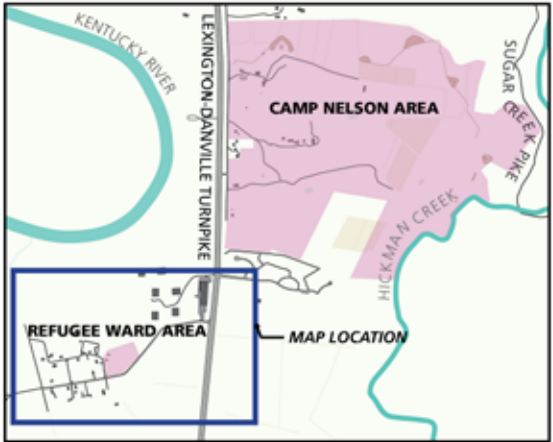


Illustration Key

- APPROXIMATE NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY
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- PASTURE/GRASS

Notes:
1. Fencelines approximated from aerial imagery and known existing fences.

Credits:
1. ESRI
2. Historic Aerials, NETR Online
3. Google Earth



¹ Appendix C. Structural Assessment

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John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church Historic Structure Report Camp Nelson National Monument

Structural Assessment



DRAFT

Building Location:
Hall, Kentucky

Review Completed For:
Ratio Architects
101 South Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis, In

Field Assessment Made On:
October 13-15, 2020

650 E. Carmel Dr. Suite 150
Carmel, IN 46032

t/317-574-9409 f/317-574-9431
lei@lawsonelser.com

www.lawsonelser.com

Purpose of this Assessment

This report is the property of Lawson Elser, Inc. and is provided for the sole use by Ratio Architects. This report describes a visual condition assessment of the structure of the existing John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church, Hall Kentucky. It is not intended for use by any other party, or without the express written permission of Lawson Elser, Inc. See Appendix A for the Photos referenced in this report.

Summary Description of the Building Structure

The project consists of a one story, wood framed historic church building with a gable roof and concrete foundation over a crawlspace. The approximate footprint of the church is 24 feet by 47.5 feet. This is a one room church building with a vestibule at the front entrance and a raised platform at the front of the worship room. There is a wood framed cupola extending up from the roof, located directly over the entry vestibule. The structure is situated on a grassy site that slopes downward from west to east. (See Figure 1) For this report, the front entrance will be referred to as the west side and the remaining cardinal directions will follow accordingly.

Scope of the Assessment

This structural assessment is confined to an examination and analysis of the primary building structure. It does not include assessment of fire and life safety conditions, compliance with the American with Disabilities Act, or the presence of hazardous materials, contaminants, or mold.

Methodology

The methodology for this structural assessment includes: (1) an examination of structural components for the building that were readily visible from the crawlspace and the attic hatch, (2) an examination of the exterior of the building made from the ground, (3) physical measurements of key structural components, and (4) photographs taken inside and outside the building. No attempt was made to expose structural components not readily visible. Some small samples of wood were taken from one of the wood floor members for examination.

Code Requirements

This project is under the jurisdiction of the 2018 Kentucky Building Code (KBC) which references the 2015 International Building Code (IBC) and the International Existing Building Code (IEBC). The John Fee Memorial Presbyterian Church is a historic structure and is therefore subject to the provisions of KBC Chapter 34-Existing Structures, and IEBC Chapter 12 - Historic Buildings. Generally, this structure will be evaluated based on making "Repairs" as it is defined in these two codes sections.

Building Structure Description

Wood Floor Joists

The floor structure consists of wood joists spanning the width of the building, supported by a central wood beam at the interior end and a concrete foundation wall at the exterior ends. The wood joists are approximately 1.75" x 9.5", spaced at 24 inches on center. The joists bear on a wood plate on the top of the exterior foundation walls and are toe-nailed into the plate. The wood joists do not exhibit excessive water damage or wood rot, however, there is

widespread insect damage. There are small pin holes present in the surface of many of the joists, likely cause by powder post beetles. The damage appears minor on the surface, but the damage is more evident inside the joists. These insects have bored into the surface of the wood, turning the wood fiber inside the joists to powder which compromises the structural integrity of the joists. The full extent of this damage cannot be determined as it is largely hidden inside the joists, but it must be assumed that most, if not all, the joists are compromised to some degree. Remedial measures will be needed to bring the joist system into compliance with a live load capacity of 100 PSF. This will include adding new joist members to each of the existing members to improve their structural capacity.

Analysis assuming typical structural properties and healthy wood material indicates the floor live load capacity for the joists is approximately 50 to 60 PSF. The floor live load for public gathering space, according to the KBC, is 100 PSF. These joists do not meet this requirement, especially when the insect damage is considered. Therefore, it is recommended that remedial measures be implemented to bring the joists into compliance with a live load capacity of 100 PSF. This will include adding new side members to each joist to improve structural capacity.

Central Wood Floor Beam

The floor joists are supported along the interior ends by a central beam made up of four, 2" x 9.5" wood joists nailed together and supported at intervals by a series of column members. The beam has spans that range from 5'-0" to 12'-0" maximum between column supports. Only one span is 12'-0", the rest of the spans are 5' to 6' typical. The ends of the beam are supported in direct bearing on the east and west concrete foundation walls. The beam is resting on the interior columns in simple bearing, with no visible anchorage between the two.

Insect damage was noted in some areas of the central beam, like that found in the joists. The same insects infected the wood beam as evidenced by pin holes in the outside surface of the beam. As noted, the insects bore into the wood and turn the inside wood fibers to powder. It is likely that the inside of some of the layers of the built-up beam are damaged to the point of compromising integrity.

Analysis of the beam, assuming typical structural properties and healthy wood material, indicates the floor live load capacity for the beam is approximately 50 to 60 PSF. The floor live load for public gathering space, according to the KBC is 100 PSF. This beam does not meet this requirement in its current state, especially when the insect damage is considered. Therefore, it is recommended that remedial measures be implemented to bring the beam system into compliance with a live load capacity of 100 PSF. This will include adding new side members to the existing beam and adding columns to shorten the beams spans and improve structural capacity.

Internal Column Supports

The internal columns supporting the central beam are at somewhat random spacing between 5'-0" to 12'-0". Three of the columns are concrete, two are stone, and one is wood. It is not clear if the columns bear on a footing below grade footing except for the easternmost wood column which sits on a small concrete footing. It appears that this wood column may have been added sometime after the church was built. The stone and concrete columns are in fair condition and seem to be part of the original construction of the church structure. The wood column did not appear to have the insect pin holes seen in the beam and joists, but some damage cannot be ruled out. It is likely that some remedial measures to improve the structural capacity of the wood column is needed.

Perimeter Concrete Foundation Walls

The exterior foundation walls support the wood framed walls and floor joists and are constructed of board formed concrete. There are several openings in these walls including crawlspace vent openings on the north and south sides, an access door opening on the east side, and an unidentified opening on the south side near the east corner. There is a 2x wood plate on top of the wall upon which the joists and exterior walls rest. The concrete walls are battered with a thickness of 12 inches at the top and 15 inches at grade. There does not appear to be any anchorage of the wood plate to the top of the concrete wall. The outside face of the wall has shifted outward beyond the exterior wood siding in a few locations. The most severe outward shift was noted on the east side where the face of concrete is approximately 2.5 inches beyond the wood siding. This has created a ledge where water, snow and ice can collect. In other locations, the outward shift is relatively minor.

There are significant vertical cracks in the walls on the north, south and west sides of the building. Typically, the face of the wall has shifted out of plane on either side of these cracks. On the north and south sides, a repair has been made with one or two angle iron stiffeners bolted across the crack on both the inside and outside of the wall. The inner and outer angles are clamped together with steel bolts through the concrete wall. There is a smaller crack repair at the southwest corner of the foundation made with a metal strap bolted to the concrete. These repairs were apparently made to restrict the wall from shifting further and to prevent the crack from widening. These cracks are likely the result of differential foundation settlement on the north and south sides of the building. It is not clear if there is a below grade footing under the foundation walls, but it is unlikely. The base of the wall was probably cast directly on the subgrade excavation and is subject to the bearing stiffness and stability of the soil mass. Additionally, depending on the depth of the base of the wall, freeze thaw cycles may be contributing to the settlement. The roof does not have gutters and downspouts and water drips straight down onto the ground next to foundation wall, exacerbating the foundation settlement. The most evident result of this wall settlement is outward movement, especially visible at the top of the wall. Contributing to this movement is the lack of mechanical anchorage between the wood floor system and foundation wall which would help restrain the top of the wall. The existing angle iron crack repairs have provided a stopgap measure for limiting the movement of the wall on either side of the cracks. However, a more comprehensive repair system is needed to manage these cracks over the life of the building. While it is not practical to try and correct the movement that has already occurred around these cracks, stabilization and remedial measures to hold the walls in their current position will help prevent further movement. Repair options include adding anchors to fasten the wood plate and floor system to the top of the foundation walls, adding steel cross tie rods between opposing walls within the crawlspace, and installing steel piles along the outside of the walls to provide positive bearing support.

Although the foundation walls have suffered some cracking and some outward movement, they are otherwise in fair condition and are robust enough to continue to support the loads imposed by the church structure if remedial measures are implemented to address the structural issues described above.

Wood Framed Exterior Walls

The exterior wood framed walls consist of wood studs on a wood bottom plate that in turn rests on the ends of the floor joists. The studs measure 1.75" x 3.75" and are spaced at 16 inches on center. The exterior wood siding is nailed directly to the studs with no underlying sheathing and there does not appear to be any insulation in the stud spaces. Most of the studs are hidden by interior and exterior finishes and are not open to direct examination. One location was discovered on the interior of the north wall where severe wood rot has damaged both the studs and the interior wood paneling. This condition exists at the bottom of the wall on the north wall near the front stage. The area was opened slightly by removing some paneling and examining the wood deterioration. It appears to be insect damage, possibly due to termites. This condition does not appear to be widespread, however, but it is possible that some other areas of termite damage could exist but are hidden behind the wall finishes.

In general, the walls appear to be in fair structural condition and have adequate capacity to support roof and ceiling loads. However, the lack of exterior panel or board sheathing behind the exterior siding leaves the walls with limited shear wall capacity. The building depends on the exterior walls to resist wind and seismic loads. The lack of sheathing means the walls do not have the full shear capacity that would be required if the building were to meet the code prescribed modern wind and seismic loads. KBC and IEBC code provisions for existing historic buildings state that the structure does not have to meet modern wind and seismic design load requirements if there is no evidence of "substantial structural damage" to the existing lateral load system.

Roof Framing

The roof framing was examined and measured from a ladder that extends up into the ceiling hatch. No attempt was made to get into the attic at the time of the site visit. The roof framing consists 1.75" x 6" of sloped wood rafters spaced at 24 inches on center. The ceiling joists are also 1.75" x 6" spaced at 24 inches on center. Between each rafter and ceiling joist, there is a vertical wood member nailed to the apex of the two opposing rafters and extending down and nailed to the side of the side the corresponding ceiling joist. This vertical member is intended to provide roof support for the ceiling joist. The ceiling joists span approximately 22 feet over the width of the church structure. A 1.75" x 6" ceiling joist needs a center support to span that distance. The rafters and joists visible from the ceiling hatch are in fair to good condition. Some water staining is present due to past roof leakage, but the members do not have appear to have been seriously damaged by the leakage. The attic was dry at the time of the site visit, but it was noted that there are no specific attic vents in the gable end walls or along the eave or ridge. There is a vent in the cupola, and gaps in the siding over the gable end walls are probably letting some air circulate, but it is recommended that new vents be added to allow for better air circulation in the attic.

The roofing material consists of standing seam metal over a wood decking material and is relatively new. The decking is fastened to wood purlin members that span between the rafters. The purlins are approximately 1 inch thick and have varying widths. They are separated by a gap of approximately one to two inches. The purlins in the vicinity of the ceiling hatch exhibit some water staining from past roof leakage, but serious damage to the purlins does not appear present.

Originally, there was brick chimney extending from the main room of the church through the roof on the north side. The portion of this chimney below the ceiling and above the roof have been removed. A short portion of the chimney remains within the attic space. It is not clear why this small portion of brick remains, but it is recommended that it be removed to relieve dead weight off the ceiling joists supporting the brick.

Cupola

The cupola extends over the entry vestibule and houses an iron bell. The cupola is framed with wood members and has a metal roof laid over wood deck. The roof over the cupola looks original and may was not replaced with the main roof. There is a wood air vent on the north wall of the structure, and it appears there once was one on the west side that has been covered over with siding. The wood wall and roof framing are in fair condition, but some water staining is present suggesting past roof leakage. The wood structure supporting the iron bell looks to be in fair condition, however, it is recommended as a precaution that support for the bell be improved with new wood or steel framing.

Miscellaneous

The ceiling finish over the main room of the church consists of acoustic tiles probably glued to the original ceiling. From the attic hatch, lath and plaster was noted suggesting the acoustic tiles have been installed over an original plaster ceiling.

The concrete steps at the front entrance of the church are in poor condition and should be removed and replaced. The new steps will meet current standards for rise and run and may include a landing and handrails.

The raised wood stage at the front of the main church room served as a choir loft and pulpit for church services. The floor below is not visible, but it is likely the framing for the 17-inch tall platform is an overbuild on the main floor level. The platform is in fair structural condition with no obvious deficiencies, however, removing a section of the flooring to examine the framing is recommended.

The first floor is somewhat bouncy when subjected to a heel drop. While this does not constitute a serious structural deficiency, a stiffer floor is always desirable for public buildings. The addition of new floor joists as discussed in previously will help alleviate this condition.

The first floor is sagging slightly in front of the raised platform. There was no specific structural cause seen from below the floor in the crawlspace, but this is likely just the natural floor settlement that is common in building of this age.

Photos are attached to illustrate some of the findings of this report in Appendix A.

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John Fee Memorial Church - Historic Structure Report



Photo 1 – View of the west side of the church at the front.



Photo 2 – View of the east side of the church.

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