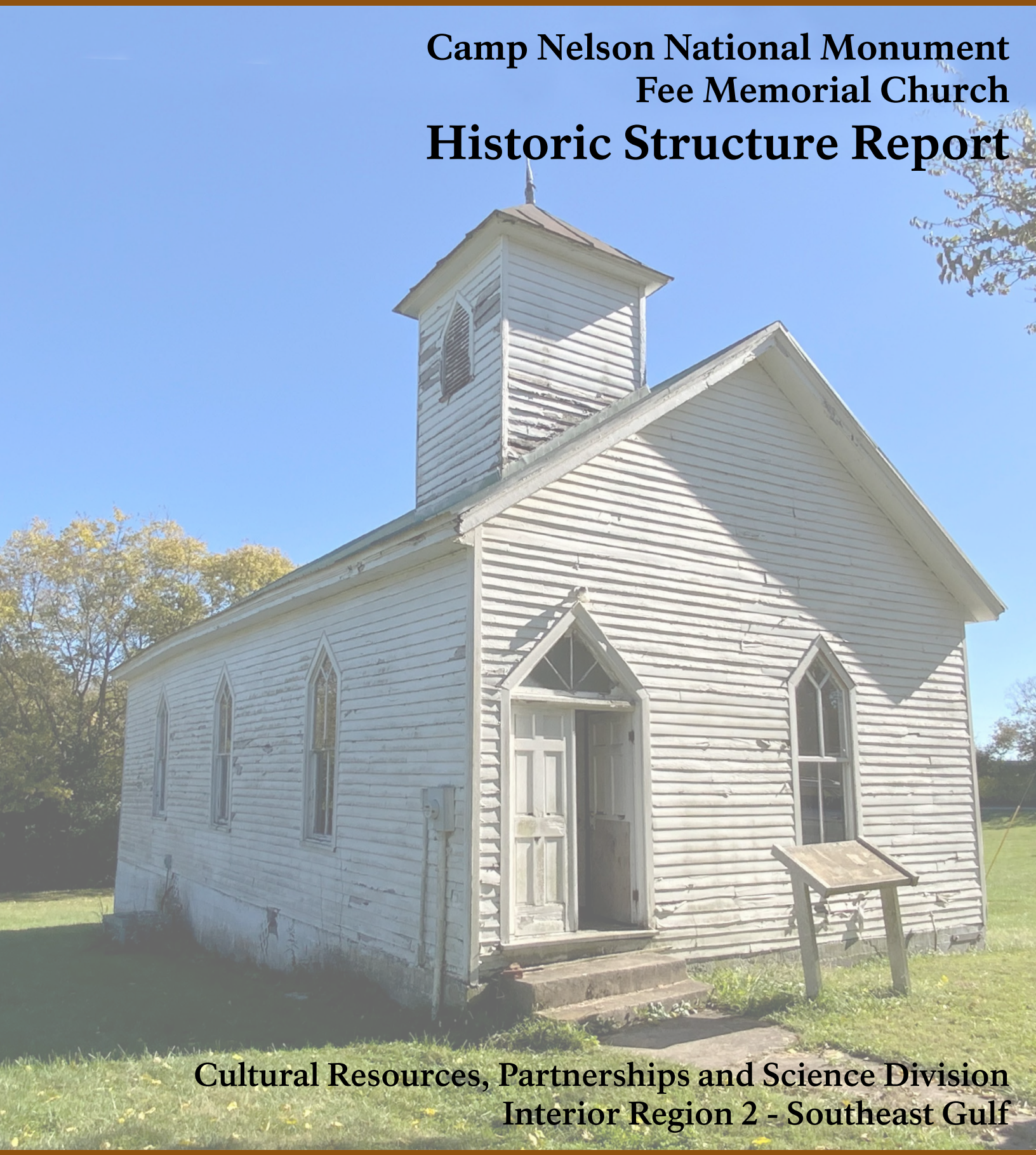
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Camp Nelson National Monument
Nicholasville, Kentucky

Camp Nelson National Monument
Fee Memorial Church
Historic Structure Report



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

Camp Nelson National Monument

Fee Memorial Church Historic Structure Report

June 2022

Prepared by:
WLA Studio
RATIO Architects

Under the direction of
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Interior Region 2: South Atlantic-Gulf
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About the cover: View of Fee Memorial Church, 2020 (Source: RATIO Architects).

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.

Camp Nelson National Monument

Fee Memorial Church Historic Structure Report

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic structure report, part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the landscapes and historic structures of National Park Service units in Interior Region 2. A number of individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. We would particularly like to thank the staff at Camp Nelson National Monument for their assistance throughout the process. We hope this study will be a useful tool for park management in continuing efforts to preserve the historic structure and to others interested in the significance of the park's many cultural resources.

Barbara Judy, Program Manager

Park Historic Architecture and Cultural Landscapes Stewardship

National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office

Interior Regions 1 (Kentucky), 2, and 4 (Mississippi and Louisiana)

June 2022

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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) (1912) 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 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).[2] 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.[3] Significantly, the camp soon became a major recruitment center, and concurrently, a refugee camp. John Gregg Fee, a white abolitionist, minister, and educator, arrived at Camp Nelson in 1864 to serve and advocate for the Black enlistees and refugees fleeing slavery.

Beginning at the end of the Civil War, as the Freedmen's Bureau worked to close the National Home for Colored Refugees, John G. Fee led the effort to create a community of Black landowners on the site, to be drawn from veterans of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) and the residents of the camp. After years of struggle, Fee and his wife Matilda ultimately sold some of their only assets to purchase 130 acres including the refugee camp site.[4] In 1868, they laid out the village of Ariel, granted adjacent parcels for Ariel Academy and the Church of Christ, both continuations of institutions founded by Fee in 1864, and sold all other lots to African Americans. Although the Fees sold the property at a loss and hoped to sell all of the property within a year, the lots sold slowly between 1868 and 1904.[5] Fee would remain the strongest ally and advocate for the community, working tirelessly on its behalf until his death in 1901. Fee established a nondenominational, Church of Christ, at Berea and later at Camp Nelson, which he referred to as the "Church of Christ at Ariel" or "Church of Christ at Camp Nelson Ky."[6]

Gabriel Burdett, a USCT veteran and Fee's assistant in ministry in the camp, served as minister of the church from 1867 to 1877 and was a key leader during the community's early years.[7] In 1874, the community invited Howard S. Fee, son of John and Matilda Fee, to take charge of Ariel Academy.[8] William S. Overstreet, a USCT veteran who had enlisted at Camp Nelson, was appointed assistant pastor around the same time, allowing Burdett to focus on regional evangelization and political organization among freedpeople.[9] During 1875-1876, Burdett noted that the community was making significant progress under the combined leadership of Howard Fee, Overstreet, and himself. He saw Ariel as a place where African Americans could obtain an education and other advantages equal to those available to whites under the same circumstances, preparing the formerly enslaved for full exercise of their rights of citizenship. The church in Ariel appears to have been at its peak of membership—191 members and 100 Sunday school attendees—and the school, Ariel Academy, appears to have been at its peak of enrollment—at around 150 students—during these years.[10] Religious institutions were even important in the recruitment of personnel and teachers. It was while attending a Black church in Danville that John G. Fee found the female African American teacher for the school, Belle Mitchell.[11]

Despite the hopes and aspirations of the town's Black settlers, racial inequality persisted in

1. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), xxiii-xxiv.
2. 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.
3. 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."
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. John G. Fee to Whipple, 2 Oct. 1865, AMAA 44223-7, reprinted in Sears, Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History, 267; John G. Fee to Gerritt Smith, 9 Apr 1868, reprinted in Sears, Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History, 373.
7. Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154.
8. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky,* 95.
9. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
10. 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), 24-30.
11. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History,* lvi-lvii.

Kentucky. Although Kentucky had remained part of the United States throughout the Civil War and most Kentuckians who served in the war were United States Army soldiers, the state experienced significant resistance to Black freedom and civil rights following the end of the war. Faced with violent attacks from organized white supremacist groups and a new type of second-class citizenship, Burdett became convinced that progress was no longer possible in Kentucky. In 1877, he joined the Exoduster movement, leading a large group from Ariel—perhaps twenty-five to forty percent of the population—and the surrounding area to Kansas in search of better opportunities and reduced racial hostility.[12] Howard Fee, exhausted by several years of intense work, left the community shortly after.[13] While William S. Overstreet would remain in the village, the community appears to have struggled to match the progress made under the combined leadership of Burdett, Fee, and Overstreet during the mid-1870s.

Ariel Academy was renamed Camp Nelson Academy in 1884. Between the 1880s and the 1910s, the Ariel community was estimated to contain about forty families.[14] The community appears to have reached its peak of development during this period and was known as a model Black community and a center for Black education in Kentucky. The village contained two general stores, a public hall known as the Benevolent Hall, a public school, the Fee Memorial Church, and a Baptist Church. The school and Fee Memorial Church appear to have struggled during the 1890s. In 1903, the trustees of Camp Nelson Academy 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.[15] 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

12. Richard D. Sears, "Burdett, Gabriel," The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 75.
13. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 19.
14. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky,* 185 n21.
15. Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, "History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project," accessed June 6, 2022, https://kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7w6m33528c.

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 associated with the school. The property appears to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places with both local-level and state-level significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Religion, and Education, with a suggested period of significance of 1912 to 1924. As the community's most intact historic 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 the experiences of Black Kentuckians after the Civil War. See the full discussion of period of significance (page 192), which acknowledges potential for a second epoch of significance extending through the end of active use of the church by its congregation in 1991. The discussion also acknowledges the potential for national significance within the first epoch (1912 - 1924) following further research into the themes of Education, Ethnic Heritage: Black.

Scope of Work and Project Methodology

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

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

that are in poor condition. The document identifies the Fee Memorial Church as one of the other important resources and values (OIRVs) of the park. The church and community also connect to the interpretive theme of "Family, Home, and Community," continuing this theme on the site for more than 125 years after the closure of the military camp.

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

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

Summary of Findings

The findings of this report are included in Part I of this document. 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

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 both local-level and state-level significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Religion, and Education, with a suggested period of significance of 1912 to 1924.

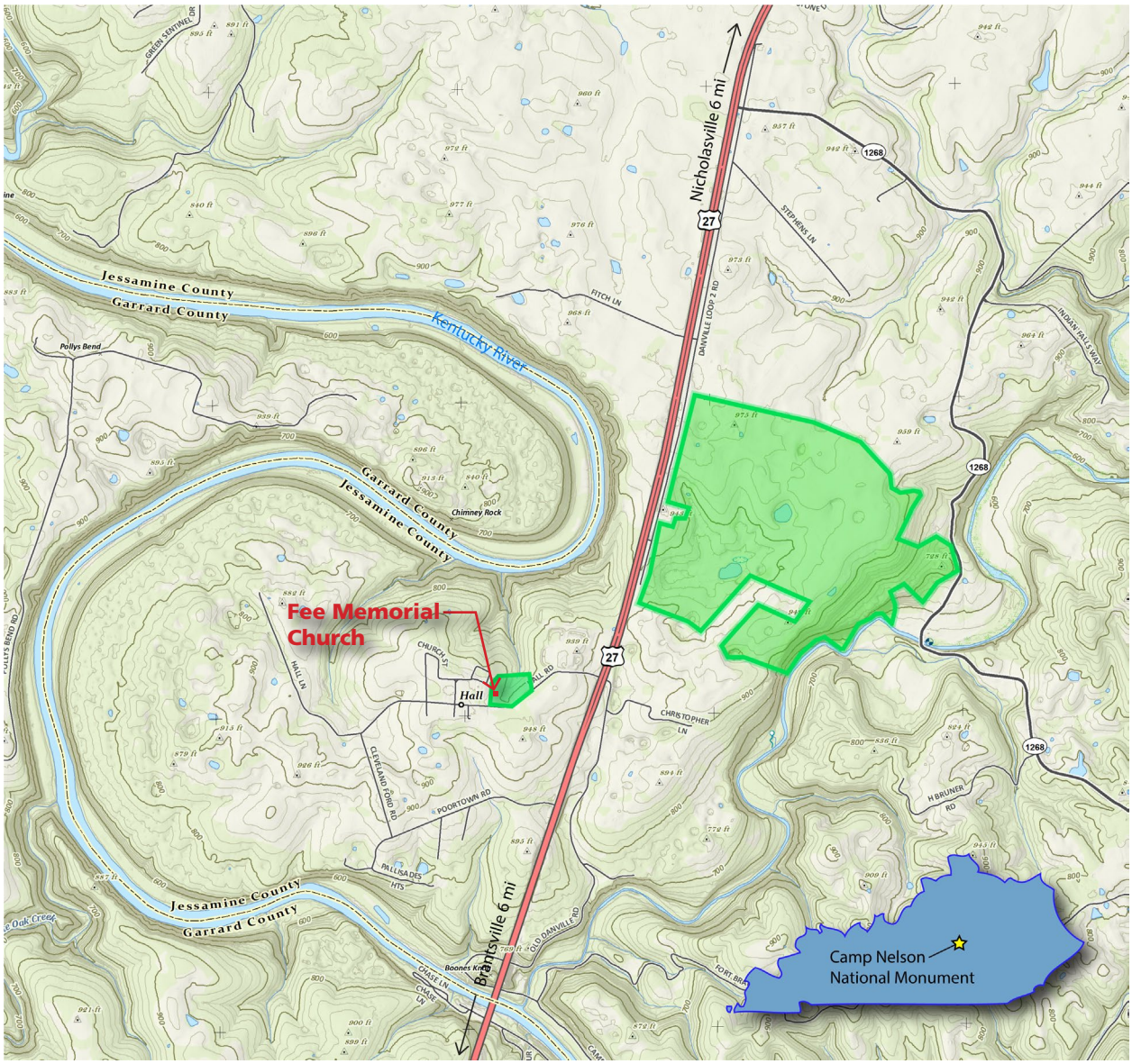


Figure 1. Location of Camp Nelson National Monument and Fee Memorial Church. (Source: USGS and WLA Studio)

Proposed Treatment

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 recommended ultimate treatment for the Fee Memorial Church is detailed in full in Part II of this document and is a Preservation treatment as defined by the Secretary of the Interior, 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. 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.

Recommendations for treatment of the Fee Memorial Church include:

- Exterior Treatment – replace existing concrete stoop with a compatible stoop including a ramp accommodating compliant access; implement structural repairs following structural design phase; provide appropriate louvers, screens, or other covers at foundation openings; stabilize cupola; install gutters and downspouts; replace deteriorated exterior wooden components in-kind; repair historic wood sash windows, including entry transom, and associated frames, sills, and casings; replace deteriorated modern entry doors.
- Interior Treatment -- retain interior configuration of vestibule and sanctuary; retain and repair paneled wood door between vestibule and sanctuary; repair damaged sections of wainscoting, interior trim, and other woodwork; retain dais balustrade and steps; retain and repair historic wood floors; retain bell and bell-rope system.
- Site – regularly maintain area around building; ensure positive drainage away from foundation; preserve the Manse/ Parsonage Foundation Ruins.

Part 1.A Historical Background and Context

This Historic Structure Report references and quotes historical documents that contain offensive and/or racist terminology. These historic passages are included verbatim. The document provides source information in the notes and bibliography.

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 people of African descent arrived in the central Kentucky region as enslaved laborers. Many such workers were enslaved by a "planter class" who migrated largely from the tidewater region of Virginia to establish farms on land grants following the American Revolution.[16] 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.[17] Once established, these farms produced a variety of crops, including tobacco, corn, barley, oats, cotton, flax, and vegetables. Many farms also

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

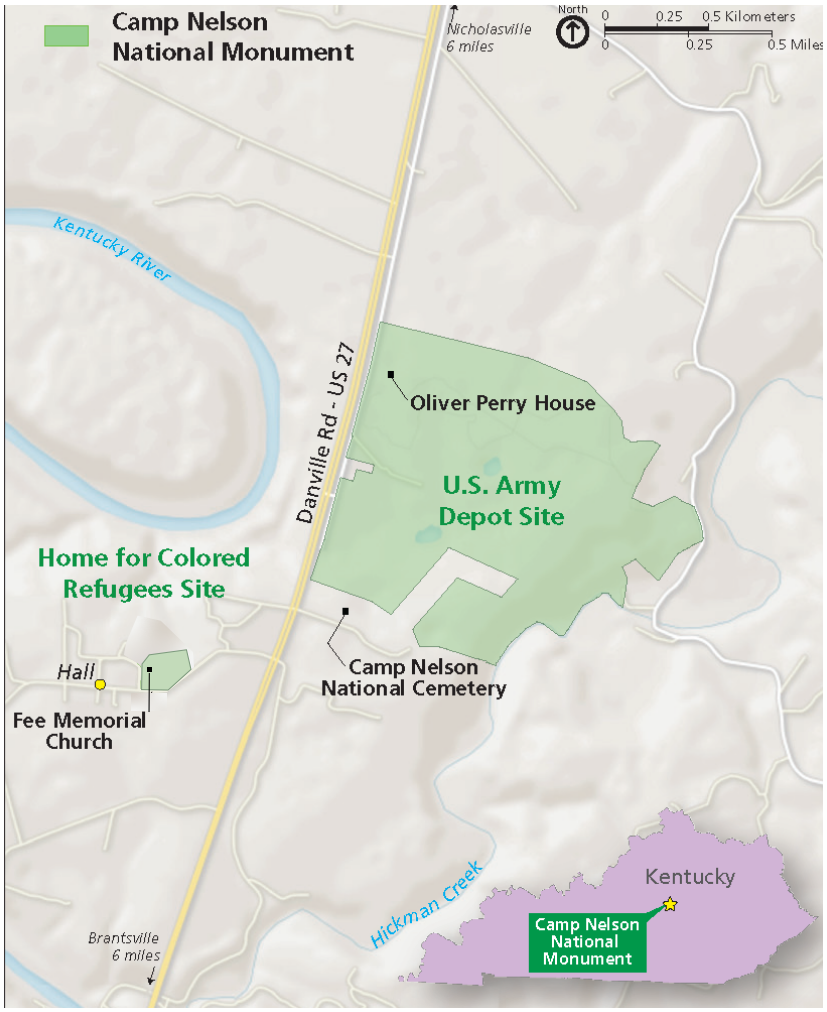


Figure 2. Camp Nelson National Monument context map, with Fee Memorial Church indicated. The Fee Memorial Church is in the village of Hall (formerly Ariel), built on the site of the National Home for Colored Refugees. (Source: National Park Service)

bred livestock with imported breeding stock from Europe, including beef and dairy cattle, horses, and sheep.[18]

Those persons enslaved on the plantations provided the means for the planters to maintain comfortable and sometimes opulent lifestyles. Without their labor, these plantations would have operated much differently, if they could have been sustained at all. Enslaved laborers produced agricultural products, bred and cared for livestock, nannied children, and worked as domestic servants or as bondsmen, the term for a class of highly skilled enslaved laborer who was hired out to neighboring farms or the factories in urban centers.[19] Throughout the South, the exploitation of enslaved African Americans generated both the free time and the financial capital for a society based on white supremacy to grow and flourish.

In Kentucky, the planter class expanded their wealth through both the enslaved people's labor and through the domestic slave trade. Between 1820 and the Civil War, slave auctions in Louisville and Lexington made Kentucky one of the largest slave-exporting states, supplying markets throughout the Deep South.[20] As population and agricultural activity in the region increased after the American Revolution, the number of

18. 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.

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

20. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891,* 100.

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.[21] In Jessamine County, this number totaled 3,725 individuals.[22] 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 influential as they were in Deep South states, which influenced the Kentucky 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.[23] 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."[24]

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.[25] 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.[26] 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. According to historian Amy Murrell Taylor,

> The Civil War's refugees from slavery remained in the South, turning away from the region's edges to find freedom in its heart, in the very same plantation districts and amid the very same urban slave markets that had long confined them in slavery. They went wherever the Union army went and wherever they could find a military commander willing to let them stay. They erected cabins on the edges of encampments and took over abandoned buildings in cities under military occupation. Together their settlements multiplied quickly across the wartime landscape, creating a series of refugee camps. . . And this occurred many, many times over, in the nearly 300 settlements that stretched from the coast of Virginia to Kansas, from Missouri down to New Orleans. [27]

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.

21. 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.
22. "Jessamine County (KY) Slaves, Free Blacks, and Free Mulattoes, 1850-1870, Notable Kentucky African Americans Database.," June 26, 2020, https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2377.
23. Harrison, Lowell H., *The Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 8–9.
24. J. Michael Rhyne, "'A Blood Stained Sin': Slavery, Freedom, and Guerrilla Warfare in the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky, 1863-65," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 112, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 554.
25. Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 19, 24–28.
26. Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 50–54.
27. Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 5-6.



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)

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."[28] 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.[29] The term refugee also "evoked both their liminal status and their compelling need for protection."[30]

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

28. Gregory Downs, "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861-1900, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," n.d., 10.
29. Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps,* 10; While some Civil War era correspondence referring to the African Americans at Camp Nelson uses the term "contraband," this report uses for the term "refugee," except in context of military use or direct quotes.
30. Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps,* 10.

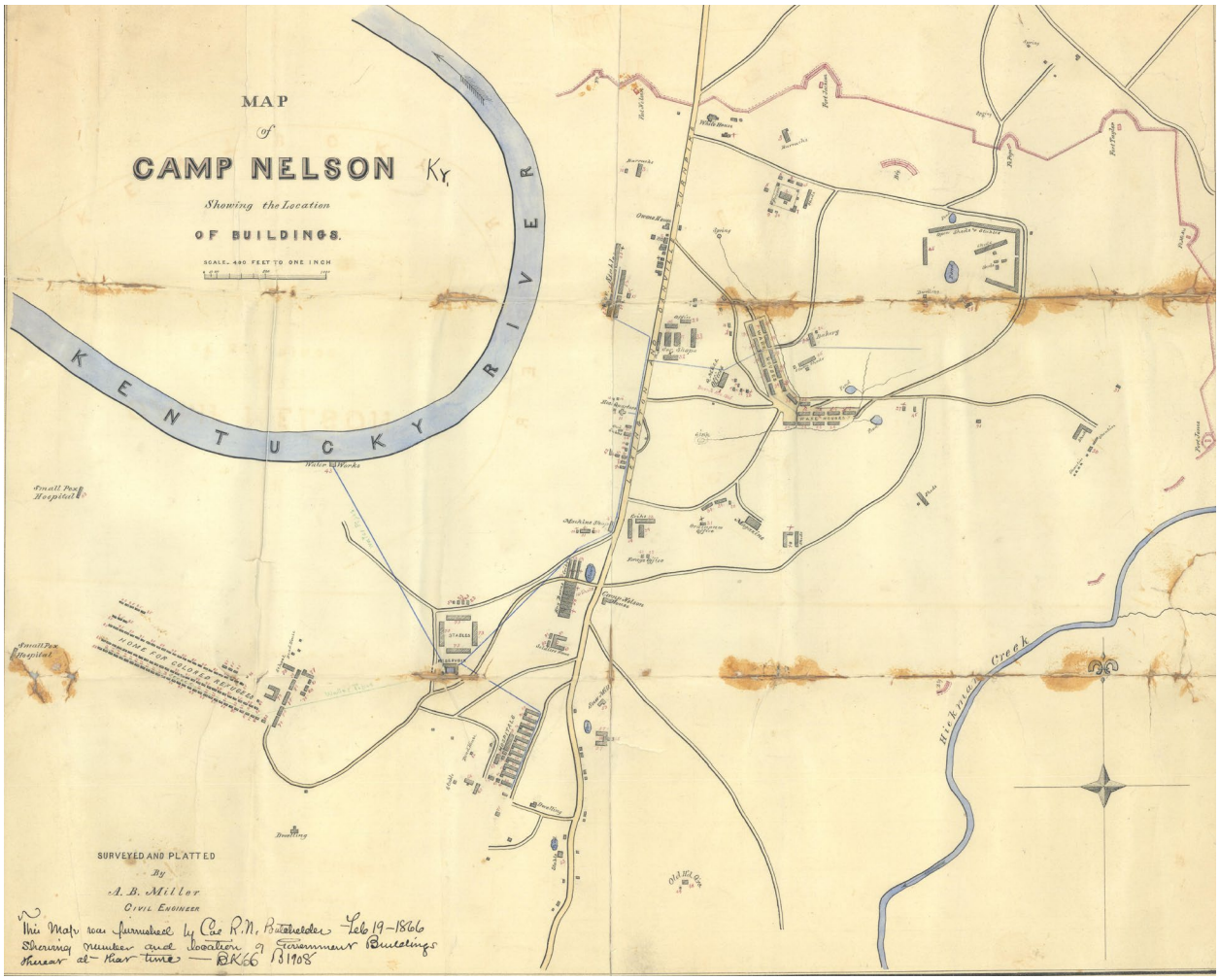


Figure 4. A. B. Miller (1866) Map of Camp Nelson; see Appendix A for enlarged version. (Source: National Archives, Cartographic Section, National Archives, College Park Maryland)

> 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.[31]

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 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

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

(present US 27).[32] 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.[33] 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, but also wage work and the opportunity to fight in the war. As early as 1861, African Americans living in states that did not secede from the United States attempted to enlist in the US Army, but Secretary of War Simon Cameron instituted a policy against Black enrollment.[34] Even though the US Army needed more troops and laborers, the enlistment of African Americans was highly controversial. Not only did it disrupt social codes, but it also factored into military strategy. The role of Kentucky in this issue was paramount. As Dobak explains,

> A few Northern generals with profound antislavery convictions tried to raise regiments of former slaves, but their efforts were thwarted by worries at the highest levels of government that such moves would alienate potentially loyal Southerners and drive the central border state, Kentucky into the Confederacy. A quip attributed to Lincoln, 'I would like to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky,' remains apocryphal, but sums up nicely the predicament of Union strategists. What finally tipped the balance in favor of the black recruitment was the Union Army's demand for men.[35]

After Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, the War Department actively and publicly authorized the recruitment of Black men into the US Army, though not without reticence ranging from caution to outright bigotry on the part of military leadership. Nevertheless, "the force known generally as the U. S. Colored Troops was organized in regiments that represented the three branches of what was then known as the line of the Army: cavalry, artillery, and infantry."[36]

While the creation of USCT regiments began in all states in 1863, it was delayed in Kentucky until 1864 because of strong opposition from Kentucky's political leadership and the fear that the slaveholding state might secede. Kentucky was failing to meet its enlistment quota with white troops, however, so in early 1864, the United States Congress amended the Enrollment Act, which allowed for a census (referred to as enrollment) of Kentucky's able bodied African American men as potential soldiers. This act led to considerable resistance in the state.

Actual enlistment of African American troops in Kentucky finally began on April 18, 1864, after District Commander Major General Stephen G. Burbridge issued General Order 34 establishing regulations for the enlistment of Black men in the State of Kentucky. But because of local opposition, this order restricted enlistment to freedmen and enslaved men at their owner's request.

Multiple restrictions and provisions in the order designed to placate white Kentucky leaders limited recruitment success to a single regiment and resulted in much violence toward enlisting men while traveling to and from enlistment stations. Because of the violence perpetrated on the enlistees or potential enlistees, Gen. Burbridge, with concurrence from Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, lifted the "owners' request" restriction on May 13, 1864.[37] Burbridge ordered the Provost Marshal General of Kentucky, "Please direct your Provost Marshals to secure all Negroes who

32. 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.
33. 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."
34. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867*, 6.
35. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867,* 7.
36. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867,* 11.
37. Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge, "Order to Maj. W. H. Sidell, May 13, 1864" (Morrow, GA, 1864), National Archives Military Records; Maj. C.W. Foster, "Order from Sec. of War to Maj. W. H. Sidell, May 13, 1864," 1864, National Archives Military Records.

offer themselves regardless of the wishes of their owners."[38] Historian Taylor notes that this directive was met with opposition by enslavers, but

> It did not matter how [the enslaved] owners felt about it—and those owners would no longer be compensated for their service. "The matter of their enlisting is optional and with themselves," one officer explained the new policy. "If they desire to enter the U. S. service they can do so—if they desire to remain at home and work for their masters they can do so."[39]

This change led to a major increase in enlistment. On May 23, 1864, 250 men "thirsting for freedom" arrived at Camp Nelson from Danville, Kentucky where they had been subjected to much violence and were unable to enlist.[40] Four days later, the enlistment group had already grown to four hundred.[41]

On June 13, 1864, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas issued an order declaring eight official USCT enlistment and training centers (including Camp Nelson) across Kentucky. This made enlistment much safer for the men, although they could still enlist at county and district offices. This order also authorized the creation of invalid regiments for the infirm, old, and young, so these enlistees would not be sent back to their owners and be subjected to violence. Invalid troops were often assigned duties such as guarding plantations from assaults and "the tasks of protecting the women and children, the aged and the infirm."[42]

38. Burbridge, "Order to Maj. W. H. Sidell, May 13, 1864."
39. Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps,* 187.
40. Thomas Butler, "Reports of Mr. Butler: What the Sanitary Commission Did for Colored Recruits at Camp Nelson, Ky.," in *The U.S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi During the War of the Rebellion*, by John S. Newberry (Cleveland, OH: Fairbanks, Benedict, and Co., 1871), 519–26.
41. Col. Andrew H Clark, "Letter to Lieut., May 31" (Washington, D.C., 1864), Record Group 383, part 4, Entry 902, p. 58, National Archives Military Records. Research did not reveal the number of Black Kentuckians who fought or labored for the Confederate Army. Historians such as John Stauffer estimate that likely less than one percent of Confederate soldiers were Black, and that many of these soldiers were likely forced into service.
42. John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen: Reminiscences of the Civil War with Special Reference to The Work for the Contrabands and Freedmen of the Mississippi Valley* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 109-112.

By mid-June 1,000 to 1,500 African American men had entered Camp Nelson and by August over 2,000 were in camp.[43] In total, about 5,700 men enlisted at the camp and about 10,000 men (forty percent of Kentucky's African American soldiers) passed through Camp Nelson. Eight USCT regiments were founded there, and parts of five other USCT regiments were trained or stationed at Camp Nelson, making it the third largest such center to emerge during the course of the war.

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

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

> I can stand this . . . this is better than slavery, though I do march in line at the tap of a drum. I felt freedom in my bones, and when I saw the American eagle with outspread wings, upon the American flag, with the motto E Pluribus Unum, the thought came to me, 'Give me liberty or give me death.' Then all fear banished.[44]

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

> I enlisted in the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery in the fall of 1864, and my only sorrow is that I did not enlist sooner. I see, as it were a nation born in a day- men and women- coming forth from slavery's dark dungeons to the noonday

43. Thomas Butler, "Reports of Mr. Butler: What the Sanitary Commission Did for Colored Recruits at Camp Nelson, Ky.," in *The U.S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi During the War of the Rebellion* by John S. Newbery (Cleveland, OH: Fairbanks, Benedict, and Co., 1871), 519–526.
44. Elijah P. Marrs, *Life and History of the Reverend Elijah P. Marrs, First Pastor of Beargrass Baptist Church, and Author* (Louisville, KY: Bradley and Gilbert, 1885), 22.

> sunshine of the greatness of God's gifts-Liberty.[45]

A USCT sergeant perhaps put it best when he stated, "See how much better off we are now than we was four years ago. It used to be five hundred miles to get to Canada from Lexington, but now it is only eighteen miles! Camp Nelson is now our Canada."[46]

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

> Here are thousands of noble men, made in the image of God, just emerging from the constraints of slavery into the liberties and responsibilities of free men, and of soldiers. I find them manifesting an almost universal desire to learn; and that they do make progress… I feel that it is blessed to labor with such people…[47]

After their training, Camp Nelson African American troops performed a variety of duties. They did garrison duty at Camp Nelson and other Kentucky posts. They also helped protect the Louisville & Nashville and Kentucky Central Railroads, critical duty necessary to hold Federal territory and protect supply lines. Camp Nelson's USCT troops were involved in a number of large campaigns and battles, including the 1864 battles of Marion and Saltville, as well as the sieges of Richmond and Petersburg in Virginia.[48]

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."[49]

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.[50]

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.[51] [**Figure 5**]

The refugee home was administered jointly by the army (Hall, Superintendent) and the American Missionary Association (AMA), a New York-

45. Edwin S. Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 189.
46. Joseph Simpson, "Letter to James H. Tuke and Frederick Seebchom, July 1, 1865" (London, England: Friends Central Committee for the Relief of Emancipated Negroes, 1865), 23.
47. John G. Fee, "Letter to Brother Jocelyn" (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, August 8, 1864), American Missionary Association Archives.
48. William C. Davis, "The Saltville Massacre," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 1971, 46–47; Thomas D. Mays, *The Saltville Massacre* (Fort Worth, TX: Ryan Place Publishers, 1995), 72.
49. 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.
50. John G. Fee, "Letter to Lewis Tappan, February 21, 1865"; Abisha Scofield, "Letter to William Goodell, November 30, 1864" (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1864), American Missionary Association Archives; Richard D. Sears, *A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man: John G Fee and the Camp Nelson* (Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1986), 13.
51. 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.

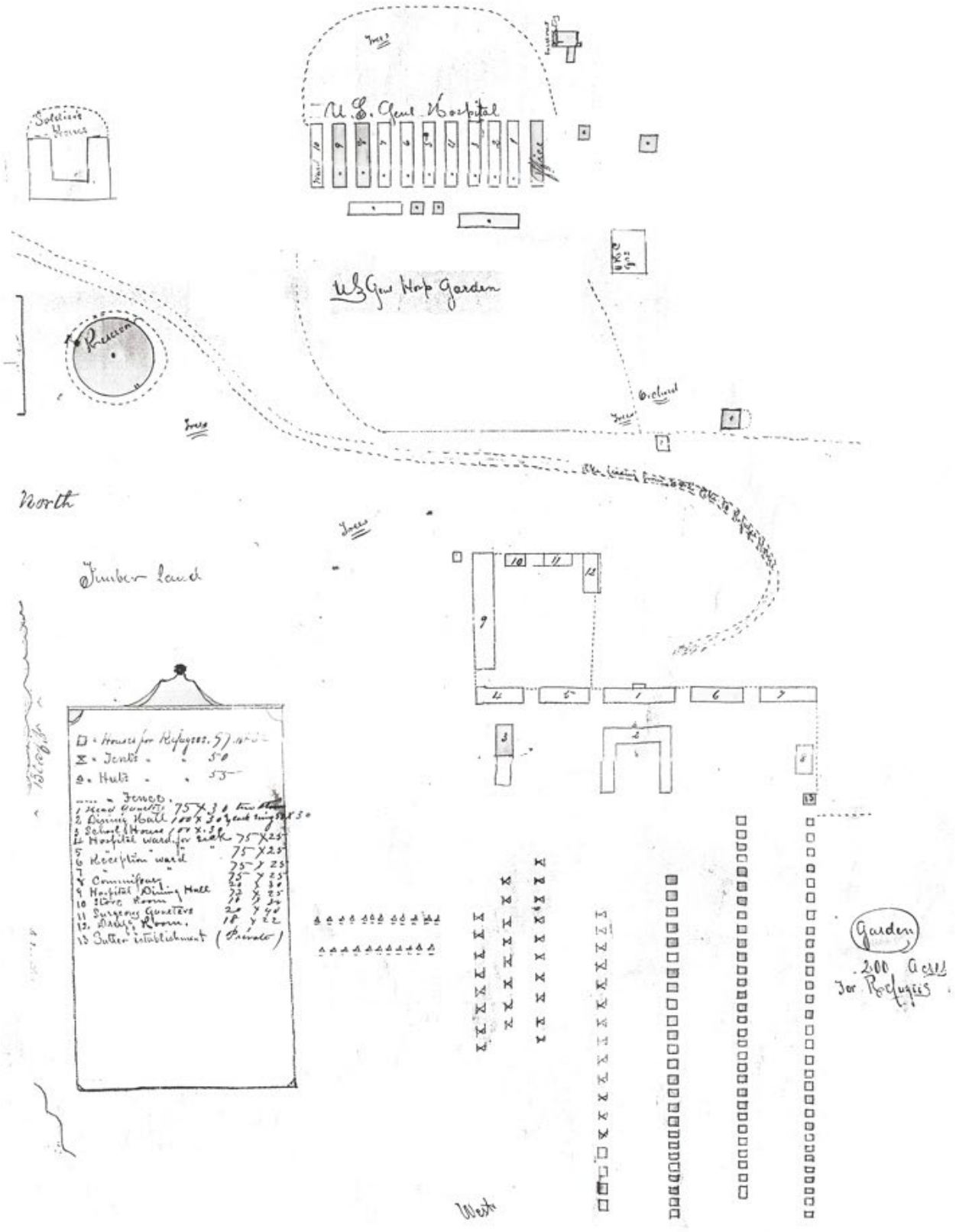


Figure 5. Map of the Home for Colored Refugees, Camp Nelson, KY. (Source: National Archives, Military Records, Record Group 105, Entry 3379, Box 1, Washington, D.C.)

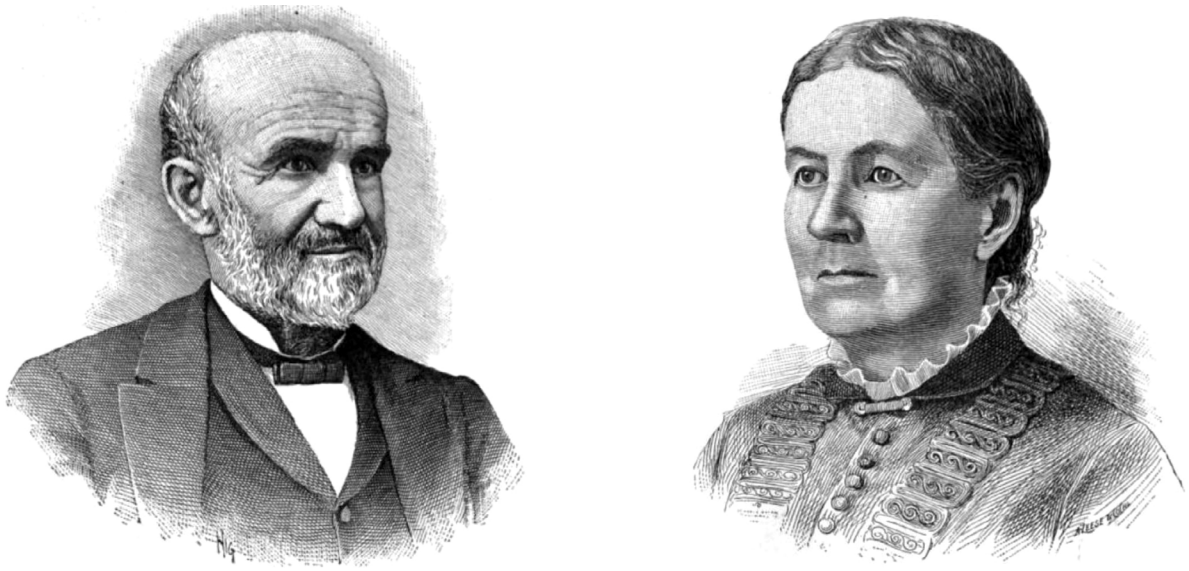


Figure 6. John G. Fee and Matilda H. Fee, 1891. Abolitionist, minister, educator, and founder of Berea College, John G. Fee was the strongest ally of the Ariel community, school, and church from his arrival at Camp Nelson in 1864 until his death in 1901. Fee's tireless advocacy for Black freedom, equality, 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)

based Protestant 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."[52] Abolitionist, minister, and educator John G. Fee had arrived at Camp Nelson in 1864 to serve and advocate for the Black enlistees and refugees fleeing slavery. Fee would remain the strongest ally and most tireless advocate of the Black community at Camp Nelson for the rest of his life.[53] [**Figure 6**].

The initial construction of the refugee camp included large communal 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-foot by 16-foot double cottages along two streets running perpendicular to the communal buildings.[54] Although the refugee camp 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. These conditions led to poor sanitary conditions and a shortage of food that weakened many of the refugees, leading to a high death rate.[55] Major General John M. Palmer noted in a March 1865 letter that it was an "urgent necessity" that not only cabins be constructed for the refugees, but that each lot should have its own garden or cropland for use by the families living there.[56]

Historians who have analyzed various records related to African American history estimate that by 1865, between 524,000 and 660,470 formerly enslaved people lived in over two hundred refugee camps across the country.[57] These families in turn created communities, often immediately

52. Eades, Slaves to *Soldiers,* 2.
53. Additional biographical information about John G. Fee can be found in Appendix D.
54. 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.
55. 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), 25.
56. Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 187.
57. Abigail Cooper, "'Away I Goin' to Find My Mamma': Self-Emancipation, Migration, and Kingship in Refugee Camps in the Civil War Era," *Journal of African American History* 102, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 448. Examples of other descendant communities resulting from Civil War refugee camps include those at Mitchelville in Hilton Head, South Carolina and Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

adjacent to the refugee camps. The stability and safety provided by these settlements offered a modicum of support to African Americans facing an uncertain future.

Community Development of Ariel

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

Seeking Safety

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

> Thousands from surrounding counties also participated in a July 4 celebration at Camp Nelson, planned by a committee of black men and women. With "hundreds of dollars" in contributions from visitors and soldiers, the committee purchased foodstuffs later prepared by the camp's women. After a "grand review" of soldiers which lasted until noon, the crowd gathered at a grove of trees near the refugee home to listen to martial music and patriotic speeches. The celebration opened with prayer, followed by songs from a children's choir and music from a military band. After a soldier read the Declaration of Independence, Sergeant Knox, in the first of several addresses by blacks, reviewed the role blacks had played in American and Biblical history. Then the integrated crowd sat down to a magnificent dinner of breads, meats, vegetables, and a variety of desserts. Later in the afternoon, there were more speeches and martial music, and songs by a quartet of black soldiers from Chicago, Illinois.[58]

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.[59] 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 "Niggers [*sic*] 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.[60]

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

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

60. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation*, 1760-1891, 193. This Historic Structure Report references and quotes historical documents that contain offensive and/or racist terminology. These historic passages are included verbatim.

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.[61]

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."[62] Several of the buildings associated with the Home for Colored Refugees remained standing.

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.[63] 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.

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.[64] [**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

61. Ibid.
62. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
63. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 24-25.
64. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 144.

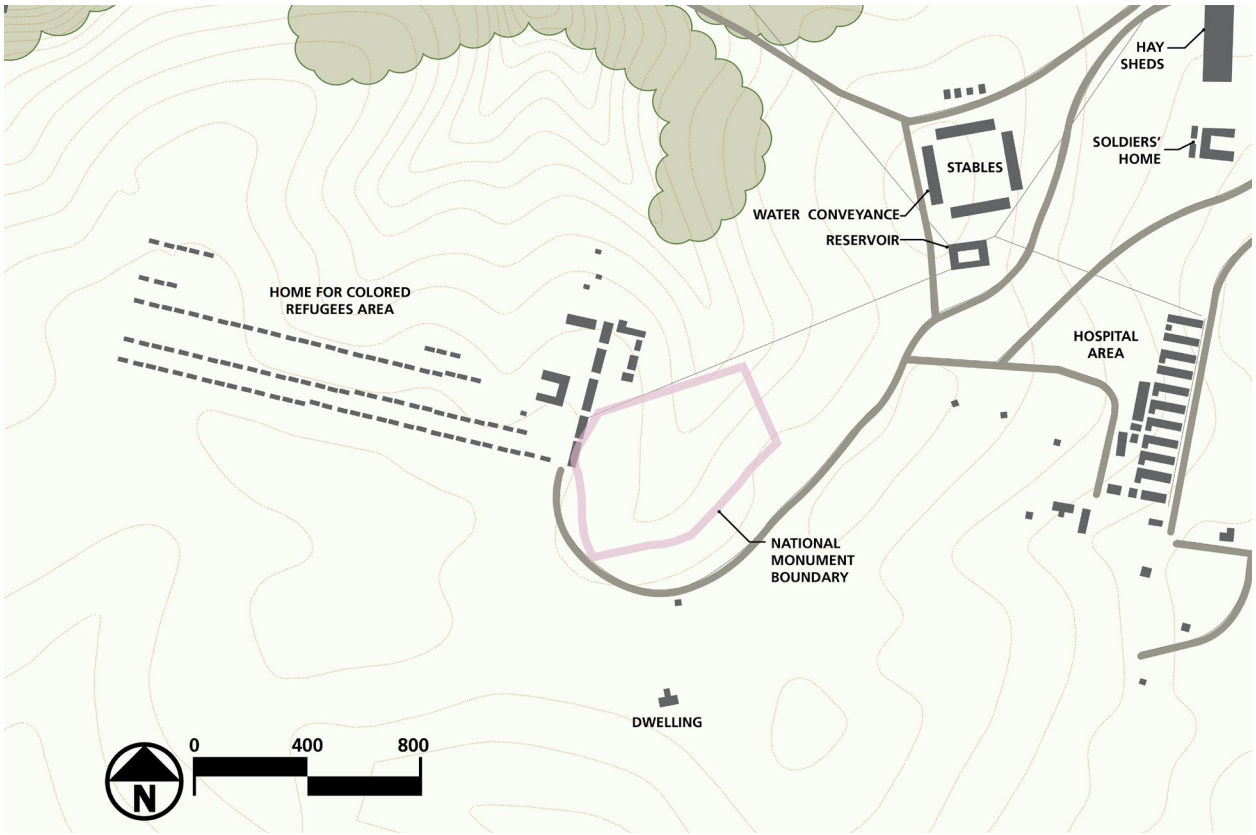


Figure 7. Map of National Home for Colored Refugees, 1866. This map shows the layout of the National Home for Colored Refugees on the site of the future village of Ariel/Hall. The Refugee Home buildings appear to have been just northwest of the present National Monument boundary. Adapted from survey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



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



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



Figure 10. 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. This was probably taken along the northwest elevation of the northernmost ward building, visible immediately behind and to the right of the School House in Figure 8; the window visible at center right in this 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 teachers supplied by the American Missionary Association. One of the men many be Rev. Abishai Scofield and woman may be his wife, Ann Janett Marvin Scofield, or his daughter, Elizabeth Scofield. The photographer is in a similar position to Figure 11, where the camera is rotated approximately ninety degrees to the left from this view. (Source: National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C.; G. W. Foster and Co., photographers)

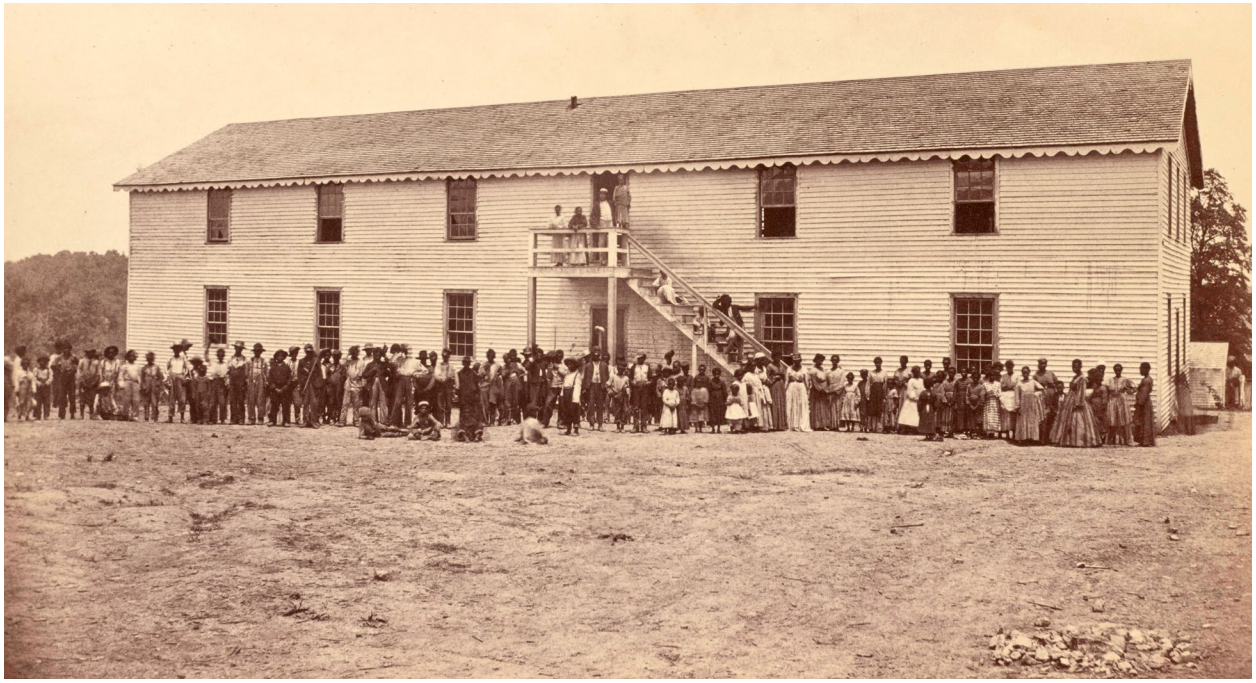


Figure 11. Refugees at the School House (Building 78) at the National Home for Colored Refugees, 1865. This photograph shows the southwest and southeast elevations of the building that was built to house the school founded by John Fee in 1864. The man at the top of the stairs might be John Fee or Rev.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

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.[65] They envisioned a program to promote Black land ownership by selling lots "to black families who possessed strong moral character."[66] The Ariel (now Hall) community would develop out of these efforts," and Hall hoped to intersperse sympathetic white families to provide a degree of protection from hostile outsiders.[67] The first step, acquisition of the land and buildings of the Refugee Home, would take more than two years and a great deal of effort.

On October 31, 1865, an interracial group consisting of 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."[68] Joseph M. Moss was a white landowner whose property had been requisitioned during the war. In another letter of the same date, Fee, Burdett, and Scofield wrote, "Colored soldiers now being mustered out desire to buy the land, divide it into lots, attach one of the [existing] cottages to each lot (from 4 to 5 acres each) – have a home for their families, and a school for their children. . .. We also propose to intersperse white families, who are true friends, as far as possible. The precedent will be good, and the highest good of the colored people promoted. To such friends as shall thus come in, we shall give the same facilities we do to the colored men." [69] January 1866, the *American Missionary* reported the following:

> Rev. John G. Fee is anxious to provide some way to make it possible for the colored people of Kentucky to become owners of land. He says that white men there, owning from two hundred to four hundred acres of land, "will not sell a scrap to a nigger." He has proposed to persons in Ohio and elsewhere, to form a company, and buy and sell lands to colored men and others on equitable business principles, securing a moderate but fair profit.[70]

The National Home for Colored Refugees officially closed in 1866, but the Freedmen's Bureau struggled to relocate all of its residents due to lack of funds and resentment from the surrounding white community. "Missionaries helped to relocate hundreds of refugees to northern states, and arrangements were made for some refugees to relocate on plantations in Arkansas and Mississippi."[71] Another unnamed missionary apparently personally financed transportation and living expenses for 350 refugees at Camp Nelson to relocate to Ohio.[72]

In December 1866, Fee reported that there was little possibility of accomplishing the goal of creating a permanent community "unless we can get ten thousand dollars to buy out Mr. Moss. [.] His neighbors were opposed to his selling to colored people or for a school of such."[73]

By the spring of 1867, only a few hundred refugees remained. Some were too ill to travel, while others were the wives and children of USCT soldiers who had not yet returned; many of these soldiers were in Texas on military service that did not end until 1867, and their families wanted to remain in Camp Nelson until they returned.[74] The 116th Regiment, U. S. Colored Infantry, was mustered out by June "and many of these soldiers were planning to settle at Camp Nelson."[75] Fee reported that the soldiers were "saving their money with which to buy homes – The houses are ready—the land is ready—it is

65. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*, 185.
66. 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.
67. Ibid.
68. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 291.
69. Ibid.
70. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 310. This Historic Structure Report references and quotes historical documents that contain offensive and/or racist terminology. These historic passages are included verbatim.
71. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 25.
72. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891, 179.*
73. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 353.
74. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 24-26.
75. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 14.



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)

central—easy access—we will look after it – The planting of these returned soldiers there will give the place social protection."[76]

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.[77] 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."[78]

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."[79] 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 $7,525.56.[80] Fee laid out the town of Ariel and sold the lots to Black veterans and former refugees who developed a permanent community.[81] According to Richard Sears, Fee secured a charter for the village from the state legislature.[82]

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.[83] 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."[84] The following year, he wrote, "Camp Nelson has been a great burden on my shoulders. I do not see the end; yet my purpose was to do good and had men met their pledges to Gabriel Burdett I should not have been [financially] embarrassed."[85] Fee continued selling lots through

76. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 15.
77. Richard D Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151.
78. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 185 n21.
79. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 369.
80. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 25-26.
81. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 26-27.
82. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 151-152.
83. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 27.
84. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 304.
85. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiii.

the 1880s and 1890s, selling one in 1900, only a few months before his death. His will stipulated that the proceeds from the sale of his remaining lots be given to the school; his heirs continued to sell lots until the last was sold in 1904.[86]

Of the Refugee Home buildings that remained standing following the army's abandonment of Camp Nelson, a large boarding house with two wings was purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in April 1868. This building became the first structure associated with Ariel Academy.[87] Some of the refugee cottages appear to have also survived.

The resulting village of Ariel was settled by refugees who remained at Camp Nelson, USCT veterans, and their families. At the time of the 1870 census, the village contained about twenty-five households. An 1875 history of Berea College reported, "at Camp Nelson there is still a large colored settlement, the most moral, harmonious and hopeful in the State."[88]

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

> In 1869 an employment agency was established in Lexington to help Negroes find jobs on the estates, since most Negroes had had experience only in agricultural work and were qualified for few city jobs. The one alternative for most rural Negroes was to remain in the country and seek employment in the only occupations they knew - farm work on the estates of their former masters. Slaves had been housed on the estates in small groups of rude cabins that served as the center of all slave life and social activity. Providing quarters and garden plots for freed workers would have meant that estate owners were still responsible for maintenance and taxes. From the viewpoint of the estate owners, it was both easier and more desirable to have laborers housed in their own cabins on their own land, yet close to the estate so they owners, it was both easier and more desirable to have laborers housed in their own cabins on their own land, yet close to the estate so they would be readily available. Negros were restricted with regard to where they might live. Impoverished, they could not purchase Bluegrass property easily, nor were they welcome in white communities. Many estate owners responded to the opportunity to secure a reliable labor pool by setting aside a small tract of land at the back of their property for resettlement of freed Negroes. Tracts of ten to twenty acres were divided into lots of a quarter acre to five acres, and the land was given or sold at a modest price to the Negros.[89]

When compared to these exploitative conditions, the relative autonomy of the Ariel community stands out as an anomaly among other rural villages. However, despite the hopes and aspirations of the village's Black settlers, racial inequality persisted in Kentucky. Although Kentucky had remained part of the Union throughout the Civil War and most Kentuckians who served in the war were Union soldiers, the state saw significant white backlash to Black communities developing in the region at that time. Although Ariel provided more equitable opportunities for the Black residents, Kim A. McBride described the challenges faced during the community's early years:

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

86. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lx, lxiii.
87. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 151.
88. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.
89. Smith and Raitz, "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural 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/)

> chance to buy land cheaply and the educational opportunity offered by Ariel Academy.[90]

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.[91] "Emigrant groups from Fayette, Garrard, Scott, Boyle, Ohio, Jessamine, and Jefferson Counties in central and northern Kentucky participated in large numbers."[92] [**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."[93]

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."[94] The departure of two of the community's most respected leaders during the late-1870s presented many challenges. While William S. Overstreet would remain in the village until his death in 1901, the community appears to have struggled to match the progress made under the combined leadership of Burdett, Fee, and Overstreet during the mid-1870s.

90. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 27.
91. Richard D. Sears, "Burdett, Gabriel," 75.
92. Selena Sanderfer, "Exodusters," *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 171.
93. Simeon, "Camp Nelson," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 23 January 1878, 3.
94. Brian R. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 19.

1884-1915 Peak of Development

Ariel Academy, renamed Camp Nelson Academy in 1884, was a central institution in the village. "By 1891, forty-two families had established a farm village on this tract. The free church Fee had founded was still there, and Ariel Academy was also operational at that date."[95] The earliest known plat of the village, titled "Map of the Town of Ariel," bears references to conveyances in 1891, suggesting that it was prepared around that time. [**Figure 15**] Although the north arrow is upside-down, the plat is clearly related to the present street and parcel boundaries of Hall. Angled streets (Row Street and Brown Street) in the northern part of the plat appear to correspond to the parallel streets of double cottages that formed most of the Refugee Home.

An article published in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* in 1895 reported, "There is now upon the site of the camp a negro village of some three hundred souls… It is a rather thrifty village, and has one of the best private schools utilized for negroes in Kentucky."[96] The article included an engraving of the "Only Government Building Left," depicting one of the double cottages matching those seen in 1860s photographs of the Refugee Home. [**Figure 12**, **Figure 13**] The cottage had been adapted to permanent occupation, acquiring a front porch sheltering its two front doors and a stone chimney. It is possible that other Civil War era buildings survived at this time; an 1897 article stated, "Many of the houses were erected and used as barracks by the soldiers." The article also reported that "the village of Camp Nelson, is inhabited entirely by negroes" and that "Camp Nelson [National] Cemetery, one of the largest and most beautiful national burying grounds in the South, adjoins the village, and thus every inch of the little town contains historic mementos of the deepest interest."[97]

An 1898 history of Jessamine County reported that "Camp Nelson has become quite an important village in the last few years" and indicates that the village was located "at the mouth of Hickman creek, near the wooden bridge, that spans the Kentucky river, on the line of the Lexington and Danville turnpike."[98] While this description seems to indicate the village was on the river, subsequent sentences clearly reference the village of Ariel/Hall, noting that the population was mostly Black and that "Ariel College is located at Camp Nelson."[99]

A 1902 description of the Camp Nelson Academy reported, "The buildings are adjacent to the village of Camp Nelson, composed of colored citizens who settled there immediately after the war. Of the forty-four families in the village, forty-two have their own homesteads. The village has a charter from the State Legislature and no intoxicating liquors are sold in it."[100] A visitor from Berea that year "commented on the neatness of the community and that nearly every home boasted such refinements as a sewing machine or organ. The visitor was much impressed by a local choir of twenty-five girls, called the Jubilee Singers."[101] In 1903, Camp Nelson Academy became the Fee Memorial Institute, operating with the support of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA).[102] In addition to its role as a center for Black education in Kentucky, the community was known for its music from at least the 1890s into the 1920s. "Music seems to have flourished in the community, which besides the Jubilee Singers, included a brass band of at least 16 members and a string band of four or five who recorded several songs, one called the Camp Nelson Blues, in the 1920s."[103]

95. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 185 n21.
96. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
97. "Melodies," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 5 December 1897, 9.
98. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 185.
99. Ibid.
100. G. F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People* (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Ferguson, Co., 1902), 260.
101. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28.
102. "At the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, the General Assembly appointed a Committee for Education of Freedmen, to establish churches and schools. At the 1870 reunion, this committee merged with the Freedmen's Department of the New School Committee of Home Missions; the new committee was named Committee of Missions for Freedmen. In 1883, the Freedmen's Committee was formally incorporated as the Board of Missions for Freedmen. The new board, like its predecessors, helped to educate and supply black teachers and preachers in the southern United States. It built and supported black schools, churches, colleges and seminaries and prescribed courses of study to be used. In 1923, the Freedmen's Board merged with other boards and agencies to become the Board of National Missions." https://digital.history.pcusa.org/islandora/object/islandora:rg376.
103. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28.

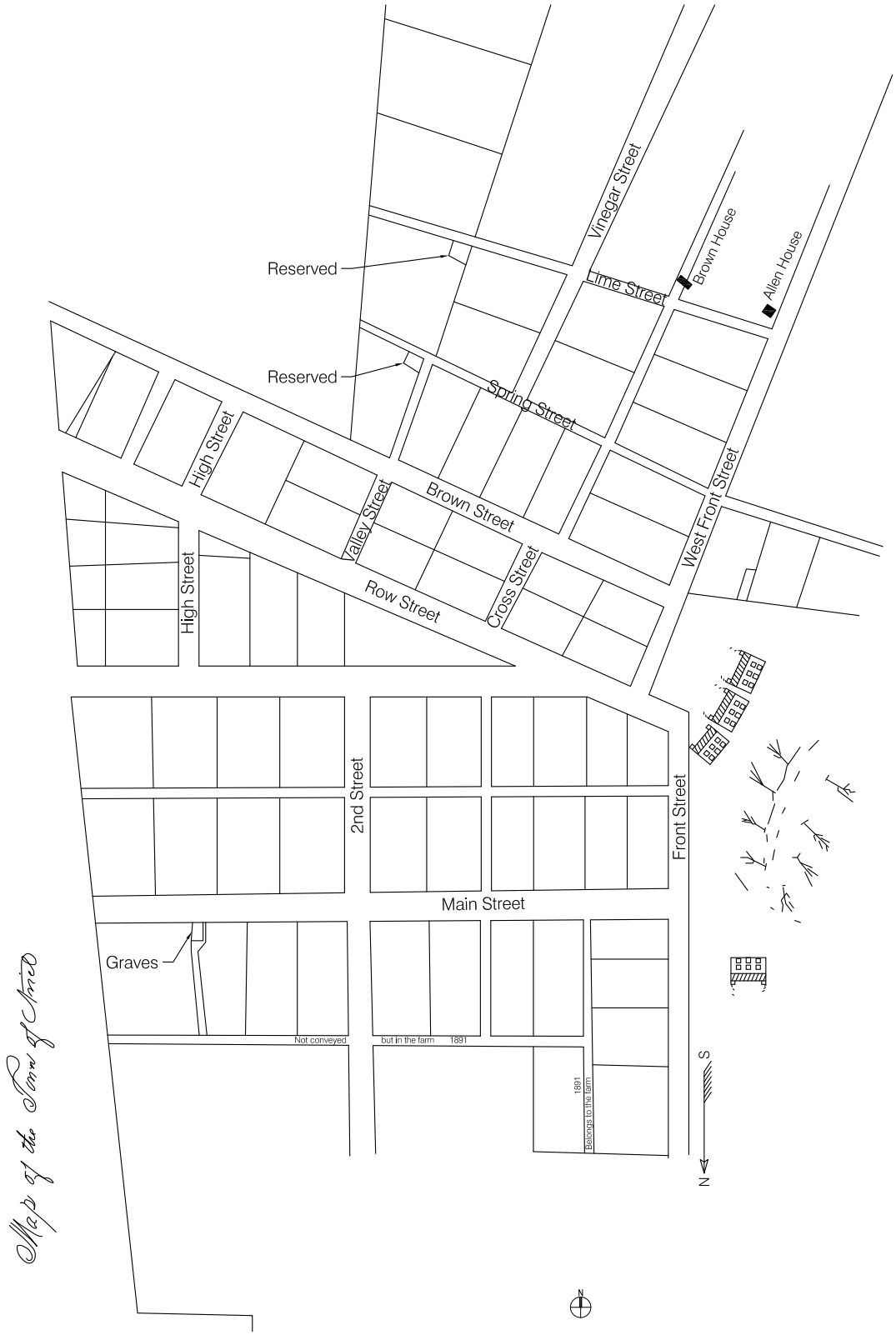


Figure 15. "Map of the Town of Ariel," redrawn from the photocopy of a ca. 1891 plat map. This appears to reflect the village as laid out by John G. Fee in 1868. Row and Brown Streets appear to align with the rows of cottages at the Refugee Home. The three house symbols at the corner of Front and Row Streets appear to represent Ariel Academy, possibly showing the Head Dormitory (Building 75) and two of the flanking wards (Buildings 74) purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868. The ravine east of Front Street is shown by the trees and dashed lines. Main Street is now Hall Road. The map's original north arrow is actually pointing 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).[104] The village seems to have reached its peak of population around 1910. The Fee Memorial Church congregation built a new building that was completed by lat 1912. 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."[105] 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?[106]

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."[107] 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?[108]

The "mad rush to the cities" noted in this article was the beginning of the Great Migration, the

104. Ibid.
105. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, December 1912, 671.
106. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.

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.[109] 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."[110] 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.[111] 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 (a stew) 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 light bulb 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.[112] Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929 in Camp Nelson) later recalled that her family got electricity at home about 1950.[113]

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."[114]

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 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

109. 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.
110. "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.
111. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
112. "Power Surges to Bluegrass Farm Homes," *Lexington Leader*, 16 June 1938, 1-2.
113. 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.
114. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 20.

felt that the neglected state of the village reflected current residents' lack of pride in their property.[115] Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929) recalled a time when "just about every lot had a house."[116] Kay Anderson, who moved to Hall in 1979, had seen the local Black population dwindle and observed a gradual influx of white residents.[117]

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.[118] 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 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.[119]

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.[120]

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.[121] 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

115. 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.
116. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994.
117. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994.
118. Andy Mead, "Conservancy working to buy up land to protect Kentucky River Palisades," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 30 March 1995, B1.
119. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28-29.
120. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 375.
121. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 16.

in Allen County, Kentucky, twelve miles southwest of Scottsville.[122] 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.[123] 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.[124] Shakespeare's works saw revived interest in the nineteenth century. There are other possible sources for the name "Ariel." The biblical Hebrew אֲרִיאֵל (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.

A few Kentucky newspapers of 1864-1865 carried news of Camp Nelson on the same page as reports about the steamship *Ariel* (1855).[125] 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.[126] 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.[127] 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.[128]

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.[129] 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) at the north end of the covered bridge over the Kentucky River, Camp Nelson National Cemetery, and Ariel College.[130] The name Ariel was still in occasional use as of 1910, when a newspaper described "the negro settlement, Ariel" being "about a mile north-west of Camp Nelson" on the river.[131] Residents interviewed in the 1994 oral history project, most born between the 1890s and the 1930s, were generally unfamiliar with the name "Ariel," suggesting that it had fallen out of use by their childhoods. The name Camp Nelson appears to have remained in use as an umbrella term encompassing the village on the river, the village of Ariel, and Poortown for the next century.

Ariel was widely known as "the Hall" by the 1930s. Several residents interviewed in 1994 noted that it

122. Winston J. Davie, *Kentucky: Its Resources and Present Condition* (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Yeoman, 1878), 237.
123. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994.
124. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 95.
125. *Louisville Daily Journal*, 27 June 1864, c8; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 9 September 1865, 3, c7; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 3 October1865, 3, c2.
126. 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 traveled across the isthmus via the railroad, before taking another ship from Panama City to San Francisco.
127. "The Alabama Still at Work," *Gallipolis Journal* (Gallipolis, OH), 1 January 1863, 2.
128. "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?224897https://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?224897.
129. 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.
130. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 185.
131. "Camp Nelson," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 May 1910, 6.



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/)

was always "the Hall" and never simply "Hall."[132] A 1940 Louisville *Courier-Journal* article about Marion Carpenter refers to "his home at Halls, near Camp Nelson, on the Kentucky River…."[133] Some speculate that the name was derived from the Benevolent Hall on Main Street, home of the general store and the second-floor public hall used for dances and other events.[134] Richard Sears, who conducted extensive research on Camp Nelson and John G. Fee, suggests that the name may have honored Captain Theron E. Hall (1821-1880), a white abolitionist who served as assistant quartermaster of Camp Nelson from 1863 to 1864 and superintendent of the Refugee Home from 1864 to 1865.[135] [**Figure 16**] A native of Massachusetts, "Hall solicited Fee's help in providing religious, educational, and practical services for the black population of Camp Nelson. Hall especially wanted all the noncommissioned officers taught to read and write as soon as possible."[136] Hall was known for his humane and sympathetic support for both Black enlisted men and the formerly enslaved people in the refugee camp.[137]

132. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994; 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.
133. Howard Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension," *Courier-Journal,* 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.
134. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
135. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 151.
136. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 5.
137. Sears, *"A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man,"* 8-10, 12.

Population

The village of Ariel, Camp Nelson, or Hall was unincorporated, and its population was rarely recorded in census data or other sources. An 1898 history of Jessamine County reported of Camp Nelson—which appears to have included Ariel and the village at the north end of the covered bridge over the Kentucky River—"The population of the village is, at this time, about 200, mostly colored people, who have settled on the cliffs and hills near the Kentucky river."[138] 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.[139]

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).[140] 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.[141] A December 1912 article estimated the town's population at about 400.[142] 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.

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

138. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898,* 185.
139. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28; W. Stephen McBride & Kim A. McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 162.
140. 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.
141. Two white households, each in its own dwelling, are within this block but have not been counted in these totals.
142. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 671.

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.[143] [**Figure 17**]

Public School

A county public school for African Americans was established in Ariel in 1874.[144] The public school stood across Row Street from the Baptist Church, on the parcel that is now 175 Church Street.[145] [**Figure 17**] It was next to the George Lewis House, which later burned.[146] 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.[147] Around 1936 or 1937, the public school moved to Vineyard, less than a mile walk from the Hall.[148] 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.[149] 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.[150] Bettie M. Frye (1867-1947) appears to have taught in several schools in Jessamine County. At the 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.[151] The

143. Several representative photographs are included, but complete existing condition documentation of the community is not part of this HSR.
144. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28.
145. 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.
146. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
147. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994.
148. Ibid.
149. 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.
150. 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.
151. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.

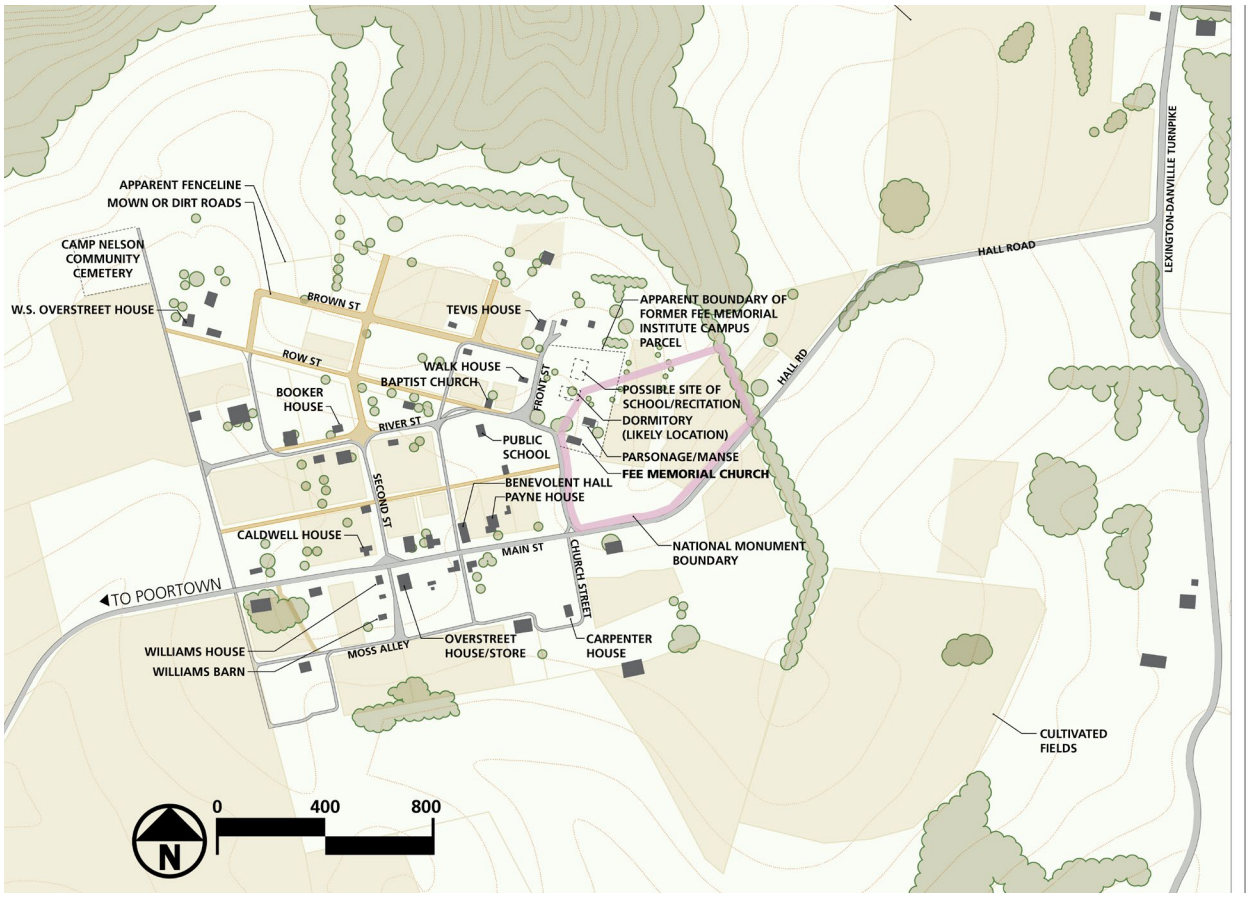


Figure 17. Map of the Hall (formerly Ariel), Kentucky, ca. 1937. Adapted from a 1937 aerial photograph with building and street labels derived from other documentary sources. The former Fee Memorial Institute campus is at right. Although the village's peak of development in the 1910s had passed and it 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.

Benevolent Hall appears to have been demolished in the 1940s.[152]

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.[153] [**Figure 17**] The congregation dedicated a building on Sunday, November 28, 1954.[154] 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."[155] 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.[156] 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. [**Figure 18**] 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

152. 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.
153. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28.
154. "Camp Nelson Baptist Church To Be Dedicated Sunday," *Lexington Leader,* 26 November 1954, 3.
155. "Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Leader,* 21 July 1968, 12.
156. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994.



Figure 18. Maggie & Marion Carpenter House located at 1331 Hall Road in December 2021 (Source: WLA Studio)

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 at auction to settle the estate's debts.[157] 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."[158]

157. 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.

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

Around 1860, John Carpenter decided to divide the family, now numbering eleven, among his sons who all lived in the neighborhood.[159] 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 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."[160] 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.[161] 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."[162]

159. 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.

160. 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.

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

162. 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.

Marion may have been responsible for the stone masonry foundations of the dormitory at Camp Nelson Academy and the manse/parsonage as well as the concrete foundation of the Fee Memorial Church. He built several houses including the two-story house at what is now 1331 Hall Road, where he lived with his daughter and son-in-law in 1940. Marion's wife Maggie held a candle while he worked nights to complete the house: "All of this inside work was done by candle light after we had both been busy all day."[163] The house features an L-shaped plan and likely dates from sometime between 1880 and 1910. The Carpenter House survives as of 2020 and is among the most historically significant buildings remaining in Hall.

Between 1890 and 1925, most of Marion and Maggie's children left Camp Nelson for northern cities and the promise of employment opportunities and reduced racial hostility. Their stories reflect the larger trends of the Great Migration, as African Americans left agricultural work in the rural South. Mary Carpenter (1871-1966) married David L. Younger about 1891 and moved to Cincinnati. Emma Carpenter (born 1883), then a student at Camp Nelson Academy, traveled to New York City with the Camp Nelson Jubilee Singers in 1897.[164] She later settled in Indianapolis, where she worked as a domestic servant and cook for private families. George Albert Carpenter (1875-1956) moved to Indianapolis about 1906, where he married Florence Ann "Fannie" White. From at least 1908 to 1915, George and Florence lived in the basement of the Illinois Flats at 624 N. Illinois Street, where George served as the buildings' janitor.[165] Social news in the *Indianapolis Recorder,* the city's Black newspaper, between 1909 and 1915 documents that Florence visited her in-laws in Camp Nelson and that Maggie Carpenter visited George and Florence in Indianapolis and other relatives in Cincinnati.[166] Marion Bond Carpenter (1895-1986) moved to Columbus, Ohio, between 1910 and 1915, working as a porter, chauffeur, and mechanic.

163. Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension," *Courier-Journal,* 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.
164. "Jubilee Singers," *Lexington Herald,* 27 November 1897, 2.
165. "George A. Carpenter," *Indianapolis Star,* 4 March 1956, 2:12.
166. "Personal and Society," *Indianapolis Recorder,* 18 September 1909, 4; "In Society," *Indianapolis Recorder,* 28 May 1910, 4; "Irvington, Ind.," *Indianapolis Recorder,* 13 November 1915, 6.

Pearl A. Carpenter (born 1892) moved to Cincinnati around 1916. Robert Lewis Carpenter (1869-1950) followed in his father's profession as a mason, with his occupation listed as stone mason on the 1900, 1910, and 1920 census. He moved from the Camp Nelson area to Indianapolis about 1923, where he worked as a concrete finisher and bricklayer until his death.[167] By 1937, fifteen of the couple's seventeen children were living and most of their seventeen grandchildren lived in Indiana and Ohio.

According to the *Lexington Leader* in 1937, "Uncle Marion is held in high respect by his neighbors, white and colored. He has a reputation in the community for honesty and industry." The reporter found that Marion had a clear, alert mind and reported that he remained fairly vigorous and healthy. He attributed his health and longevity to cleanliness. The reporter also noted that Marion possessed "a grace and politeness so natural" and that he "accompanied his interviewer to the door with expressions of thanks for the interest taken in him."[168] In 1940, Marion's one hundredth birthday was celebrated with a large party including his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and many of his twelve great-great grandchildren. He was reported to be "singularly active—has perfect eyesight and perfect hearing. In appearance he could well pass for 70. He has his full set of teeth. Not only has he never lost one—he has never had to have one filled."[169]

In December 1940, Marion moved to Indianapolis to live with his daughter, Emma Carpenter Bausley. During the early-1940s, Emma's husband George W. Bausley worked as the janitor of the Illinois Flats, the same building where her brother George Carpenter lived and worked thirty-five years earlier. Marion remained in excellent health until a fall two weeks before his death on April 21, 1942.[170] Marion Carpenter's funeral was held at the First Baptist Church in Camp Nelson, and he was buried in the family lot. At the time of his death, he was survived by four sons, Robert and George

167. "Robert L. Carpenter," *Indianapolis News,* 13 March 1950, 25.
168. 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.
169. Hardaway, "At 100 He's Ready for a Pension," *Courier-Journal,* 25 August 1940, Sunday Magazine, 2.
170. "101-Year-Old Veteran Buried," *Indianapolis News,* 27 April 1942, 8.



Figure 19. Matilda & Alex Williams House in December 2021. The house has been altered from its earlier appearance [Figure 20] (Source: WLA Studio)

Carpenter of Indianapolis, Henry and Marion Carpenter of Camp Nelson; three daughters, Mary Younger and Charlotte Thomas of Cincinnati and Emma Bausley of Indianapolis; eighteen grandchildren, twenty-seven great-grandchildren, and ten great-great-grandchildren.[171]

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

The Williams House stands at the southwest corner of Main Street (Hall Road) and Second Street (Overstreet Lane/Bowles Street). [**Figure 19**] The property was purchased by Alex Williams in 1893 and the house is believed to have been built around that time. This is among the best-documented properties in the community and its story appears to be representative of many of the village's other residential properties.

Alexander "Alex" Williams (1864-1931) was born in Clark County, Kentucky, to Solomon Williams and Caroline Bryant. He married Matilda Harriet "Tillie" Burnside (1871-1956) about 1888 and the couple had five children: Mary Williams (born 1889, died between 1900-1910), Caroline "Carrie" Williams Overstreet (1891-1978), Susie Elizabeth Williams Tardif Harris (1894-1956), James Solomon Williams (1895-1972), and Nellie Allen Williams Ison (1898-1973). The Williams family were members of the Presbyterian Church. Alex was listed a farm laborer on the 1900 and 1920 census forms, but the forms for 1910 and 1930 list him as a farmer. He was a farm laborer at the time of his death. His funeral, conducted by Dr. J. P. Miller and Dr. H. W. McNair, was held in the Presbyterian Church.[172] Alex conveyed the property to Matilda in 1929.

The house was occupied by Carrie Williams Overstreet after Matilda's death in 1956. It passed to Carolyn Christine Ison Mitchell (1917-1997), daughter of Nellie Williams Ison and granddaughter of Alex and Matilda Williams, in the 1970s. Christine graduated from Louisville Municipal College for Negroes, the segregated branch of the University of Louisville, in 1940 and moved to Washington, D.C.; she spent her career as a secretary in Washington and married Louis A. Mitchell in there 1946.[173] The Williams House reportedly sat vacant for about ten years before Christine sold it to Nancy and Danny McKinney in 1984. The McKinneys looked at the house in February; by the time they closed on the property in June, the house was heavily overgrown. They renovated the house and lived there from 1984 to 1991. A 1994 oral history interview with the McKinneys provides the detailed documentation of the house's configuration, construction, and later history.[174]

A photograph of the house, found in the house by the McKinneys, may show Alex and Matilda Williams and their five children on the front porch of the house. [**Figure 20**] The photograph appears to date from between about 1905 and 1910; 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 the village during this period. The McKinneys reported that older neighbors had told them that the Williams House was a "showplace of its time" in the village.

In the photograph, the house was one-and-one-half stories in height, with a side-gabled roof and a façade divided into three bays. The center bay contained the front door, while each of the outer bays contained a two-over-two double-hung window at the first and second floors. The second-floor windows cut through the eave line and rose into simple gabled dormers. The space between the

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

172. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 14 December 1931, 12.

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

174. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21 September 1994.



Figure 20. 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)

windows contained a hipped-roof porch featuring turned posts and turned and scroll-sawn fretwork. A brick chimney was centered on the ridgeline of the wood-shingle roof. The photograph suggests that the house may have had a paint scheme of at least three colors, with the siding registering as a medium color, the trim as a light color, and the window sash and door registering as a dark color. The windows were fitted with lace curtains and roller shades. A wood picket fence composed of pickets of varying width and height lined the front of the lot, with a gate on axis with the front 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.[175] 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.

175. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 143.

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

The house was filled with furniture and other items left behind by the Williams family, including "all kinds of pictures." During the decade of vacancy, it had been broken into several times and ransacked, and mice and snakes had moved in. A deed for the property dated 1893, partially eaten by mice, was found in the house. Other items in the house included a large number of pictures and postcards of Abraham Lincoln and other signs that the family was "very patriotic." The McKinneys reported that the house looked "identical to" the historic photograph except that the fence was gone.

The house was in worse condition than the McKinneys anticipated. Boards around the chimney on the second floor were scorched and the kitchen showed signs of at least two different fires. Their 1984 remodeling included raising the house up and installing a new foundation, removal of the original roof and rear kitchen wing, the addition of a gable-front gambrel roof, the addition of a new rear wing containing a kitchen and den, removal of the original staircase and replacement with a new stair on the other side of the wall, replacement of missing or damaged porch components, and replacing the porch's hipped roof with a gable-front roof. Demolition of the porch roof revealed three layers of roofing, including wood shingles and the standing-seam metal roof that appears in the historic photograph.

The property retained many of the Williams' plantings in 1984. Trees included an apple orchard, a cherry tree, and many hackberries, as well as the stump of a poplar tree approximately 4 feet in diameter in front yard. Old flowers included red peonies, many bulbs, and a sweet autumn clematis (*Clematis terniflora*) that the McKinneys believed to be the same vine visible in the historic photograph—they tried to kill it for six years before giving up. Blackberries grew in the back yard. The McKinneys reported that the lot had unusually rich, fertile soil where flowers and vegetables flourished. During their occupancy, rain would cause rocks and metal tools to float up out of the ground. A wood-frame barn toward the rear of the property along Second Street was built with posts set into the ground. The frame was of locust tree limbs. It had been used to hand tobacco until 1983. The barn was leaning about 2 feet in 1984; it was demolished in 1985. The property also included a coal shed or garage that was demolished around this time.

Caldwell House, 1396 Hall Road

This house, at the northwest corner of Main Street (Hall Road) and Second (Bowles) Street was owned by Maggie Caldwell, sometimes pronounced as "Colwell" or "Cowell." The house had a dry-laid foundation of large pieces of shaped white limestone. The one-and-one-half-story house was clad in one-by-six boards. Descriptions recorded in the 1990s indicate that it may have been a hall-and-parlor or double-pen house. The façade included one door and one window about the same size as the door. Helen Booker Stewart remembered that the interior of the house included a kitchen on one side and a staircase and living room on the other. The attic contained two bedrooms. A rear addition was built in the 1930s. Stewart believed it was the only house in Hall that had an underground root cellar, which was accessed by exterior entrance. The house was abandoned, with all of its windows broken out, by 1984. During the 1980s, a neighbor would strip the house's clapboards to burn them. One night in the mid-to-late 1980s, the front porch collapsed. By 1994, the house was dilapidated and concealed by overgrowth. The house was demolished, and a new house built on the site in 2000.[176]

Old Cemetery, 1459 Hall Road

The plat of the town of Ariel completed about 1891 labels a small area at the northwest corner of this lot as "Graves." According to a 1994 oral history interview with Nancy and Danny McKinney, who lived in the Williams House at 1395 Hall Road from 1984 to 1991, Miss Payne, a deceased

176. 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; Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21 September 1994.

neighbor, remembered that a small cemetery on this lot contained headstones with angels and other symbols. The cemetery was no longer visible by 1994.[177]

The deed for John G. Fee's purchase of the 130 acres from Joseph M. Moss and Matilda H. Moss on February 29, 1868, includes a reference to "measuring out nine rods for [the] grave yard where it now stands."[178] Because features of the Refugee Home were not mentioned in the deed, this may have been a Moss family cemetery that predated the construction of the Refugee Home. The description of carved headstones featuring angels and other symbols could refer to a family cemetery. This may also explain the "Graves" noted on the ca. 1891 plat.

Camp Nelson Community Cemetery, Payne Lane

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

Associated Communities

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

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

1783-1865 Twin Villages

This village was established on the cliffs above the north bank of the Kentucky River, below a stone outcropping known as Boone's Knob.[179] The knob took its name from nearby Boone's Cave, where Daniel Boone spent the winter of 1769. William Hickman settled near the site and nearby Hickman Creek was named for him. In 1783, the Virginia legislature established a tobacco warehouse at the mouth of Hickman Creek, and a public ferry began operation there in 1785.[180] Villages developed around the ferry landings on both sides of the river around the time Kentucky entered the United States as the fifteenth state in 1792. A distillery known as Boone's Knob was established in the north village about 1820 and would evolve over the next century.[181] By the late-1830s, the community was known as Fitchport after Philonzo S. Fitch (1810-1877), a New York-born farmer who operated the ferry landing.

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

The bridge appears to have forged a closer connection between the villages on either side of the river, as evidenced by the frequent relocations of the post office between the two sides. Post offices operating in the community included the Fitchport post office at the south end of the bridge from 1839 to 1842, the Boone's Knob post office at the north end from 1843 to 1849, the Jessamine post office on either side at various times from 1853 to 1863, and the Camp Nelson post office on either

177. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21 September 1994.
178. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 25-26.
179. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 151.
180. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 37; Lisa Power, "My Old Kentucky Home on the Block," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 21 April 1985, magazine section, 12.
181. Andy Mead, "Fire destroys former distillery in Jessamine," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 12 August 1986, B1.

side at various times from 1863 until its closure in 1920.[182] By 1861, the village around the bridge's northern toll house included a steam flouring mill, a store, and a post office.[183] During the Civil War, the Boone's Knob distillery was used as a hospital and headquarters for Federal soldiers from Camp Nelson stationed to guard this strategic crossing of the Kentucky River.[184]

1865-1919 Postwar Growth

In 1867, the distillery was acquired by Campbell, Curley & Co., founded by investors including Irish immigrant Edward J. Curley (1836-1921), and was expanded and renamed the Blue Grass Distillery.[185] By 1872, the firm was known as E. J. Curley & Co. An advertisement that year read in part, "This is a small distillery situated on the banks of the Kentucky river, near Camp Nelson, in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. Its capacity is limited, more attention being paid to the quality than the quantity of liquor produced."[186]

The villages on either side of the bridge seem to have developed separate identities by the 1870s. In 1877, the village of Camp Nelson north of the bridge included a combined store and toll house, the E. J. Curley & Company distillery, and other buildings.[187] An 1898 county history describes the village of Camp Nelson as including the settlement at the north end of the covered bridge, Camp Nelson National Cemetery, and Ariel College in Ariel (now Hall).[188] In 1879, the village south of the bridge, known as Fitchport or Hickman's Bridge, included a combination store and post office, several houses, and the Hickman Hotel.[189] By 1901, the hotel had closed and the village contained a distillery and a gristmill.[190]

The E. J. Curley & Company distillery ceased production in 1919 with the advent of Prohibition, and the Camp Nelson post office closed the following year. The Camp Nelson Covered Bridge was replaced by a new steel truss bridge in 1927-1928 and, despite a years-long preservation battle, was demolished in 1933. Whiskey production resumed following the end of Prohibition in 1933. From the 1910s to the early-1940s, the Kaufman family operated a large general store in the village.[191]

1919-1972 Prohibition, Tourism, and Distilling

In 1928, a group of investors including W. S. Square of Lexington and E. W. Cook of Fort Thomas formed the Daniel Boone Lodge Company and purchased the former E. J. Curley & Co. distillery complex, noting that "the spacious old stone structure overlooks the Kentucky river at a point rich in scenic beauty and historical appeal. . ."[192] The group announced plans to convert the complex "into a modern hotel of old English style architecture."[193] The company promoted the plan for the Daniel Boone Lodge as part of a larger resort known as Palisades Park, including publication of a rendering of the remodeled distillery by Churchill & Gillig, architects, of Lexington.[194] Construction was to begin in March or April 1929, with a cost of approximately $200,000.[195] "The distillery will be converted into a large four-story hotel designed to represent an early American tavern, having every modern convenience in the form of plumbing, heating and fixtures. . . [and] furnished in colonial style."[196] The

182. "Camp Nelson, Kentucky," *Kentucky Atlas & Gazetteer,* accessed 18 January 2021, https://www.kyatlas.com/ky-camp-nelson.html.
183. This map labels the post office "Fitchport." E. A. Hewitt, *Topographical Map of the Counties of Bourbon, Fayette, Clark, Jessamine, and Woodford, Kentucky* (New York: Smith, Gallup & Co., 1861), accessed 18 January 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/2011588004/.
184. Mead, "Fire destroys former distillery in Jessamine," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 12 August 1986, B1.
185. *Evansville Journal* (Evansville, IN), 19 October 1867, 4, c2.
186. "Blue Grass Distillery," *Weekly Arizona Miner* (Prescott, AZ), 3 August 1872, 3.
187. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine and Woodford Counties, Ky.* (Philadelphia: D. G. Beers & Co., 1877), 64-65.
188. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 185.
189. *Map of Garrard and Lincoln Counties, Kentucky* (Philadelphia: Beers & Lanagan, 1879), accessed 18 January 2021, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/4cb53640-3cc5-0135-cd08-7ddaff92996f.
190. Joseph Thomas, ed., *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1902), 780.
191. "Brave Deed," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 17 April 1916, 1; Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
192. "Plan Camp Nelson Hotel," *Lexington Herald,* 10 November 1928, 1.
193. Ibid.
194. "Daniel Boone Lodge," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 13 May 1929, 1.
195. "To Start Work Soon on Camp Nelson Hotel," *Lexington Leader,* March 1929, 2.
196. "Resort Will Be Opened in Fall," *Lexington Herald,* 12 May 1929, 1.

main building would contain fifty guest rooms—thirty-five with private bathrooms—a main dining room and private dining rooms seating up to two hundred people, a basement garage for one hundred automobiles, and a "spacious lobby with large mezzanine and a half dozen open courts, sun parlors, and porches." [197] The company purchased large tracts of land with plans for a private hunting preserve, a golf course, and sites for "scores of artistic bungalows." [198] By 1929, several new log guest cabins had been erected, with plans for others to be built of local stone.

Like other tourism developments of the period, the Daniel Boone Lodge would offer a combination of local history and scenic beauty. The Colonial Revival movement cultivated interest in American history and antiques that intensified in the 1920s. The advent of mass automobile ownership, leisure time, and disposable income among the expanding middle class provided a ready market for travel to sites associated with history and those offering natural scenery. The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement sparked further interest in preindustrial handicrafts like weaving, pottery, and furniture-making; and new attention was brought to the survival of these crafts in Appalachia. Plans for the Daniel Boone Lodge and associated development in the village reflect these trends. An antique shop was to be located off the hotel lobby, businesses planning to open in the village included a factory specializing in the reproduction of antique furniture and an art pottery factory, and the celebrated Churchill weavers of Berea announced plans to relocate to Camp Nelson. [199]

Construction proceeded into 1930, and H. W. Churchill of Churchill & Gillig, architects, noted that August that the hotel was to be completed in the fall.[200] The stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression seem to have sealed the fate of the Daniel Boone Lodge. In December 1931, the incomplete hotel was sold to Edwin K. Creasey of Covington, Kentucky, for $33,334.[201] The property seems to have remained vacant until it was sold at auction in October 1935. The lone bidder, the Belle of Anderson County Distilling Company, paid $96,200 to purchase the complex for conversion back into a distillery.[202]

Although the Daniel Boone Inn project was not realized, automobile-oriented tourist development continued in the area. The Daniel Boone's Cave tourist court just north of the village at the intersection of the highway and Boone Cave Road reflects typical roadside tourist developments of the 1920 to 1960 period. The property included a restaurant and gift shop, service station, and guest cabins. A 1940 postcard view of the "rustic" round-log main building of the complex that survives at 7492 Old Danville Road shows a series of signs on the porch reflecting the nature of automobile tourism market of the period: "Hand-Made Mountain Pottery / Souvenirs—Gifts / Coffee Shop / Food / Sandwiches / Cold Drinks."[203] A 1951 sale notice for the property notes the "attractive log cabin restaurant with rustic counter and stools… [and a] very cozy dining room with open fireplace," a four-room owner's apartment upstairs, and five log tourist cabins.[204]

The village saw extensive news coverage in 1934, when armed bandits held up the Kaufman brothers' general store, injuring William G. "Will" Kaufman and killing George Kaufman.[205] 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

197. "Daniel Boone Lodge to be a Great Resort," *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 18 October 1929, 1; "Trip Taken by Progress Body," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 21 June 1930, 3.
198. "Daniel Boone Lodge to be a Great Resort," *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 18 October 1929, 1.
199. Ibid.
200. "Local Doings," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 13 August 1930, 1.
201. "Daniel Boone Lodge Sold," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 23 December 1931, 4.
202. "Daniel Boone Lodge Properties at Camp Nelson," *Lexington Herald,* 13 October 1935, 1.
203. "Daniel Boone's Cave Main Building U.S. 27 Kentucky," 1940, Graphic5_Box19_314, Kentucky Historical Society, https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/Morgan/id/9433.
204. "At Auction," *Lexington Herald,* 4 March 1951, 22.
205. "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.

produce marihuana [*sic*], grows profusely along the river bottoms near Camp Nelson."[206]

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.[207] 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.[208]

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.[209]

In June 1986, Lexington resident Michael Foster purchased the distillery and surrounding property from the CAP and made plans to rehabilitate the buildings as a residence. A large fire in August 1986 left only the stone walls of the distillery

206. 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.

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

208. "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.

209. 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.

buildings.[210] The ruins were demolished soon after. In June 2021, it was announced that the E. J. Curley & Company brand was to be revived and a new distillery was to be built at Camp Nelson.[211]

Architectural Character

Photographs taken between the 1860s and the 1920s show that the village was dominated by the limestone buildings of the E. J. Curley distillery and a house adjacent to the bridge landing. These buildings had a vernacular architectural character reflecting the influence of the Federal style in their divided-lite, double-hung windows and gabled rooflines. They are comparable in character to other stone buildings of the Bluegrass region built between 1785 and 1830, including some at the nearby Shaker community of Pleasant Hill in Mercer County.[212] The Daniel Boone Lodge era remodeling of the distillery added Colonial Revival elements including gabled dormers and covered board-and-batten-sided walls with wooden shingles of rustic profile. Wood-frame buildings were present on both sides of the bridge, typically clad in wood weatherboard siding and featuring exterior stone chimneys on the gable ends. Barns and warehouses were typically clad in vertical board siding. Some buildings included vernacular Italianate or Queen Anne influences—tall, two-over-two double-hung windows or turned wooden porch posts—but most were defined by their overall form and simple exterior materials. Perhaps the most elaborate building was a frame house that stood opposite the distillery: the eave and gabled center bay of its façade were trimmed by a vernacular adaptation of Gothic Revival fretwork. Kaufman Bros.' general store was a typical rural store building of the 1910 to 1950 period, a one-story gable-front frame building with an entrance and display windows sheltered by a front porch. By the 1920s, historic hewn-log buildings were seen as quaint and desirable relics of a storied past. This period also saw the construction of new log buildings, typically built with round logs.

Poortown

Poortown was an unincorporated rural community that developed approximately one-half mile south-southwest of the village of Ariel / Hall. Poortown is not labeled on maps, but a loose collection of buildings was present near the intersection of what is now Poortown Road and Cleveland Ford Road by 1905. By 1877, the lines of Poortown Road, Cleveland Ford Road, and the west part of Hall Road (Ariel's Main Street) were present, forming a C-shaped path extending clockwise from the turnpike. By 1905, Hall Road had been extended to the turnpike. Twentieth century residents of the Hall often described these three roads as an extension of the Hall's Main Street that looped through Poortown and back to US 27.[213] A 1937 aerial photograph indicates that the extension of Poortown Road and the cliff-top dead-end roads now known as Palisades Heights and the Palisades Extension were present by that time. Poortown then appears to have consisted mainly of a loose grouping of farms along Poortown Road and Cleveland Ford Road, with smaller parcels and houses along the cliff-top roads. More houses and outbuildings were built along the two main roads after 1950, but the community retained the appearance of a loose collection of rural properties rather than a concentrated settlement.

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

> Up in the Hall was a colored section; down in Poortown was a white section, and we would play them sometimes at [base]ball, we all got along fine together, but they had two different schools [a Black school in the Hall and a white school on U.S. 27] …. We would play ball with them 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.[214]

As a ten-year-old, Patricia R. True Walker spent most of summer of 1938 living with her

210. Todd Kleffman, "Fire destroys old distillery at Camp Nelson," *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 11 August 1986, 1; Andy Mead, "Fire destroys former distillery in Jessamine," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 12 August 1986, B1; "Fire probed at historic distillery," *Paducah Sun* (Paducah, KY), 12 August 1986, A8.

211. Janet Patton, "New Kentucky bourbon distillery bringing historic Camp Nelson site back to life," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 25 June 2021, https://www.kentucky.com/lexgoeat/bourbon/article252335063.html.

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

213. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.

214. Ibid.

grandmother in Poortown. She often walked to the Hall to buy candy at the store on Main Street, noting that the only other store in the area was Kaumfan's large general store in Camp Nelson on the river. Her family attended at least one event in the Benevolent Hall, and she remembered her grandmother's friendships with residents of the Hall, noting connections between her family and Black families from the Hall over several decades.[215]

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

Frogtown

In a 1994 interview, William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998), son of Joseph and Cordelia Payne, recalled that Smith Kemper (1876-1953) "lived in a little place we called Frogtown, down below the school—considered part of Hall. Down below the school, kind of down along the river."[216] This may have been the area at the northeast part of the platted portion of Ariel, where Front and Vinegar Streets extended down into the ravine leading down to the Kentucky River.

Black Bridge

Another community founded by descendants of USCT stationed at Camp Nelson included Black Bridge, located northeast of Camp Nelson on Hickman Creek. Private Sidney Smith served in the USCT and lived in the Black Bridge community with his wife Ann Chrisman Smith and son Fletcher.[217] Black Bridge includes dwellings, Macedonia Black Bridge Church, established in 1894, Black Bridge School, constructed between 1900 and 1924, and Black Bridge Cemetery, established around 1913.[218]

215. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
216. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
217. Rebecca Turner, "Historic Context of the Black Bridge Community in Jessamine County, Kentucky" (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Department of Transportation, April 2020), 10.
218. Turner, "Historic Context of the Black Bridge Community," Appendix C KHC Survey Forms.

Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute

1864-1868 Camp Nelson School

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

> At the suggestion of Capt T E Hall, I organised schools for the instruction of the non-commissioned officers in the various colored regiments. We soon had a large school—some thirteen teachers at one period. The schools were ultimately extended to privates and to children. Hundreds of these soldiers were instructed. A considerable number learned not only to read, but also to write; and now, from the army in Texas, send letters to their families and friends in this camp….
>
> Within this Refugee Home there has been a school organized chiefly for the education of the children within this Refugee Home. In this school more than six hundred children have been regularly taught & quite a number are now reading—able to read the New Testament, copies of which [we] have put into the hands of such.
>
> Much of this time of instruction I have had a daily watch care over these children in the school rooms. I do not believe any class of children learn ~~more~~ faster than these—few schools of white children [are] so good in behaviour. Submission has been the habit of their lives. When kind sympathizing teachers ask this submission it is readily yielded…. These children will carry their books and a knowledge of letters wherever they shall go. These parents will carry sentiments and truths which shall comfort their hearts and mould their lives, wherever they shall be cast.[219]

When the National Home for Colored Refugees was developed during 1864-1865, the school was provided with a two-story wood-frame building. It remained in operation after the end of the Civil War. Among the other employees of the

219. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865, quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 267-268.

American Missionary Association (AMA) working at Camp Nelson was Rev. Abishai Scofield, a white abolitionist who had come to the camp in 1864. In October 1865, Scofield wrote that the school at the Refugee Home was "now the only school in Camp. Our large Hall is full, numbering over two hundred. Some are making very commendable progress. We intend to have an exhibition at the close of the term."[220] Just over a month later, Scofield reported, "Our school has greatly increased and amassed something over two hundred. Many more would be glad to come."[221] Scofield noted, "we could not accommodate so many in the cold weather as at other times," and reported, "I think a Normal School might be started here for the education of colored teachers that would be productive of great good—when the Camp, as a government institution, shall be no more.[222] Fee returned to Berea in 1866 but maintained an active connection with the school in Camp Nelson until his death in 1901.[223]

After the end of the Civil War, the passage of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments radicalized many white Kentuckians and led to armed mobs of "regulators" who terrorized Black Kentuckians and their white allies in an effort to thwart federal law. During the summer of 1866, Abishai Scofield, another minister employed by the AMA who had come to Camp Nelson in 1864, "set about making Camp Nelson a social and economic center for freedmen. Yet, with all the Freedmen's Bureau agents gone, the settlement found itself defenseless against reprisals by the local population."[224]

In September 1866, Scofield wrote, "A company of robers [*sic*] is prowling around us almost every night robbing the colored people and threatening 'Old Scofield' with terrible things. It looks a little serious and without some protection it is doubtful if we can remain. May the Lord direct and defend us."[225] Scofield pleaded with Federal authorities in Nicholasville to place soldiers to protect the village, but the troops never arrived. On October 4, 1866, Scofield wrote, "two wicked 'Rebs' have just left our home, who threatened to 'blow Hell out of old Scofield' and what had I done, why simply advised or rather directed a poor abused black man to go to the civil authorities and make complaint; for this my life is threatened and our camp and school house is to be burned down. They say all they need is to know that I am not retained at home and my life would not be safe an hour. . ."[226] Freedmen were posted on guard duty around the settlement, but the watch was tiring and was abandoned after two weeks with no activity. Brian Eades described what happened next, based in part on Scofield's own account dated December 14, 1866:

> On the evening of 19 November, a group of twenty or thirty armed raiders descended upon the camp and went directly to Scofield's residence. They dragged him outside and threatened to kill him and his family if he did not leave the area. Fearing for his life, Scofield agreed to leave Camp Nelson. During this frightful evening, the ruffians paid a visit to a freedman's residence. Upon arrival, they opened fire through his front door and windows. One black man escaped out the back door of the house and ran for his life. The other occupant of the house, John Burnsides, located his weapon and returned fire, mortally wounding one of the attackers and slightly wounding another. The outlaws quickly overpowered Burnsides and proceeded to administer a severe beating upon his body. They then set fire to several barns and building but soon left the village to care for their wounded comrades. The blacks at Camp Nelson quickly banded together and extinguished the flames. A few days after this incident, Gabriel Burdett arrived at the settlement and successfully smuggled Scofield and his family out of the dangerous area and away from the bloodthirsty ruffians.[227]

Scofield was unable to identify the members of the mob and the school remained closed for several months.[228]

220. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 293.
221. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 300.
222. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 309.
223. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, 151.
224. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 13.
225. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 13.
226. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 13.
227. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 14.
228. "From Washington," *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 4 February 1867, 3.

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…[229]

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.[230]

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'Heavey, George Blakeman, Rev. T. A. Noble & David F. Newton, trustees of Ariel Academy."[231]

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.[232]

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 Berea's."[233] In its first year, the school operated under the patronage of the AMA and the Western Freedmen's Union Commission.[234] The AMA would continue to supply teachers for the school for many years.[235] A report dated January 1, 1869, describes the school as follows:

> *Ariel Academy.*—This school is an incorporated institution, located in Camp Nelson, and modeled after Berea College. Its buildings consist of a school-house, chapel, and a large two-story building, which will be used as a boarding-house. At present the institution is in its infancy. Mr. Newton and wife are in charge,

229. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History,* 291-292.
230. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History,* 303.
231. A copy of the deed is reproduced in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 25-26.
232. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.
233. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151-152.
234. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), 54.
235. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.

> and report for the month of December [1868] 37 pupils.[236]

The school's enrollment increased from thirty-seven in 1868 to 106 in 1869 to 125 in 1870, with two faculty members, one of which typically served as both principal and minister to the congregation. As of May 1869, the school's workers included Gabriel Burdett, and Mr. and Mrs. Isaac M. Newton.[237] The Newtons had come from Kinsman, Ohio, late in 1868 and were primarily focused on Temperance. In December 1869, Scofield wrote to Fee that the Newtons had "fled Camp N.," having been "indiscreet."[238] The nature of this indiscretion is unclear.

Rev. William H. H. Butler, born in 1849 to free Black parents in Ohio, took charge of Ariel Academy in 1870. The 1870 census was taken in Jessamine County between June and September. Ariel appears to have been within District 1, which was enumerated in July and August.[239] Because the enumeration occurred during the period when Ariel Academy was likely closed for the summer, the census forms do not provide documentation of the school. The only individual with a known connection with the school was William Butler, listed as a twenty-two-year-old "mulatto" "Preacher." Among the families on the same sheet was Amistad Wade, a seventy-year-old Black "Preacher." In the spring of 1870, enrollment increased from 16 to 106 within three months.[240]

A later newspaper biography states that Butler remained at Ariel for six years, but a January 1871 report listed Enoch Seales as the principal and sole teacher.[241] The following month, Gabriel Burdett reported, "We have a School now going at this point though the number was not veary [*sic*] large last month yet we have a great many more this month than came lasst [*sic*] month[.] And our sunday school is increasing. And o[u]r Church is still growing some. And the temperance band or band of hope is increasing."[242] An 1871 report on Freedmen's schools in the *American Missionary* lists "*Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson, Ky.* Value of property $2,000, No. of Teachers 2, No. of Pupils 100."[243] Richard D. Sears provides an account of the school's development in the early-1870s:

> Seales was replaced by B. A. Imes, whom Burdett described as "a splendid teacher from Oberlin Ohio." Meanwhile, Burdett had begun setting up local schools for black children, taught by former students of Ariel, and had launched himself into an enthusiastic career as a prohibition speaker. Fee was very impressed with Gabriel's new mission: "White men who are good judges tell me no man in the country spoke with such power & effect as did Burdett to immense audiences white & colored White men opened [the] Court House then churches & own tables to him—many of the best men of [Garrard] County."
>
> Throughout 1873, Burdett continued "getting up Schools" for former Academy students to teach in a ten or twelve mile radius around Camp Nelson. In 1873, Burdett was the sole AMA worker again (and so he remained until 1877), although teachers continued to come to the school under other auspices. A Quaker friend of Levi Coffin (Coffin had been an Ariel Academy trustee) and his wife were the new teachers early in 1874.[244]

In 1874, Howard S. Fee (1851-1904), son of John G. Fee, graduated from Berea College and "was invited by the black people of Camp Nelson to take charge of the school there."[245] He arrived that September. Sears calls Howard Fee, who had taught soldiers in the Camp Nelson school as a teenager, "the school's most popular and successful teacher… Under his leadership, both the school

236. J. W. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869*, 47.
237. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lx-xli.
238. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxi.
239. Jessamine County is not divided into townships. The census forms are divided into the city of Nicholasville and six districts. The Camp Nelson post office at the village on the river is not listed on any of these forms and Nicholasville is listed as the post office for all sheets in District 1. The Hanly post office, between Ariel and Nicholasville, appears in District 5, which also included the keepers of the Camp Nelson National Cemetery. It is unclear which district contained the village of Camp Nelson on the river.
240. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lx-lxi.
241. "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 24 July 1892, 3.
242. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxi.
243. "Freedmen," *American Missionary,* Vol. XV, No. 1 (January 1871), 3.
244. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxi.
245. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 95.

and church grew in numbers."[246] According to Brian Eades, "Under the leadership of Howard Fee, both the student population and the quality of the education increased. By August 1875, he hoped to incorporate a high school into the curriculum at Ariel Academy. As a result of this progress, several blacks moved to Ariel to attend the 'normal' school."[247]

In 1875, Gabriel Burdett reported that "our school," which had 115 students, "is in better condition than it has ever been."[248] An 1875 account notes that the school "At Camp Nelson there is still a large colored settlement, the most moral, harmonious and hopeful in the State. The school still continues, and is at present under the superintendence of Howard S. Fee, a graduate of Berea College."[249] In an 1875 report to the AMA, John G. Fee wrote,

> You will remember that near the close of our late war, there were gathered Into Camp Nelson, Ky., many thousands of colored soldiers; and that these were followed by some three thousand women and children.
>
> For the shelter of these women and children, 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.[250]

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

> ARIEL ACADEMY / NORMAL SCHOOL /
> THE FALL TERM WILL COMMENCE
>
> September 27th, and Continue 12 Weeks.
>
> The School will be conducted by HOWARD S. FEE, a graduate from Berea College, who has had experience as a teacher; and is fully competent to give instruction in Academic or Normal Studies.
>
> Special attention will be given to the Normal Department—the work of preparing teachers for the work of teaching.
>
> It is important that each one who shall attend be present at the beginning of the term, that they 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.[251]

Advertisements for African American normal schools were common during this period as institutions attempted to boost and sustain enrollment.

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."[252] 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

246. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxi.
247. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 17.
248. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 95.
249. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.
250. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association*, 24.
251. "Ariel Academy Normal School," flyer, 10 August 1875, reproduced in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 27.
252. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, Ky.*, 64-65.

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."[253] 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."[254]

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."[255] 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, fronting the sidewalk line, with very narrow side yards, and featuring a metal cornice.[256]

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."[257] 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.[258] 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.[259] 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

253. Quoted in Eades, Slaves to *Soldiers,* 19.
254. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiii.
255. "Real Estate Transfers," *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 31 March 1871, 7.
256. 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.
257. "A Contested Will," *Buffalo Weekly Courier,* 2 April 1879, 4.
258. "A New and Important Movement," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, WI), 5 December 1868, 4.
259. "Liberal Donation," *New Orleans Republican,* 25 February 1871, 1.

> he disbursements of the month, and make all appropriations. The amount thus distributed amounts to upwards of $300 per year.[260]

As with the Nashville arrangement, the house on Longworth Street appears to have provided rental income to support Ariel Academy.[261] 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.[262] 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.[263]

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.[264] 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.[265]

Ariel Academy's granting of a quitclaim deed for the Cincinnati property to itself in April 1880 may have related to this lawsuit.[266] An 1895 article suggests that it lost this source of income around 1880: "At the death of Hathaway a law suit brought by the heirs caused the school to suffer the loss of the considerable income from his generosity, and it fell into straitened circumstances." [267]

According to an 1895 article, following the loss of the Hathaway property in Cincinnati, "Fee again came to the rescue, and another Cincinnati man, Simon Embry [Emerick], procured a donation from the sale of 123 acres of land near the academy. The income from this enabled the school to continue its work.[268] In 1881, the Trustees of Ariel Academy purchased an adjoining farm of 115 acres, increasing the school's holdings to 123.5 acres.[269] This appears to have been funded by Simon E. Emerick (1833-1898), a farmer who resided in Alexandersville, Ohio, a village in Miami Township, Montgomery County, just south of Dayton and now part of West Carrollton. Emerick also served as a trustee of the school by 1884.

260. "Death of a Man Who Loved the Poor," *Public Ledger* (Memphis, TN), 12 Marc 1879, 2.
261. 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.
262. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
263. "Fee Memorial School Movel [*sic*] to Jessamine," *Lexington Herald*, 2 October 1924, 2.
264. "A Contested Will," *Buffalo Weekly Courier,* 2 April 1879, 4.
265. Clipping in Legal and Financing Documents, Fee Papers, BCA, cited in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151, 204, note 6.
266. "Real Estate Transfers," *Cincinnati Daily Star,* 10 April 1880, 6.
267. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
268. Ibid.
269. Edward P. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XII, No. 11 (November 1903) 561.

1884-1903 Camp Nelson Academy

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

> . . . to appoint the principal and teachers of the academy, also a secretary and treasurer of the same; fix their salaries, prescribe the course of study, receive and disburse moneys, make contracts, and transact all other business for the benefit of the institution.[270]

The act also provided that,

> . . . the name of Camp Nelson Academy, at Camp Nelson, in the county of Jessamine, and State of Kentucky, be substituted for the former name of Ariel Academy, as it is set out in [its] constitution.[271]

The school received a modest financial boost in the mid-1880s from Philo Carpenter (1805-1886), a prominent citizen of Chicago. Carpenter's will specified a donation of $250 to Camp Nelson Academy, one of numerous bequests to educational and religious institutions, including much larger sums to Berea College, Oberlin College, the American Missionary Association.[272] In 1891, Camp Nelson Academy had "107 acres of land"—perhaps a reference to the area of the 115-acre farm under cultivation—"and two good buildings," one of which may have been the large dormitory.[273] Any Civil War era buildings on the Camp Nelson Academy campus appear to have been replaced before September 1895. An article published that month included an engraving of the "Only Government Building Left," depicting one of the double cottages matching those seen in 1860s photographs of the Home for Colored Refugees.[274] The article provided a description of the school as it was in the mid-1890s:

> W. S. Overstreet, a colored graduate of Berea, is the principal, and a Mrs. M. M. Robe, a white lady from Ohio, is the matron. 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. The buildings, aside from the 120 acres of land, are worth about $5,000. The Sunday-school and Christian Endeavor Society, the choir and the youthful musicians all give evidence of the usefulness of the institution that has arisen from the dust of crumbling battlements.[275]

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.[276] 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 signers were established rather suddenly and in a rather novel manner...

270. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* [1883], Vol. I. (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Yeoman, 1884), 680-681.
271. Ibid.
272. Henry L. Hammond, "Philo Carpenter: A Settler of Chicago in 1832," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection, Vol. IV: Early Chicago and Illinois,* ed. Edward G. Mason (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1890), 128.
273. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.
274. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
275. Ibid.
276. "Colored Instructors," *Courier-Journal,* 5 July 1896, 12.

> Their home, the village of Camp Nelson, is inhabited entirely by negroes.[277]

In 1897, Frank L. Williams, chair of mathematics at Louisville High School, served as one of the school's trustees.[278] 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."[279] 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."[280] 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.[281]

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).[282] 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 Virginia, and educate them for the ministry. With all the zeal of a new convert to his newly found faith, he has interested the rich congregations at Louisville, and will doubtless success in his new undertaking.
>
> The deal is about to be consummated. His church at Louisville he wants to experiment with negro education, and sent a board to Ariel to make a proposition. Fee owns ten lots and one hundred and fifteen acr[e]s there, but the school and 140 acres is in the hands of a board of trustees[.] Elder R. G. Frank, of Nicholasville, with Elders Dorsey and Smith, made a proposition to pay $4,475 to the board and it was accepted, now to be ratified by the church at Louisville[.] Thus the deal will doubtless be consummated and it virtually means a collapse of coeducation of races and sexes under one roof.[283]

Coverage of the negotiations noted, "The idea is for the church to put more money into the institution so it will be able to do a larger work. Like Berea, it will be open to negro pupils as well as whites."[284] The idea of integrated education seemed far from possible to many Kentucky journalists. One, writing of Berea, stated, "The white women and white men who went there were seldom Kentuckians, and the few that did were of

277. "Melodies," *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 5 December 1897, 9.
278. W. D. Johnson, *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky* (Lexington: Standard Print, 1897), 36.
279. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 185.
280. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 16 July 1898, 3.
281. 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.
282. "Co-Education Dropped," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 23 June 1898, 4.
283. "Won't Mix in Old Kentucky," *Crittenden Press* (Marion, KY), 30 June 1898, 2.
284. "No Change of Policy," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 3 July 1898, 5.

the poorer class of mountain converts who studied for the ministry."[285]

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

> The article published exclusively in the [Nicholasville] Democrat, several weeks ago, about the [plans of the] Christian church at Louisville to experiment with negro education, created a decided sensation among students of sociology and students of the co-education of races. The article was copied in full in some of the Louisville papers, where, outside of a committee of the church, it was a profound secret.
>
> Elder John G. Fee, of the mixed school at Berea, in Madison county, wanted the church with which he had united to buy up the negro school here in Jessamine county, near Camp Nelson, known as Ariel, and the church thought favorably of the proposition. The church would try for an industrial and training school for negro boys and girls. They communicated with Elder R. G. Frank, of the Nicholasville Christian church, and put him on a committee, with two other preachers, to visit Ariel and confer on the matter. The Fee people made a proposition to sell out for about $3,000, and the church people accepted it, to be ratified by the church at Louisville. Now there is a hitch, and Elder Frank stated to the Democrat reporter that he had made several trips to see Prof. Fee recently, who wanted to dictate to the church how the school should be conducted, and that he was so cranky on the subject that the church had dropped the matter for good, and it was somewhat of a relief to him. The whole transaction was off. [286]

The article includes a lengthy digression on Jim Crow era ideas about the imperative to separate the races. The idea of United States acquisition of Puerto Rico in the ongoing Spanish-American War is discussed, suggesting that the "idea of negro colonization in Porto [*sic*] Rico is taking definite shape"[287] The article continues,

> The negro problem all over the South is more pressing for solution than the Spanish war, and something must finally be done to separate the races. The negro here is, and will remain, a menial and the opportunity to get away from the superior race who has the better of him is one that he ought to be quick to take advantage of and build up his own people that they may finally have a Government and own property. [288]

Fee did not give up on plans for the school. In September 1898, the *Kentucky Advocate* of Danville reported, "Rev. John G. Fee, the celebrated president of Berea College, was in Danville to-day enroute [*sic*] to Camp Nelson, where he went to examine the Academy for Negroes. He went to make extensive improvements."[289]

Fee continued to look for opportunities to sustain Camp Nelson Academy. In February 1900, the *Courier-Journal* reported, "The Louisville Bible School will not be able to accept the Camp Nelson Academy property on account of some of the conditions in the offer."[290]

John G. Fee died at home in Berea on January 11, 1901, having maintained his connection with the Camp Nelson community since the day of his arrival there in 1864. His obituary noted, "Father Fee, or 'Brother Fee,' as he loved to be called, had been suffering from the infirmities of age, increased by a fall when he last visited his school at Camp Nelson. But he had rallied and shown great courage and enjoyment of life during the last few weeks." The obituary mentions Fee's work during the Civil War, "particularly at Camp Nelson, where a colored school still exists to commemorate

285. "Co-Education Dropped," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 23 June 1898, 4.
286. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 16 July 1898, 3.
287. "Porto Rico" was the official US spelling from 1898-1931. "The Deal Declared Off," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 16 July 1898, 3.
288. Ibid.
289. "Personal Mention," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 2 September 1898, 4.
290. "Congregational Notes," *Courier-Journal*, 5 February 1900, 10.

his labors."[291] Fee's death marked the passing of Camp Nelson Academy's founder and most ardent supporter over its thirty-two years of operation. Richard D. Sears has observed, "Eventually, he was the only person associated with the wartime work at the camp who was still engaged there, still engaged in the project of trying to help former slaves enter the mainstream of American society. Rev. John G. Fee, the first missionary to arrive at Camp Nelson, was the last to go."[292]

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

> When Fee made his will, the church and academy at Camp Nelson were still in operation, but in 1901 (the year of his death), the Camp Nelson work was very near failure. In 1902, the trustees of the school at Camp Nelson 'made overtures' to Berea College—evidently Ariel Academy was in need of financial support and students—and its trustees wished that institution to become part of Berea. Rogers urged President Frost of Berea not to accept the proposal from Camp Nelson on the grounds that it might lead black people of Kentucky to think of 'Camp Nelson… [as] the colored part of Berea College.' In fact, it seems that Ariel's trustees wanted precisely that—for their institution to become the repository of Berea's black students when the Day Law was passed. Given Camp Nelson's history, such a move would not have been unreasonable, and some Berea trustees supported it.[293]

Fee's will stipulated that his remaining property at Camp Nelson be sold and that "the proceeds [should] go to the benefit of the Camp Nelson Academy. If it shall not then be in operation as an academy it shall go to the benefit of the church there… if it is still undenominational."[294] He bequeathed a small selection of his books and other miscellaneous items to Camp Nelson Academy. His heirs finally sold the last lot in 1904.[295]

In the spring of 1903, Mrs. C. C. Thompson, the cousin of Mrs. F. S. Black, was serving as matron of Camp Nelson Academy.[296]

1903-1934 Fee Memorial Institute

During the summer of 1903, the trustees of Camp Nelson Academy 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 church associated with the school had associated itself with the PCUSA in 1902. The PCUSA, established in 1789, was often known as the "Northern 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.[297] 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 21**]

291. "John G. Fee," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 17 January 1901, 4.
292. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiv.
293. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 152.
294. Quoted in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 204, note 1.
295. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiii.
296. Thompson's cousin appears to be the Mrs. Adelia B. Black who served as secretary of the Colored Teachers Institute of McLean County in 1903; her husband, F. S. Black, attended Berea and was principal of the Calhoun public school. The 1910 census lists Ferd S. Black as a postal clerk in the Chicago Post Office, with his wife Adella B. Black working as a hairdresser. Both were born in Kentucky and their race was listed as "mulatto." "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 12 March 1903, 4; "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 10 September 1903, 4.
297. 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).



Figure 21. "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)

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."[298] In August 1903, the *Kentucky Advocate* of Danville announced the results of this discussion:

> After protracted negotiations between the Camp Nelson Academy Trustees and Dr. MacDonald [*sic*], of this city, involving trips to Indiana and Pittsburg, Pa., the transfer of the Camp Nelson buildings and farm was effected. The papers were sent to the Board at Pittsburg last week, and Camp Nelson will not be conducted as a farm school for the industrial training of colored youth. It is likely, under the auspices of the Freedmen's Board of the Presbyterian church, that Camp Nelson will be made the base for all the industrial, religious and educational work for the colored people in the Synod of Kentucky. The likelihood is the colored school in Danville may be consolidated with the work at Camp Nelson, and the name of the Rev. Jas. A. Boyden, of Danville, has been mentioned in connection with the Principalship of the new enterprise.[299]

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* echoed this account and stated "it is believed that an institution quite similar to the Booker Washington School [Tuskegee Institute] at Tuskegee, Ala., may be established."[300] Rev. McDonald and Edwin S. Fee, executor of the estate of John G. Fee, wrote to the *Courier-Journal* in early September to clarify that the Fee heirs did "not receive a single cent for the Camp Nelson school transfer" and that McDonald had made no purchase, rather "the Board of trustees of Camp Nelson Academy transferred the whole plant under their control to the Presbyterian Board of Freedmen to be conducted under their supervision as [an] industrial school to do the same kind of work as formerly, only upon an extended scale."[301] This transfer occurred around the same time that John G. Fee's residence and personal property were sold at auction in Berea.[302]

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

> During the lifetime of Mr. Fee the school enjoyed the benefit of his support and fostering care. In later years the work had met with various vicissitudes and during this last summer a proposition was made to the Board of Missions for Freedmen to take the institution under its care and manage it as a Presbyterian Normal and Industrial School for Colored People, and the Board after examining into its past history and into its present condition and future prospects agreed to undertake a new work at that point on the condition that the entire property be turned over to its ownership and care, which proposition has been readily agreed to by the existing Trustees of the former institution…
>
> The Presbyterian Church has but a small work in Kentucky and it is hoped that our Presbyterian churches in Kentucky will become greatly interested in this enterprise. There are 285,000 colored people in Kentucky and the Presbyterian church at large has not in the past been doing what it should do for the evangelization and 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

298. "Big Colored School," *Danville News* (Danville, KY), 11 August 1903, 3.
299. "Camp Nelson Academy," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 17 August 1903, 3.
300. "An Industrial School," *Courier-Journal,* 19 August 1903, 5.
301. *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 10 September 1903, 1, col. 2.
302. "For Sale," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 3 September 1903, 3.

> 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.
>
> 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.[303]

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.[304]

303. Edward P. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1903), 606-607.
304. 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.

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.[305]

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."[306] [**Figure 22**] 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."[307]

305. Jessamine County Deed Book 21, 190.
306. J. A. Boyden, "A New Enterprise," *The Herald and Presbyter*, Vol. LXXV, No. 30 (27 July 1904), 15-16.
307. Mrs. V. P. Boggs, "Outline of Work for 1904 and 1905," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. X, No. 9 (September 1904), 613.





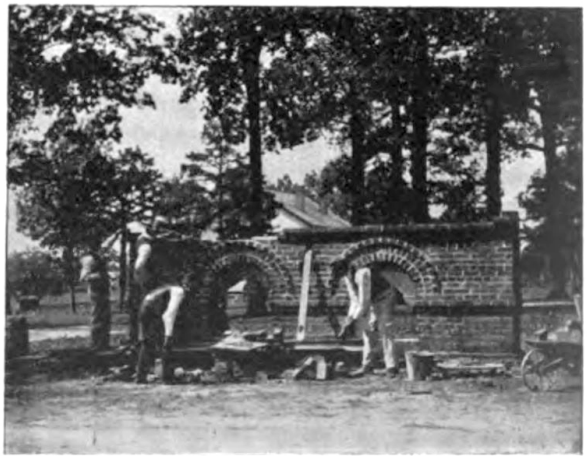



Figure 22. Scenes from classes at industrial schools under the care of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Sewing, domestic science, and carpentry classes at the Fee Memorial Institute probably looked something like those seen in these photographs. The photograph at lower left might possibly show the carpenter shop in the basement of the large dormitory at the Fee Memorial Institute. (Source: "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XVIII, No 1 (January 1912), 55)

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 part of Berea College;" the two campuses were approximately thirty-five miles apart.[308] 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.[309]

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.[310] 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.[311] On April 24, 1907, the AMA deeded their interest in the nine-and-one-half acres to the Presbyterian Church for $1.00.[312] 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.[313]

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.[314] 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

308. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 152.
309. 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*.
310. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 290.
311. Edward P. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XII, No. 11 (November 1906) 561; Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 290.
312. Jessamine County Deed Book 21, 194.
313. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481.
314. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 290-291.

> the time to come when they could begin their competitive efforts at cultivating the soil.[315]

A 1910 newspaper article reported, "About a mile north-west of Camp Nelson [the village on the river] is the negro settlement, Ariel. Ariel 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."[316] 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).[317]

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."[318] 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.[319] 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, 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.[320]

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."[321] 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.[322]

Education in scientific agriculture was a national trend related to state land grant colleges and agricultural experimentation. The success of the agricultural and industrial education philosophy at

315. Quoted in Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 291.
316. "Camp Nelson," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 May 1910, 6.
317. *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.
318. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 11.
319. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 22, 25, 48.
320. *One Hundred Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 11.
321. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670.
322. Ibid.

schools such as Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute led to the Second Morrill Act in 1890, which designated funding for separate land grant institutes for Black students.

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 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.[323]

The farm's produce used by the school included "Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, cabbages, sweet corn, tomatoes, snap beans, lima beans, pumpkins, etc."[324]

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.[325] 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.[326] 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.[327] 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.[328]

Rev. Boyden resigned after eleven years of service as leader of the school.[329] 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

323. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671.
324. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 671.
325. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiii.
326. *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.
327. *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.
328. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky,* Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.
329. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 291.

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 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."[330] The report further recommended that the Fee Memorial Institute "be combined with the public school to form a county training school."[331]

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.[332]
>
> 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.[333]
>
> [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?[334]

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."[335] 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

330. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II (Washington*, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 271.
331. Ibid.
332. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly,* Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.
333. Ibid.
334. Ibid.
335. Rev. C. B. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January 1916), 9.

encouragement to other boys and girls."[336] 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."[337] That December, the members of the Presbyterian church and Sunday school in nearby Endicott, New York, were "making arrangements to send a Christmas box to the Fee Memorial School at Camp Nelson, Ky."[338]

In 1917, the Fee Memorial Institute received a "new 'Domestic Science Outfit,' part of it from women of Kentucky, as well as mules for plowing the farm and other farming implements" to support the scientific agriculture program.[339] The United States' entry into World War I in 1917 may have drawn recruits from the Camp Nelson community. A 1918 article reported that "Fee Memorial Institute… is standing the war-time conditions bravely.[340]

In 1921, at the seventh annual opening of the Fee Memorial Institute, Dr. Thomas W. Rainey, associate editor of the *Lexington Leader*, delivered an address. Exercises began at 10:00 AM. At 7:30 PM, a students' and teachers' supper and reception included talks by Prof. J. H. Ward of Louisville, a Sunday school missionary; Prof. H. E. James of Danville, a Sunday school missionary; and Rev. Walter Payne Stanley, pastor of the Ferguson Memorial Church of Louisville.[341]

Comparatively little is known of the school's operations during the early-1920s. In August 1922, Rev. H. W. McNair announced his plan to conduct "a great camp meeting… on the campus of Fee Memorial Institute… A grand program has been arranged and free dinners will be served to all who attend. Many from Lexington are expected. The school bus starting at 8:45 o'clock will meet all cars from Lexington."[342] The Freedmen's Board was one of several entities merged to form the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United State of America in 1923. In 1924, the Fee Memorial Institute relocated to Nicholasville, abandoning its campus in the Hall. Most of the old property was sold in September 1924, at the same time that the school purchased its new property in Nicholasville.

1924-1934 Fee Memorial Institute in Nicholasville

In September 1924, the Fee Memorial Institute sold most of its property in the Hall and purchased property at the east city limits of Nicholasville. This twenty-acre property included the residence of the late Dr. J. T. Hervey and the adjoining property of Jesse Stultz on the Sulphur Well Road (now E. Maple Street); it was purchased for $10,000.[343] Dr. James T. Hervey (1852-1924) was a dentist who practiced in Nicholasville for thirty years and had died in May 1924.[344] The property, located at what is now 499-601 E. Maple Street, contained the Hervey and Stultz houses and other improvements. The Fee Memorial Institute announced plans for a $35,000 investment in the new campus.[345]

The groundbreaking for a brick classroom and chapel building was held on September 24, 1924, and construction began the following week.[346] An apparent press release from the Fee Memorial Institute published in the *Louisville Leader* in October 1924 reported:

336. "Lancaster High School, Colored, Wins," *Central Record* (Lancaster, KY), 2 March 1916, 4.
337. "Immanuel Presbyterian," *Binghamton Press,* 1 April 1916, 5; "Thimble Tea is Given for Guest from Holland," *Binghamton Press,* 6 April 1916, 3.
338. "Endicott to Have Older Boys' Rally," *Binghamton Press,* 16 December 1916, 14.
339. *One Hundred Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1917), 214.
340. "A Patriotic Meeting," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXXIX, No. 11 (13 March 1918), 8.
341. "Heard About Town," *Lexington Leader,* 4 October 1921, 4.
342. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 24 August 1922, 9.
343. "Ground for College," *Lexington Leader,* 12 September 1924, 11.
344. "Dr. J. T. Hervey Dies," *Lexington Leader,* 19 May 1924, 10.
345. "Fee Memorial School Movel [*sic*] to Jessamine," *Lexington Herald,* 2 October 1924, 2.
346. "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; "Work on New School," *Lexington Leader,* 2 October 1924.

> Nicholasville, Ky., Oct. 3.— Fee Memorial Institute, for more than fifteen years located in the village known as Camp Nelson, has purchased a beautiful site of fifteen acres in the city of Nicholasville and will become a high class school for girls and young women. The new site is six blocks from the interurban station, eight blocks from the Louisville and Nashville railway station and nine blocks from the Southern station. We shall employ teachers of character, scholarship and Christian integrity. We have under construction a brick building of all modern improvements. It contains a beautiful chapel and class rooms. We shall soon begin a girl's dormitory of all modern conveniences. Our school opens October 1. As we are changing locations, we must limit our number for the time being. Girls and young women of character, willing to study and desiring a good literary training, thorough course in domestic arts, 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"[347]

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 Stolts, for $1,250.[348] 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.[349]

In 1927, a new cottage was built on the campus; it contained a dining hall, kitchen, and dormitory space.[350] 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.[351]

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.[352] 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

347. *Louisville Leader,* 4 October 1924, 4 October 1924, 4.
348. "Jessamine Court Day Sales Made," *Lexington Herald,* 17 February 1926, 3.
349. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 292.
350. "Courthouse Remodeled," *Lexington Herald,* 12 January 1927, 47; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 21 June 1931, 22.
351. *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.
352. "Hold Conference for Negro Women," *Lexington Leader,* 22 June 1928, 19.

women in five years." Ongoing activities included a campus quintet that was to travel to New York and a girls' basketball team.[353] 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."[354]

In 1929, the school's enrollment consisted of thirty-six boarding students and eighteen day students.[355] In September 1929, the school was taking in about fifteen more girls compared with the previous year, "as we are erecting a large sleeping room which was made possible by the gift of a good friend." Mrs. McNair described a vision she had had of the campus: "In her dream, she saw a large and spacious dormitory, an administration building, a building for domestic science, a modern hospital and several teachers' cottages." Students were to wear school hats of blue with gold letters, following the school colors, and would go to meals wearing all white.[356] A campus newspaper called the *Fee Echo* was published that semester. In December, the school announced the launch of a six-month campaign to raise $100,000 for a building and endowment fund. A pamphlet relating the history, present conditions, and future vision for the Fee Memorial Institute was under preparation. Rev. McNair still served as principal and the newly arrived Rev. W. T. Byrd, also a Black minister, served as dean. The board was considering whether the school might become coeducational next year.[357] In January 1930, the school reported, "much comment is given to our sunken garden which is, for the most part… a contribution of the girls of the school, costing about $175." The school quartet was to tour Michigan, performing in white churches and gatherings in Allegan, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Flint, Sturgis, Bad Axe, Lapeer, and Kalamazoo; "a good white woman is sponsoring the trip."[358]

353. "Fee Memorial Institute," *Lexington Herald*, 16 September 1928, 10.
354. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 2 December 1928, 16.
355. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 292.
356. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 22 September 1929, 5.
357. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald*, 1 December 1929, 6.
358. Ibid.

In April 1930, a federal census enumerator recorded the Fee Memorial Institute as a single dwelling on Sulphur Well Street (E. Maple Street). This dwelling contained two families. That of Henry W. McNair contained his wife Mary E., son Henry W. Jr., four teachers and seven students. The four teachers were Wallace Strader, Edna Scott, Carrie Pullen, and Lula Stephson. The students were Juanita Gibson, Violetta Wilkins, Alice Tedford, Helen Washington, Louise Griffey, Lettie White, and Mollie Moore. The second family was that of William Byrd, containing his wife Mattie and children William Jr. and Myrtle. All were listed as "Negro."[359]

Although information on the Fee Memorial Institute's operations and its students is comparatively scarce for this period, some information is known about three students in the class of 1930, Juanita Gibson, Violetta Wilson, and Alice Tedford. Juanita Gibson and Violetta Wilson were both born about 1912 and came to the Fee Memorial Institute from Bell County, Kentucky. Both made the honor roll in November 1929.[360] Alice Tedford was born about 1915 near Evarts in Harlan County, Kentucky, in the Cumberland hills region of the state's eastern coal fields. She came to the Fee Memorial Institute as a seventh grader and completed the four-year high school course in 1930. During her senior year, Tedford received honorable mention for her grades and sponsored "a sacred play on the Sabbath."[361] In October 1930, the school reported,

> Alice Mae Tedford, a graduate of the class of 1930, spent a few hours on the campus this week. She was on her way from Evarts, Ky., to New York, where she had accepted a position in one of the wealthy homes. We were asked to send one of our best girls and we were fortunate in inducing her to accept the position. This makes five of our girls we have placed during the last three months. We had another call for a

359. 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.
360. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald* (Lexington, KY), 24 November 1929, 4.
361. Ibid.; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald* (Lexington, KY), 26 January 1930, 6.

> good girl this week but we have exhausted our supply, for the present time.[362]

The Fee Memorial Institute's 1930-1931 school year opened with sixty-three girls enrolled and eight faculty employed.[363] That year, the school was accredited as a "Class B" "Colored High School," according to a report by the Kentucky Negro Educational Association.[364] The school announced plans to become a coeducational high school, adopting the motto "Two dormitories, second to none," and announcing a goal of building a separate library, a laundry, gymnasium, and football stadium.[365]

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

FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

Nicholasville, Ky.

Dear Sunday School Stockholders:

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

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

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 wiling 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

362. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald* (Lexington, KY), 5 October 1930, 14.
363. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 18 September 1930, 6.
364. "Colored High Schools—Kentucky, 1930-31" *The K.N.E.A. Journal,* Vol. II, No. 1 (October-November 1931), 23. Research did not reveal what the different classifications of schools included (Class A, B, etc.)
365. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 16 November 1930, 5.

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 an 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 wiling 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,

Principal[366]

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

366. 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.

girls' dormitory.[367] 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.[368] 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.[369] [**Figure 23**] This new dormitory was to be used by all girls in the high school grades and above.[370] 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 necessary rooms."[371] 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.



Figure 23. 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)

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

367. "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.
368. *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.
369. "Dedication at Fee School," *Lexington Leader,* 27 September 1931, 28; "Negro High School Site Sought at Nicholasville," *Lexington Herald,* 22 June 1947, 2.
370. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 21 June 1931, 22.
371. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 21 June 1931, 22; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 18 October 1931, 21.

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!

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. McNair[372]

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." [373] 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."[374] 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."[375]

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.[376] 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.[377] 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

372. 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.
373. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 18 September 1932, 11.
374. Ibid.
375. "Second Presbyterians Arrange Yule Services," *Lexington Leader,* 23 December 1933, 9.
376. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 292.
377. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 67, 70.

1907.[378] [**Figure 24**] The consolidated school was to be renamed Ingleside – Fee Seminary for Young Women and the faculty was to be transferred to Burkeville.[379]

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.[380]

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 around 1956 and replaced by the Negro Ingleside Elementary School (1956-1958), a segregated elementary school. The site is now occupied by Burkeville Elementary School.[381]

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.[382] The center hosted various local and regional African American organizations, including church conferences, and 4-H clubs, and choirs. A typewritten letter dating to around 1934 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 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 pillow 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.

378. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1908), 70.
379. "Fee Institute Closes," *Lexington Herald,* 7 July 1934, 5.
380. Ibid.
381. "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.
382. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 29 October 1934, 10; "We Buy Wheat," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 July 1935, 4.

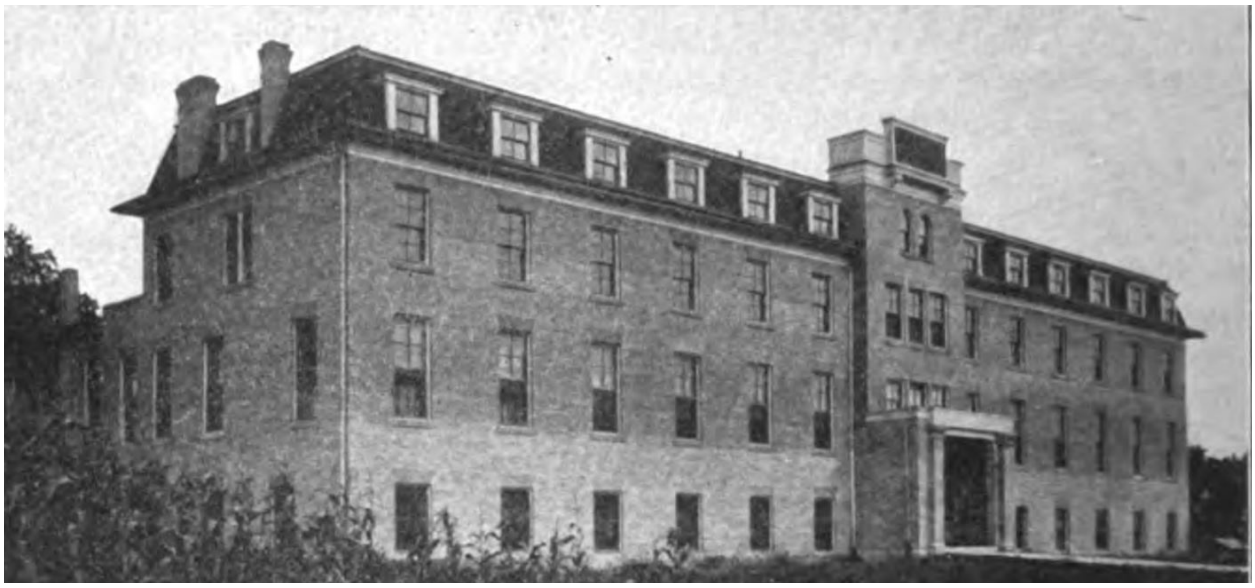


Figure 24. Ingleside Seminary, Burkeville, Virginia. In 1934, during the Great Depression, the Fee Memorial Institute merged with Ingleside and ceased operations in Kentucky. The Ingleside – Fee Memorial Institute school offered an accredited high school course and up to two years of college courses. 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)

> 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.[383]

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."[384] 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.[385] 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."[386] The property was purchased that year by the Jessamine County Board of Education, which planned to remodel

383. 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.

384. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 2 April 1944, 12.

385. "Negro High School Site Sought at Nicholasville," *Lexington Herald,* 22 June 1947, 2.

386. "Valuable Nicholasville Property for Sale," *Lexington Leader,* 29 January 1948, 11.

the buildings "for use of the Negro school in agricultural and other projects."[387]

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 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.[388] The Bradley Building became home to Rosenwald-Dunbar High School.[389]

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.[390]

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.[391] 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.[392] 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.[393] The purchase included five buildings and more than one hundred acres but excluded the two-acre tract containing the church and parsonage.[394] 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

387. "Rise in Jessamine Enrollment Predicted by Superintendent," *Lexington Herald,* 29 August 1948, 5.
388. Elizabeth Schaller, "Dunbar Schools," in *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 152.
389. "Jessamine County Education Board Submits Amended Plan," *Lexington Leader,* 2 July 1963, 2.
390. "Gibson is Awarded Contract for School," *Lexington Leader,* 7 November 1954, 3;" "School Building to be Dedicated," *Lexington Leader*, 6 November 1955, 30.
391. Carol Marie Cropper, "A lot of class: First school reunion tests memories of alumni," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 10 July 1983, 11.
392. "Jessamine County Education Board Submits Amended Plan," *Lexington Leader,* 2 July 1963, 2.
393. "James S. Price Dies After Illness of Week," *Lexington Herald,* 20 June 1946, 10.
394. "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.

> advocating the idea of the spot being set aside for an annual camping ground for the girls of Nicholasville and Vicinity.[395]

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, were transferred to Jack Ison, C. B. Westminster Clay, and Albert Tracy, Trustees of Westminster Presbyterian Church in April 1932, to be held in trust for the benefit of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson.[396]

A 1994 oral history project recorded several accounts of the campus and buildings after their abandonment. William Payne (1912-1998), who grew up near the campus, reported that the dormitory buildings were demolished in the 1930s. "They tore them down and sold the lumber. After the school was moved to Nicholasville, they tore them down."[397] Norman Overstreet (1917-1995) remembered the school; "I remember the building. But when I got big enough to—to know it, the building and things [that] was there, they moved" the school to Nicholasville.[398] Carrie Mae Tevis Burdette (1932-1997), daughter of Maude Booker Tevis and James Tevis, remembered playing in the abandoned Fee Memorial Institute dormitory with other children. The Tevis family lived across the street from the campus, on the northwest corner of Front and Brown Streets, at what is now 101 Isom Street. The children were not allowed to play in the building, but "we just slipped over and done it. We played in the building, but it was a big dormitory, three stories, they had these banisters and we all used to go in and slide down the banisters. No, we weren't allowed to. I got many a scolding about it."[399] Burdette remembered going into all three floors. Based on her memories, she thought that the first-floor rooms might have been used for classes and the upper-floor rooms as living spaces. When asked if the building still contained furniture, she remembered school "benches and things," but was unsure if individual desks were present. Burdette moved away from Camp Nelson in 1946, suggesting that this memory occurred between the late-1930s and 1946.[400]

During an interview with her husband John W. Robertson, Floretta Robertson related the following: "I used to hear them say that there was a college, and I think that the college was right there on the grounds up above the Presbyterian parsonage." John believed that the building was gone by the time he came to Camp Nelson (between 1949 and 1955), but Floretta continued, "The school was there, but it was rotting—it wasn't in existence—it was a rotten building there... wasn't no windows in it… me and my first husband came to a homecoming over there and we parked up in the yard there."[401] If this memory is correct, it would date to after her first marriage in 1966.[402] Aerial photographs from 1950 and 1956 do not appear to show buildings on the property aside from the church and house, but a ruin could possibly have been present on the site of the dormitory.

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 Front and Row Streets (now Church Street) and West Front (now Isom) Street, with a south extension including the church. It contained approximately two acres. Aerial photographs indicate that portions of the former campus parcel visible on the 1937 aerial became overgrown between 1950 and the early-1980s. The area northeast of the hill became forested during this period and the forest spread into this corner of

395. "Fee Memorial Institute Holds Daily Vacation Bible School," *Lexington Herald,* 5 August 1927, 15.
396. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
397. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
398. 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.
399. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 2.
400. Ibid.
401. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride, 22 September 1994.
402. 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.

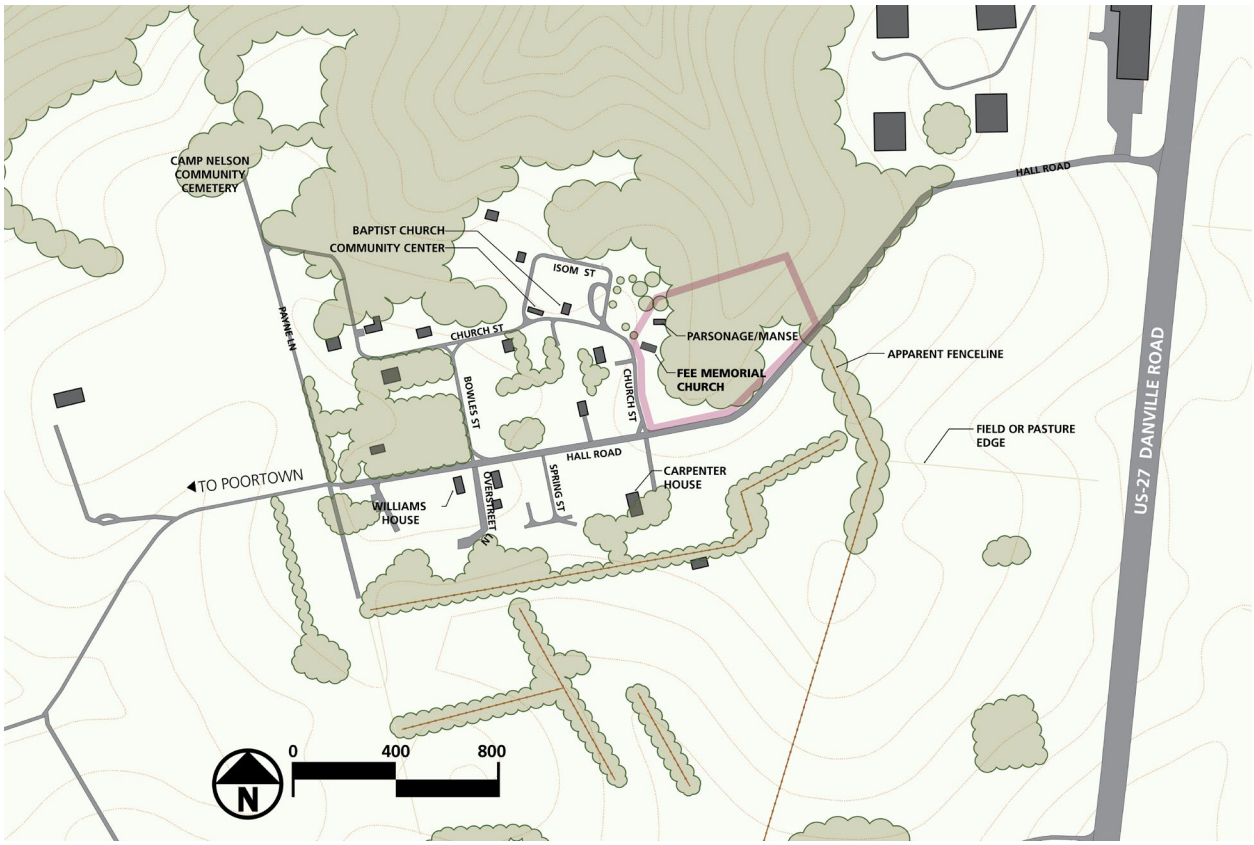


Figure 25. Map of the Hall (formerly Ariel), Kentucky, 1998. Adapted from a 1998 aerial photograph with building labels derived from other documentary sources. Comparison with the ca. 1937 map shows the loss of buildings over about 60 years of continued outmigration from the village. The light pink outline 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)

the campus. The center of the site, including the likely site of the dormitory, was covered by several trees by the mid-1950s. Some of the trees and undergrowth were removed after 2000 and the former campus parcel is comprised mainly of mowed lawn as of 2021.

In 1993 and 1994, the Jessamine County Fiscal Court applied for funds from the Intermodal Surface 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.[403] 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 25**] These were primarily nails, window glass, brick and limestone fragments, and other architectural indicators, but also included considerable bottle glass."[404]

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.

403. 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.

404. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 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.[405] 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."[406]

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.[407] 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."[408] 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."[409]

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."[410] 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.

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.[411] This was probably part of the property now comprising the Jim Beam Nature

405. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 561.
406. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 606.
407. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxiii.
408. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
409. Ibid.
410. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
411. Donald S. Carter, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.



Figure 26. 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 27. View of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing southeast, 1865 (Image used earlier as Figure 12.)



Figure 28. View of the Head Dormitory (Building 75) of the National Home for Colored Refugees, facing north, 1865. (Image used earlier as Figure 9.)



Figure 29. 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.)

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 26**] The cottages measured 32 feet by 16 feet and each cost $306 to build. Some were provided with stoves, while others were not.[412] 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 27**] 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 28**] 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

412. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 145.

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 29**] 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 barracks, with rows of beds along the long walls, were designed to provide temporary housing for approximately 120 women and children.[413]

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.[414] 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.[415] 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 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.[416]

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

413. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 144.
414. McBride & McBride, "Civil War Housing: Insights from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 145.
415. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.
416. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History,* 373-74.

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."[417] Head Dormitory may be the "large building" on the campus that was undergoing repairs in December 1873.[418]

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.[419]

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.[420] [**Figure 30**] 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.[421]

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.[422] It was likely one of the "two good buildings" on the campus in 1891.[423] 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.[424] [**Figure 31**, **Figure 32**] 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 around 1904-1908.

417. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869*, 47.
418. Eades, Slaves to *Soldiers,* 17.
419. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 290.
420. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.
421. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
422. "Fee Memorial School Movel [*sic*] to Jessamine," *Lexington Herald,* 2 October 1924, 2.
423. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.
424. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald*, 606; "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald*, 481.

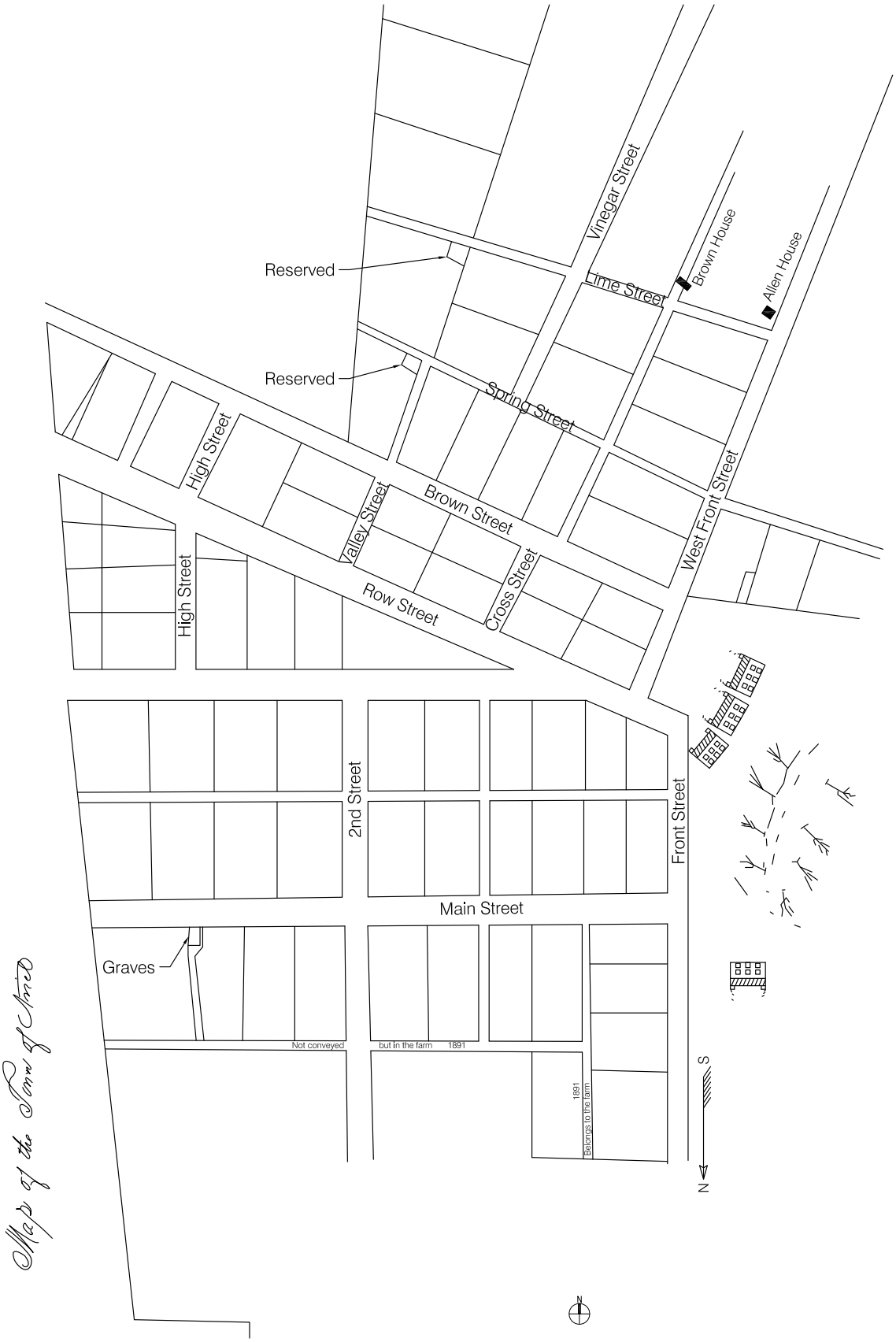


Figure 30. "Map of the Town of Ariel," redrawn from the photocopy of a ca. 1891 plat map. (Image used earlier as Figure 15.)



DORMITORY BUILDING OF FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE AT CAMP NELSON, KENTUCKY.

Figure 31. 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)

Key details of the building followed those used on Howard Hall (1867-1869, Andrewartha & Stancliffe, demolished 1971) at Berea College, a 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.[425] 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.[426]

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."[427] A 1902 report described it as "a dormitory 30x60, three stories

425. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 61, 63, Fig. 8.

426. 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. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 63.

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



FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, CAMP NELSON, KY.

Figure 32. 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)

high."[428] 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 rooms and nearly all of them are furnished."[429] 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."[430] It is probably the "main building" that, along with the "recitation building," had "been given a fresh coat of paint" by January 1916.[431] 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.[432]

428. G. F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People*, 259.
429. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 606-607.
430. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*, 271.
431. Rev. C. B. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," 9.
432. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.

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, and carpenter shop."[433] A 1912 set of illustrations of "Some of the Industries in Freedmen Schools" sponsored by the PCUSA includes a photograph of a carpentry shop that could possibly show a room in the rear part of the basement of the Fee Memorial Institute's large dormitory.[434] [**Figure 20**]

The furnishings of Howard Hall, a dormitory at Berea College, between 1869 and 1876 gives an idea of the types of furnishings and equipment that Ariel Academy's leadership likely aspired to provide in the dormitory: each room was furnished with a stove, two bedsteads, a table and two chairs, and a washstand; students provided their own lights, bedding and any additional furniture.[435] A 1903 article mentioned that the dormitory "has in it twenty-four rooms and nearly all of them are furnished."[436] A March 1915 visit conducted as part of a federal report on the status of "Negro education" reported that "only a few dormitory rooms are provided with necessary furniture."[437]

Interviews conducted during a 1994 oral history project give some indication of the location of the dormitory. Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003) recalled that, when facing the church, the dormitory building sat to the left (north), beyond the house, and that it faced toward the church. Walking past the former campus during a second interview, Stewart recalled that the dormitory "was a big building" that "sat there in the middle."[438] Kay Anderson reported that Miss Sallie Overstreet (1923-2008), who took care of the Fee Memorial Church during the early-1980s, remembered the "school building" and had shown Anderson that the school was "off to the left of the church."[439] It is unclear whether this referred to the school building itself or to the dormitory.

The dormitory's precise location is unclear based on current evidence. Its location is not clearly

433. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 606-607.

434. Cowan, "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 55.

435. Robert Piper Boyce, *Building a College: An Architectural History of Berea College* (Berea, KY: Berea College Printing Services, 2006), 90-91.

436. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* 606-607.

437. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II,* 271.

438. 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; Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.

439. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994.

shown on the 1905, 1918, or 1931 United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps of the area. 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 and Isom Streets, with a south extension including the church. The dormitory may have been present near the center of the site, facing south toward Row Street (now the east-west portion of Church Street that forms the south side of the block containing the Baptist Church and bounded on the other three sides by Ison Street). This portion of the site was overgrown from the 1950s to the early-2000s. This appears to be near the site of the Refugee Home's Dining Hall (1864-1865).

Oral history interviews conducted in 1994 provide some evidence of the dormitory's later history and demise. Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003) did not remember what had happened to the dormitory, "whether they tore the building down or what happened to it."[440] William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998), reported that the dormitory buildings were torn down after the school relocated to Nicholasville in 1924, likely in the 1930s.[441] Carrie Mae Tevis Burdette (1932-1997) remembered playing in the abandoned Fee Memorial Institute dormitory with other children. The Tevis family lived across the street from the campus, on the parcel now at 101 Isom Street. The family moved away from Camp Nelson in 1946, suggesting that this memory occurred between the late-1930s and 1946. Burdette reported that the children were not allowed to play in the building, but "we just slipped over and done it. We played in the building, but it was a big dormitory, three stories, they had these banisters and we all used to go in and slide down the banisters. No, we weren't allowed to. I got many a scolding about it."[442] She remembered going into all three floors. When asked if the building still contained furniture, she remembered school "benches and things," but was unsure if individual desks were present.

During an interview with her husband John W. Robertson, Floretta Robertson related the following: "I used to hear them say that there was a college, and I think that the college was right there on the grounds up above the Presbyterian parsonage." John believed that the building was gone by the time he came to Camp Nelson (between 1949 and 1955), but Floretta continued, "The school was there, but it was rotting—it wasn't in existence—it was a rotten building there... wasn't no windows in it… me and my first husband came to a homecoming over there and we parked up in the yard there."[443] This would seem to date to after her first marriage in 1966.[444] Aerial photographs from 1950 and 1956 do not appear to show buildings on the property aside from the church and house, but a ruin could possibly have been present within the overgrowth on the apparent site of the dormitory.

The National Register nomination for the Camp Nelson Civil War District, completed in March 2000, mentions that "a large stone foundation, likely from the nineteenth century school" was present near the Fee Memorial Church and parsonage.[445] This foundation may have marked the site of the dormitory. It appears to have been destroyed or covered when the site was cleared between 2000 and 2004. Several large, rectangular stones similar to those used in the foundation of the house are scattered on the lawn due north of the church, near the center of what appears to have been the parcel in 1937. These may have come from this dormitory's foundation.

Available evidence suggests that the abandoned dormitory survived into the late-1930s or 1940s and that it was the last of the school's buildings to survive aside from the Fee Memorial Church and an adjacent house. The portion of the property containing the likely site of the dormitory is now (2021) owned by the Payne Estate of Lebanon, Tennessee.

440. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
441. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
442. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 2.
443. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride, 22 September 1994.
444. Ibid.
445. W. Stephen McBride, Camp Nelson Civil War District, Jessamine County, Kentucky, National Register nomination, 2000, 8:19.

School/Recitation Hall

This building, known as the school, schoolhouse, recitation hall, or recitation building existed during the Fee Memorial Institute period. It was presumably built sometime between 1870 and 1895 to replace the Refugee Home buildings purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868. The campus had "two good buildings" in 1891; one was probably the large dormitory and the other may have been the school.[446]

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."[447] The photograph of the dormitory published in 1903 appears to show a building downhill from dormitory; this could have been the school. Although this building is not shown in detail, the portions that are visible do not appear to correspond with any of the Civil War era buildings from the Refugee Home, suggestions a construction date after 1868. In 1904, Rev. J. A. Boyden seems to have been describing the same building when he mentioned that the school's property contained "a recitation building, used also for religious services"; this building and the dormitory had recently been repaired at a cost of nearly $300.[448]

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 33**] This view shows a classroom setup with a conference exhibit that "consisted of chickens, corn, pumpkins, potatoes of all kinds, canned fruits, etc."[449] In addition to the exhibit items, a large forty-star American flag was tacked up along one wall.[450] 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—typical school furniture of the period—were pushed against the left-hand wall.

A 1914 description of the campus mentioned a "recitation hall," which appears to have been a separate building from the "chapel for worship by students and people of the village," the latter likely referencing the present Fee Memorial Church.[451] In 1915, it was described as "a one-story frame building with two rooms used as classrooms."[452] A January 1916 report noted that work completed since Principal H. W. McNair's arrival in fall 1914—and most likely since the March 1915 inspection that found the school's buildings in poor condition—noted, "a new building for the boys has been erected, and the main building [likely the dormitory] and recitation building have been given a fresh coat of paint."[453]

446. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 151.
447. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," 606.
448. J. A. Boyden, "A New Enterprise," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXV, No. 30 (27 July 1904), 15-16.
449. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671.
450. 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.
451. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky,* Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.
452. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*, 271.
453. Rev. C. B. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January 1916), 9.

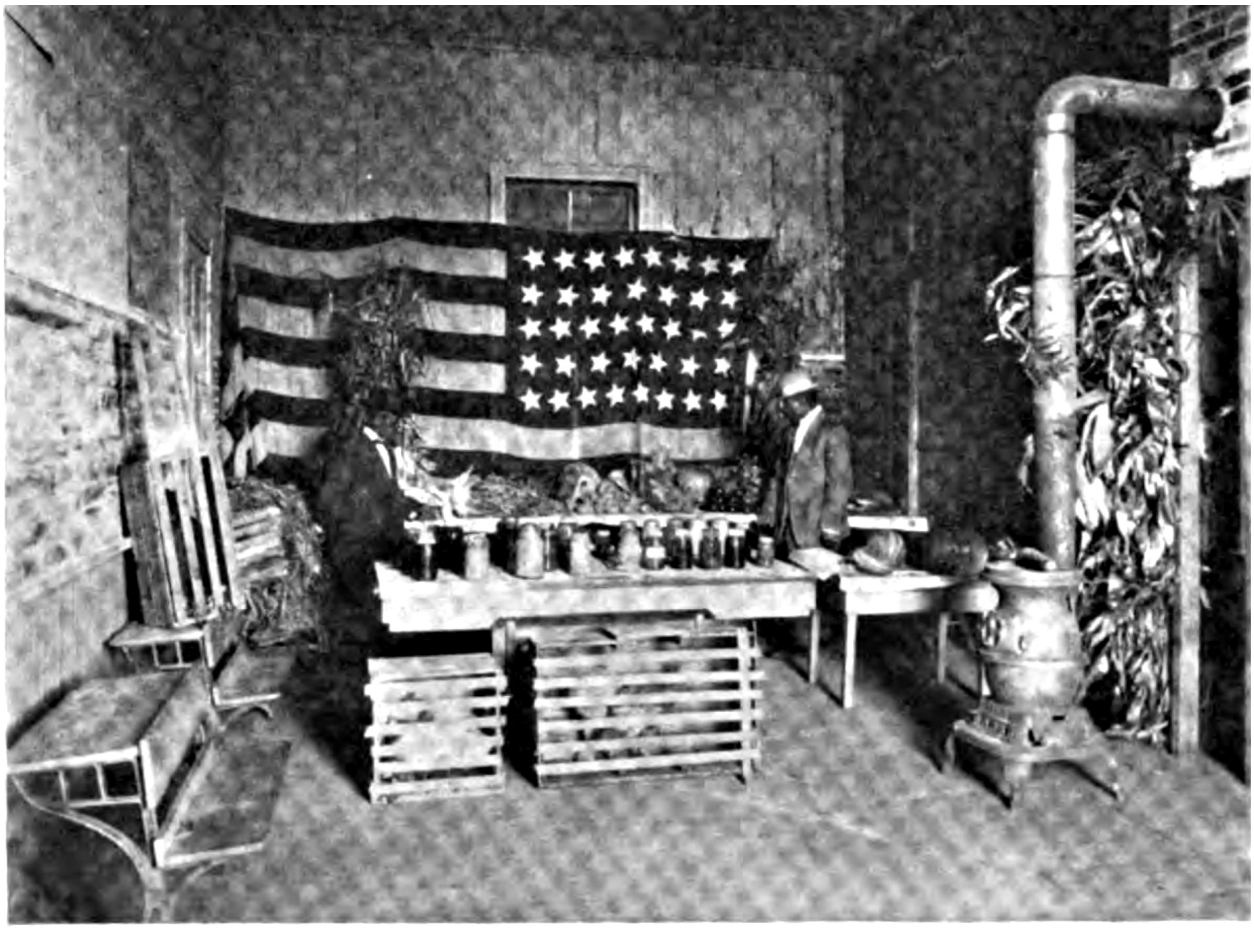


Exhibit at Farmers' Institute, Fee Memorial, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

Figure 33. 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. The orientation of the flag in this photograph, with the union at right, may surprise modern readers because it is inconsistent with flag codes adopted after 1923. Details of the stove suggest that the photograph is printed in the correct orientation and has not been reversed. Close examination of the stove's firebox door shows a hinge on the right-hand side; this is consistent with the near-universal orientation of stove firebox doors. (Source: "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671)

The school building appears to have been demolished sometime between 1924 and 1937. Its location within the campus is unclear at this time. The photograph of the dormitory published in 1903 appears to show a building downhill from dormitory; this could have been part of the school building. The photograph of the dormitory published in 1908 suggests that the school building was not in the southwest part of the campus parcel, the area in front of the dormitory's apparent location. The National Register nomination for the Camp Nelson Civil War District, completed in March 2000, mentions that "a large stone foundation, likely from the nineteenth century school" was present near the Fee Memorial Church and parsonage.[454] This foundation may have marked the site of the dormitory. It appears to have been destroyed or covered when the site was cleared between 2000 and 2004. Several large, rectangular stones similar to those used in the foundation of the house are scattered on the lawn due north of the church, near the likely site of the dormitory. Additional rectangular stones are scattered northeast of the house foundation. These may have been displaced from the apparent site of the dormitory or they could suggest that the school sat somewhere northeast of the house.

454. W. Stephen McBride, Camp Nelson Civil War District, Jessamine County, Kentucky, National Register nomination, 2000, 8:19.

Boys' Dormitory (unknown / remodeled 1915)
An April 1915 article on the Fee Memorial Institute's work to check the rush of African Americans from the farm to the city reported on the need for a boys' dormitory:

> At present we can accommodate only girls as boarding students. Had we a small building for boys they could be used to greater advantage on the farm, for the boy will do more on the school farm when he sleeps in the school building and eats in the school dining hall. Also it would help those who wish to come from a distance."[455]

This issue was remedied later that year. In the fall semester of 1915, the Presbyterian Board of Missions spent $600 to remodel "an old building at Camp Nelson, Ky." "for the better accommodation of the boys" at the school.[456] A January 1916 report noted that work completed since Principal H. W. McNair's arrival in fall 1914—and most likely since the March 1915 inspection that found the school's buildings in poor condition—noted, "a new building for the boys has been erected, and the main building and recitation building have been given a fresh coat of paint."[457]

Little else is known of the boys' dormitory. It appears to have been separate from the large dormitory that housed female boarders and the McNair family during this period. The report that it was remodeled from "an old building" suggests that it was not the house north of the Fee Memorial Church, which appears to have been built around this time. William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) reported that the dormitory buildings were torn down after the school relocated to Nicholasville in 1924, likely in the 1930s.[458] The building appears to have been demolished before 1937.

455. "Checking the Rush to the Cities," *Home Mission Monthly,* Vol. 29, No. 6 (April 1915), 154.
456. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1916), 420, 127-128.
457. Rev. C. B. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXXVII, No. 3 (19 January 1916), 9.
458. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.

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 34**, **Figure 35**]

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 36**] Applied raised mortar joints gave the foundation a more uniform appearance. [**Figure 37**] 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.

The house faced east, following the orientation of the row of Civil War era Refugee Home buildings including the Head Dormitory (Building 75) and ward buildings (Buildings 74) that formed the initial facilities of Ariel Academy in 1868. This may indicate that a drive was still present to the east at the time of the house's construction. The two-story front wing had a side-gabled roof with its ridge parallel to the east façade, with its eaves at the level of the heads of the second-floor windows. The façade was along the downhill section of the sloped site, placing the first floor several feet above grade. A shed-roofed porch was centered on this façade. The first floor was divided into two bays, with a window and door into a room in the south bay and a window into a room in the north bay. To



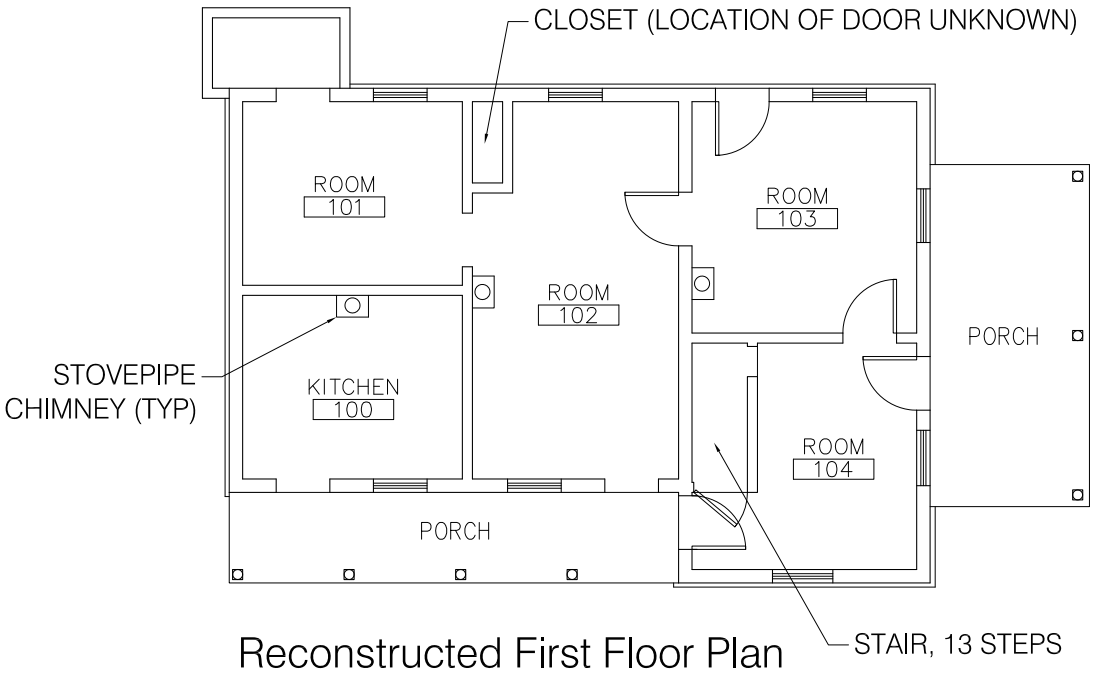
Figure 34. View of manse/parsonage, facing northeast, ca. 1994-2000. The photographer is standing near the entrance to the Fee Memorial Church. This house was built between about 1890-1910 and housed the ministers of the Fee Memorial Church. It was demolished around 2007. (Source: W. Stephen McBride)

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.[459] 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.[460] 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

459. 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.

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



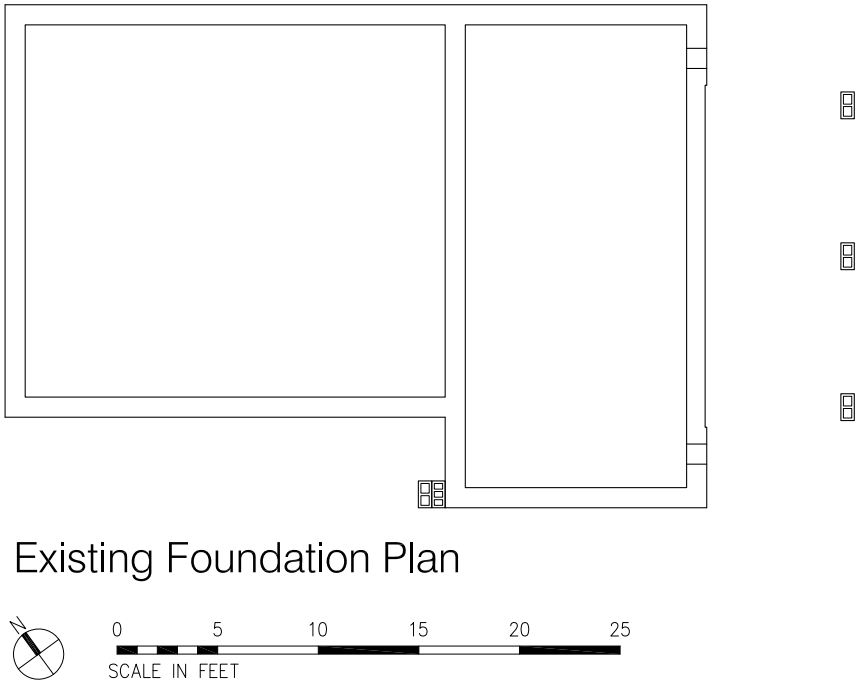


Figure 35. Plan of manse/parsonage associated with the Fee Memorial Institute and Fee Memorial Church, Ariel/Hall Kentucky. This plan was based on 2020 measurements of the stone foundation ruins and photographs, measurements, and a sketch plan prepared by Stephen McBride in the 1990s. A larger version is included in Appendix B. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2021)



Figure 36. View of manse foundation from the southeast showing overgrowth. The stone foundation survives but is currently obscured by overgrowth. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 37. 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)

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."[461]

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.[462] William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) remembered Rev. McNair's family living in the dormitory.[463] Helen Margaret Booker Stone Stewart (1914-2003) reported that Rev. McNair and Rev. Byrd lived in the house next to the church while pastoring.[464] The McNair family likely moved to Nicholasville in 1924 when the Fee Memorial Institute relocated. Rev. J. A. Boyden might have lived in the house during the mid-1920s, possibly after the school relocated in 1924. He returned to the Camp Nelson area sometime between October 1922 and his death in October 1926. Rev. Byrd came to the Fee Memorial Institute from Bowling Green in September 1929, five years after the school had moved to Nicholasville. Both the Byrd and McNair families were living in Nicholasville at the time of the 1930 census, but Byrd might have lived in the house in Hall sometime between 1929 and 1934. The McNairs moved to Virginia in 1934 and the Byrds appear to have remained in Nicholasville from at least 1935 to 1942, before moving to Tennessee in 1944. In a 1994 interview, Virginia Ison Scott (1915-2010) recalled that Bessie Belle Ison lived in the parsonage.[465] This was probably Bessie B. Ison, born in Jessamine County in 1917.

A 1980 bird's eye photograph suggests that the house was deteriorated; it is unclear whether it was occupied at that time. A small area in front of the house, measuring perhaps 40 by 60 feet, appears to have been under cultivation in 1980 and 1983 but was overgrown by 1998. In a 1994 interview, Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003), recalled, "That house down there was the house where… the church pastors would stay there, and I don't know whether any of the school officials would stay there—I don't remember that because I was a kid then."[466] In a second interview conducted while walking around Hall, interviewer Kim A. McBride remarks, "Wow, look how … I didn't

461. *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.
462. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II*, 271.
463. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
464. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
465. Virginia Ison Scott, interview by Kim McBride, 2 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/xt7x3f4kpz8t.
466. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.

realize how run down that parsonage house is," to which Steward replies, "Yes, it's just falling in."[467] In another interview, Virginia Ison Scott (1915-2010) described the parsonage as "broken down."[468]
In 1997, Kim A. McBride wrote that, "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."[469]

In August 2001, staff from the Kentucky Heritage Council (KHC) met with representatives of Jessamine County in Hall to discuss the treatment of the manse. Letters from KHC staff in 2001 and 2005 refer to it as the "Overstreet House" and note that it was located "on the church property." In August 2001, KHC staff architect Mark Dennen wrote, "it seems very likely that the house does have an African American connection and should be considered potentially important to the site." He continued,

> The house is in deteriorating condition and will eventually fall down if nothing is done to save it. We feel that the presence of the house on the site, no matter what condition it is in, is preferable to removing it completely. Even a ruin tells more than having no remnant." Dennen presented three suggestions dependent on funding:
>
> - Leave the house to deteriorate but remain a presence on the site and put a fence around it that will prevent people from getting to it
>
> - Put a roof on the house and do some minor repair to slow or stop the deterioration.
>
> - 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."[470]

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."[471]

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.[472] 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

467. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
468. Virginia Ison Scott, interview by Kim McBride, 2 September 1994.
469. 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.
470. Mark Dennen to Judge Executive William Neal Cassidy, letter, 8 August 2001, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
471. Preservation and Conservation Easement, November 4, 2002, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
472. This meeting was likely the easement inspection visit by Peggy Guier and Tom Fugate on May 2, 2005.



Figure 38. View of manse foundation from the northwest showing overgrowth, with Fee Memorial Church at right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

4. Salvage any materials that might be compatible with the fabric of the Church for any future maintenance of the Church.[473]

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 the structure."[474] 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 38**]

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."[475] This "cottage for the teacher of agriculture" that was still present in July 1914.[476] 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 39**] 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

473. Peggy D. Guier to Hon. William Neal Cassidy, letter, 20 May 2005, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
474. Peggy D. Guier, Easement Inspection Form, Camp Nelson—Hall Church Property, 16 August 2013, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
475. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671.
476. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky,* Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.



Figure 39. 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)

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."[477] Donald S. Carter (born 1936) reported that there used to be steps from the Fee Memorial Institute left on the former campus site.[478]

477. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
478. Donald S. Carter, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.

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.[479] 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.[480] Scofield and his family were smuggled out of Camp Nelson by Gabriel Burdett a few days after the incident.[481] 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."[482]

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 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

479. 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.

480. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 54, 69.

481. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 14.

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

> 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.[483]

Rev. Gabriel Burdett, minister 1867-1877

Gabriel Burdett (1829/1830-1914) was a Black man born into slavery in Garrard County, Kentucky. He was enslaved by a distant cousin of Morgan Burdett, who served as a trustee of Berea at the same time as Gabriel.[484] 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)."[485] At least fourteen enslaved people named Burdett belonged to Gabriel's church. "In 1869, after years of absence, he was excluded for nonattendance."[486]

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."[487] 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."[488]

"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."[489] 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.[490]

Burdett made a brief military excursion to Texas following the Civil War. In 1866 to 1878, Burdett served as a trustee of Berea College.[491] "In January 1867, Burdett, staying with Fee in Berea, considered leaving Camp Nelson to bring his family to Berea to be educated, while he traveled as an evangelist. E. M. Cravath, whom Burdett had met in Nashville, advised Burdett to take this step. But Burdett had a chance to buy land at Camp

483. "Elizabeth Scofield Felt," *Centralia Journal* (Centralia, KS), 19 January 1917, 3.
484. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 153.
485. Ibid.
486. Ibid.
487. Ibid.
488. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 155.
489. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 153.
490. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 153-154.
491. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 155.

Nelson the next month, and having a place of his own there helped him decide against Berea."[492]

Sears reports that, "as a preacher, Burdett won Fee's highest praise, and he served as pastor of the Church of Christ at Camp Nelson, which Fee had founded, for many years after Fee's permanent removal to Berea. In 1870, Burdett stated that he had been regular pastor of Camp Nelson's church since March 1867."[493] In March 1867, replying to a routine AMA letter to all commissioned workers asking for contributions, Burdett wrote:

> I am poor and have been a slave all my life until I joined the army… And since I have been discharged from the army I have been laboring to help my poor downtrodden people. And now I am in a place where I can get no help but what you give me the people are poor and can not pay more than the wrent [*sic*] for the house in which we teach school and have church.[494]

By May 1867, Burdett had settled in Camp Nelson, "reporting to the AMA that he had been teaching at the district school there and had reorganized the church and school where [Rev. Abishai] Scofield had been working."[495] In May 1867, Burdett, then age thirty-eight, interviewed older men and related stories of their experiences of slavery to the AMA.[496] Describing his work at Camp Nelson that month, he wrote,

> We are here in the first free place in the state. And we want to keep it for the Lord as he has done so much for us we want to glorify his name here in the birthplace of liberty in this state. And we want the prayers of God's people in our behalf. But those days of slavery have passed and gone and liberty is proclaimed in all the land. But now we have to fight more against the spirit of cast[e]. But was we have overcome in part we will gain the victory at last.[497]

The white backlash to Black emancipation and citizenship that provoked the earlier attack on Rev. Scofield continued to spark threats and violence to the Camp Nelson community during the late-1860s. The *Louisville Daily Courier* reported that, on the night of September 9, 1867, "a band of white men, thirty strong… robbed, beat and maltreated a great many peaceful negroes in and about Camp Nelson, Kentucky."[498]

The 1870 census lists Burdett as a minister living in District 1 of Jessamine County. That year, Burdett wrote,

> The colored people in this state were once all members of the white Slave holding churches until we were emancipated were merely governed altogether by them their pride and predices [*sic*] and even now this is the only independent church in all of the land accept [*sic*] the Churches that were independent before the war like that of Berea and kindred churches. And I have never been able to see how we could be independent without coming out entiley [*sic*] from all of the old slaveholding churches.[499]

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.[500] 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."[501] In 1874, Burdett was a speaker at a reunion of abolitionists held in Chicago.[502]

492. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154.
493. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154. A later report on Congregational churches in Kentucky states that Burdett was ordained in 1864 and commenced his ministry at Camp Nelson in 1867. Christopher Cushing, ed., *The Congregational Quarterly,* Vol. XIX / New Series Vol. IX (Boston, MA: 20 Congregational House, 1877), 123.
494. Quoted in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154.
495. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154.
496. Ibid.
497. Quoted in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154.
498. "How Radical Thunder Made," *Louisville Daily Courier,* 11 October 1867, 1.
499. Quoted in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 154.
500. "State Convention of Colored Citizens at Lexington, Ky." *Chicago Tribune,* 27 November 1867, 1.
501. "Unruly Proceedings," *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis, MO), 13 August 1872, 3.
502. "The Old Liners," *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago, IL), 11 June 1874, 5.

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."[503]

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."[504] 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. In May 1877, Burdett led a group of African Americans from Kentucky to Kansas as a part of this movement.[505]

> 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 upriseing of the colorade people to that end all over the state of Kentucky Hundreds of them are going from this country and Fayet[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.[506]

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…?"[507] 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."[508]

In June 1877, "Rev. Gabriel Burdett, of Kentucky" delivered a free lecture at the courthouse in Topeka, Kansas, titled "Past, Present and Future 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."[509] In April 1878, Burdett was staying at the Carlson House in Blue Rapids, Kansas.[510] 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.[511] 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 Burdett died in 1914 at the

503. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 18.
504. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxii.
505. Sears, "Burdett, Gabriel," 75.
506. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, lxii.
507. Ibid.
508. Sanderfer, "Exodusters," 171.
509. "Local Items," *Topeka State Journal,* 21 June 1877, 4; *The Daily Commonwealth* (Topeka, KS), 22 June 1877, 4, c2.
510. "Whereabouts," *Blue Rapids Times,* 4 April 1878, 2.
511. "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.





Figure 40. 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)

Western Branch of the National Home for Disabled Soldiers in Leavenworth, Kansas. He was buried in Leavenworth National Cemetery.

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."[512] A 1916 biography states that he enrolled in "Runkle College" in the fall of 1866 and graduated with honors in 1869.[513] This was probably one of two Freedmen's Bureau schools known as Runkle Institute that operated during the late-1860s. General Benjamin Piatt Runkle founded one in Paducah, Kentucky and the other in Memphis, Tennessee. Other biographies state that Butler graduated from Oberlin College and Union Seminary.[514] In 1906, AME Bishop H. M. Turner reported that Butler "was educated in the school where Garfield was" and that "the leading white school in Ohio conferred [on him] the degree of D.D."[515]

512. "Butler Remains Pastor of Bridge St. Church," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 7 August 1905, 3.

513. Richard R. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1916), 54.

514. "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.

515. 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.

Butler was employed by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870, taking charge of Ariel Academy.[516] He also organized the Republican Party in Jessamine County and, with Rev. C. O. H. Thomas, "forced the election officer to permit the Negroes to vote. He was forced to go armed constantly, to guard against the Ku Klux Klan."[517] After six years as principal or president of Ariel Academy, Butler worked as a teacher and preacher in Lebanon and Franklin, Kentucky. He appears to have joined the Arkansas Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in 1880. Between 1880 and 1892, his pastorates included St. John's AME Church in Pine Bluff, Arkansas; churches in Pulaski, Franklin, and Fayette, Tennessee; Newport, Rhode Island; Bridge Street Church, Brooklyn, New York; Allen Chapel AME, Philadelphia; Wilmington, Delaware; Bethel, Detroit; churches at Richmond and Terre Haute, Indiana; St. Paul of Columbus, Ohio, Brown Chapel, Pittsburgh; St. Paul AME in Washington, Pennsylvania; and Bergen Street AME, Brooklyn, New York. In 1892, the *Brooklyn Citizen* described Butler as "one of the very ablest Afro-American divines of this city."[518] [**Figure 40**]

Butler married Rosa Lena Williams (1864-1904) about 1882. The couple had at least five children; their birth locations reflect the family's moves to different churches: Olivia Marie Butler (1886-1905, born in North Carolina), Sarah A. Butler (born 1888 in Tennessee), Champila Butler (born 1891 in New York), Cathryn H. Butler Johns (1894-1957, born in Pennsylvania), and Helen H. Butler (born 1896 in Michigan). At the time of the 1900 census, Butler was pastor of Allen Chapel AME Church in Terre Haute, Indiana. He left Terre Haute in 1901 to move to New York; at this time, a correspondent from the *Indianapolis Recorder* reported, "The Dr. is a forceful speaker and a logical reasoner. . ."[519] Rosa Butler died in Wilmington, Delaware in 1904, while Butler was pastor of Bethel AME Church. Butler married Evangeline R. Brown of Masseyville, Ohio, in Brooklyn in 1905.[520] In 1906, AME Bishop H. M. Turner elevated Butler to the position of Presiding Elder of the Greater New York and Long Island District of the AME Church.[521] He remained in this position until 1907, when he resigned to accept the pastorate of a large church in Columbus, Ohio.[522]

By 1910, Butler had returned to Brown Chapel AME in Pittsburgh in 1910, before moving to St. Paul AME by 1912. Butler's book *A. M. E. Ecclesiastical Judicial Practice* was completed in 1911 and approved by the AME General Conference in 1912; a revised second edition was published in 1914.[523] In the late-1920s, Butler served as historian of the AME Church.[524] 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."[525] 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.[526]

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."[527]

516. 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.
517. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 54.
518. "New to Our City," *Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 24 July 1892, 3.
519. "Fort Wayne Items," *Indianapolis Recorder,* 18 May 1901, 5.
520. Wright Jr., ed., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 54-55.
521. "Bishop Settles the Bridge St. Church Row," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 3 July 1906, 6.
522. "Farewell Reception to Dr. Butler," *Times Union* (Brooklyn, NY), 4 September 1907, 10.
523. 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.
524. "A.M.E. Conference will Close this Evening," *Daily Notes* (Canonsburg, PA), 12 April 1928, 1.
525. "Distinguished Churchman Honored on 83rd Birthday," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 17 September 1932, second edition, 10.
526. "Hold Last Rites for the Rev. W. H. H. Butler," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 14 October 1933, 20.
527. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 95.

> 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."[528]

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."[529] 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.[530] 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.[531] 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."[532] 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, 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.[533] 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."[534] 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.[535] His son John died in 1908 and Lizzie remained in

528. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 95.
529. *Berea College, Ky.: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 1875), 39.
530. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Berea College, 1875-76* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876), n.p.
531. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 202, n39 & 42.
532. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 19.
533. "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 8 January 1903, 4.
534. "Sons of John G. Fee Protest," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 3 March 1904, 8.
535. "Whittier," *Los Angeles Times,* 17 October 1904, 15.

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.[536] Drew was hired by the AMA in the early months of 1878. He ministered to a congregation of 140 and traveled to various churches in the vicinity of Ariel.[537] The 1880 census lists Drew as a farmer in Jackson County.[538]

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."[539] 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."[540] He 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 41**] 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.

536. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 19.
537. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 20.
538. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 187, n55.
539. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 17.
540. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.



Figure 41. 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)

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.[541]

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.[542] 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.[543] He appears to have occasionally preached at Locust Creek and Bethesda Chapel church near Hillsdale in Bracken County in 1883.[544] 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.[545] In 1887, he left Berea for New Iberea, Louisiana, to take charge of a new high school there, but he was back in Berea by 1890.[546] In 1896, Rev. J. F. Browne, L.L.D. was chaplain and instructor in printing at Eckstein Norton University

541. "A. E. Stevenson, LL. D.," *Courier-Journal,* 15 June 1893, 1.
542. *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1883), 62.
543. "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.
544. "County Points," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 2 July 1883, 3; "Adjacent Counties," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 17 July 1884, 3.
545. "Personals," *Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 2 July 1885, 3.
546. "Berea," *Richmond Climax* (Richmond, KY), 14 December 1887, 3.

in Cane Springs, Kentucky.[547] The industrial school for Black students was founded in 1890; it merged with Lincoln Institute in 1911, and its campus closed in 1912.

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."[548]

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.[549] 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.[550] 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."[551] 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.[552] In March 1900, "Miss Mary Robe, of Camp Nelson Academy, spent a few days visiting at Father Fee's last week."[553]

Robe never married, but the 1895 article and Hall residents who remembered her in 1994 referred to her as "Mrs. Robe." The 1900 census lists Mary Robe (born January 1842 in Ohio) living alone in a house in the Lee Precinct of Jessamine County. No occupation is listed, so it is unclear whether she was still employed at Camp Nelson Academy. The next household listed on the census form was that of J. W. Hughes, a Black man whose occupation was listed as "School Teacher."

By the time of the 1910 census, Robe was a merchant operating a general store. She owned her home and appeared on the census form near the Williams family who lived on Main Street at what is now 1395 Hall Road. This is consistent with the memories of three Hall residents recorded in 1994. Bessie Stull Watts (1896-1999) reported that Mrs. Robe ran a store that "had everything" and noted that it was not the store in the Benevolent Hall building.[554] Margaret Hunter True (1899-1996), recalled a store run by Mrs. Robe, who came to the community as a teacher at the Fee Memorial Institute.[555] William Payne (1912-1998) reported that Mrs. Robe ran a store on Hall's Main Street, about two city blocks west of the Payne House at what is now 1360 Hall Road. Payne reported that the Robe house was later occupied by William and Lula Kennedy. This may be the Overstreet-Kennedy House at 1391 Hall Road, next door to the Williams House across Second Street, which once contained a store operated by Edward Overstreet (1845-1906) and Josephine "Josie" Washington Overstreet (1856-1936), the grandparents of Dee Allen Overstreet (1914-1993).[556] Payne also believed that Robe was an agent for John G. Fee in the sale of property.[557] True recalled that Robe could not hear and depended on vibrations.[558]

547. "Eckstein Norton University," *Courier-Journal,* 15 March 1896, 19.
548. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 78.
549. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904,* 204, note 7.
550. Ibid.
551. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
552. "Berea," *Richmond Climax* (Richmond, KY), 10 April 1889, 3.
553. *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 21 March 1900, 1.
554. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.
555. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 32.
556. Nancy McKinney, interview by Kim McBride, 21 September 1994.
557. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
558. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 32.

In May 1911, a Berea newspaper reported, "Miss M. M. Robe of Camp Nelson is visiting Mr. and Mrs. A. E. VanWinkle."[559] Margaret Robe VanWinkle was Robe's niece, daughter of William H. Robe. Mary Robe moved to Monmouth, Illinois, later that year, joining the household of her sister Caroline Burse Robe Stevenson.[560] Robe's former store in Kentucky was taken over by William Watts, father-in-law of Bessie Stull Watts.[561] The Stevensons had moved to a house at 408-410 N. Third Street in 1910. Caroline's December 1914 obituary notes that her "sister, Miss Mary Robe… has made her home here for the past three years."[562] She continued to live with the Stevenson family through the 1930 census. By the time of her death in July 1933 at age ninety-one, Mary Robe was living at the United Presbyterian Home at 306 Penn Avenue in Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh.

Joshua Crenshaw, principal 1896

Joshua Crenshaw (1861-1948) was born in May 1861 in Kentucky. His father was born in Kentucky and his mother in Virginia. Census records list his race as either Black or "mulatto." Joshua Crenshaw of Pleasure Ridge Park, Jefferson County, Kentucky, entered Berea College about 1883 and graduated in 1891.[563] In 1893 and 1894, he served as principal of Madisonville High School in Madisonville, Kentucky.[564] The school was renamed Atkinson College and Crenshaw resigned from his position in January 1895.[565]

559. "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 25 May 1911, 4.
560. Berea newspaper references to "Miss Mary Robe" from the 1910s and early-1920s refer to her niece, Mary Robe Galloway (1866-1946), daughter of William H. Robe.
561. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.
562. "Mrs. C. Stevenson Died this Morning," obituary clipping from a Monmouth, Illinois, newspaper, 2 December 1914, "Caroline Burse 'Carrie' Robe Stevenson," Find A Grave, accessed 22 March 2021, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/95697363/caroline-burse-stevenson.
563. "Berea College," *Kentucky Leader* (Lexington, KY), 1 July 1891, 3.
564. "Our Colored Citizens," *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 21 September 1893, 3; "Our Colored Citizens," *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 23 August 1894, 3.
565. "Our Colored Citizens," *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 10 January 1895, 3; "President Walker Speaks of Atkinson College," *The Bee* (Earlington, KY), 21 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.[566]

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.[567] 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.[568] Crenshaw and Turner married in 1906 and continued to teach at the school in Berea until 1909.[569] 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.[570]

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."[571] Boyden married Mary K. "Mamie" Crossman/Clawson about 1887 and the couple had six children, four of

566. "Colored Instructors," *Courier-Journal,* 5 July 1896, 12.
567. "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 24 October 1901, 3; "Local and Personal," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 18 December 1902, 4.
568. "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 6 July 1905, 6.
569. "Berea and Vicinity," *The Citizen* (Berea, KY), 1 July 1909, 5.
570. "Mrs. Pattie Crenshaw," *Xenia Daily Gazette,* 18 November 1966, 5.
571. "Lincoln," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 4 June 1884, 3.

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.[572] In 1888, he became pastor of the Church of the Covenant in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.[573] 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.[574]

Boyden became the pastor of Concord Presbyterian Church in Danville, Kentucky, in 1893.[575] 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.[576] The church was remodeled and redecorated in 1885.[577] 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.[578] 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.[579] The church was heated by stoves and lit by gas light by 1901.[580]

On January 1, 1897, Boyden was among the orators in a program at the opera house, part of a day-long celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation by the "colored citizens of Danville and Boyle county."[581] That year, Boyden was elected to the Danville city council, serving on the sanitary committee.[582] In 1898, Rev. Boyden served as principal of Logan High School and Mrs. Boyden served as head of the primary department. Enrollment for the spring 1898 term was sixty-seven, with an average attendance of about fifty.[583] That October, Rev. Boyden "reported the work of the Presbyterian church among the colored people of the South" at a session of the Presbyterian Synod: "The colored Presbyterians number 187 ministers, 322 churches, 18,122 Sabbath school scholars, 8,045 pupils in school, and raised $65,975.01 for support of their work."[584] At that time of the 1900 census, the Boyden family lived on Walnut Street in Danville. Their household included John and Mary, their four children, and Mary's mother, Matilda A. Crossman. John was listed as a clergyman and Mary as a teacher.

In 1901, Rev. Boyden was elected temporary clerk of the Transylvania Presbytery.[585] On his birthday that August, some of his friends and members of the Concord Church "Gave him a pleasant surprise… They called at his home while he was at prayer meeting and had full possession when he returned. Refreshments were brought and served and some presents left as a token of their

572. "Presbyterian Ministers," *Carbondale Daily News* (Carbondale, PA), 18 September 1888, 1.
573. "Our Colored Folks," *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader,* 11 August 1888, 4.
574. "The Presbyterian Ministers," *Wilkes-Barre Record,* 23 April 1890, 4.
575. 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.
576. "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.
577. "Danville, Boyle County," *Interior Journal* (Stanford, KY), 9 October 1885, 4.
578. "Danville and Vicinity," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 14 May 1894, 3; "Logan Institute," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 26 May 1899, 3.
579. "Logan Institute," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 26 May 1899, 3.
580. The church was demolished in September 1955 to create a parking lot for the adjacent Farmers Supply Company. "Danville will have another parking lot," *Advocate-Messenger* (Danville, KY), 11 September 1955, 1.
581. "Celebration," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 21 December 1896, 3.
582. "Officers Elected," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 15 December 1897, 2.
583. "Logan High School," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 25 May 1898, 3; "Logan High School," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 27 May 1898, 3.
584. "Colored Churches," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 17 October 1898, 3.
585. "Kentucky News in Brief," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 12 April 1901, 6.

esteem for him as a minister and friend."[586] During the convention of the "State Colored Teachers Association" on December 25, 1901, Rev. Boyden delivered an address on "How the Schools are Affecting Religious Life of Our People."[587] Mary K. Boyden died of typhoid fever in December 1902.[588]

A 1903 report of Boyden's appointment as principal of the new Fee Memorial Institute noted, "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."[589] Boyden would serve as principal for eleven years, second only to his successor H. W. McNair in longevity of service to the school. Rev. Boyden married Octavia B. (surname unknown, born about 1881 in North Carolina) about 1908.[590] That year, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reported that "Rev. Dr. Boyden is known as a prominent colored pastor of Camp Nelson."[591]

The 1910 census shows the Boyden household in the Bethel District of Jessamine County containing, John, Octavia, and John's four children from his first marriage. John was listed as the pastor of a Presbyterian church, Octavia was listed as a teacher in an industrial school, and John Jr. was listed as a printer working in job printing. While other census records list Boyden's race as "Black," the 1910 form lists "Mulatto," suggesting that he either identified as being biracial or the enumerator assumed that he was biracial.[592]

Boyden appears to have left the Fee Memorial Institute in 1914, with Rev. H. W. McNair taking his place as principal in the fall of that year.[593] He served as pastor of the Concord Presbyterian Church at Danville from at least November 1914 to 1918 and lived at 119 E. Walnut Street in 1918; this house may have been the Presbyterian parsonage; it was occupied by Rev. R. M. Moore in 1925.[594]

Sometime before May 1919, Rev. Boyden was called to the East Vine Avenue Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, Tennessee, preaching there for more than a year before he was installed in September 1920.[595] At the time of the 1920 census, John A. Boyden and Octavia Boyden owned a house at 1006 Payne Avenue in Knoxville. In 1922, he was a speaker at "a symposium on race relationship… at which both white and negro speakers will discuss the problems of today," held at Knoxville College.[596]

In October 1922, Boyden moved from Knoxville to Swift Memorial College in Rogersville, Tennessee.[597] Rev. J. A. Boyden, D.D., died at Camp Nelson on October 11, 1926, at age sixty-five. His death certificate lists his address as "Nicholasville" and lists his voting precinct as "Scotts Grove," a name associated with Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church just north of the village of Camp Nelson on the river. His funeral was held at the First Presbyterian Church "for colored people" of Danville, Kentucky, where he had served as pastor prior to becoming principal of the Fee Memorial

586. "Birthday Surprise," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 30 August 1901, 5.
587. "Colored Teachers," *Lexington Leader,* 24 December 1901, 2.
588. "Boyden," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 19 December 1902, 5.
589. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," 607.
590. They had been married for two years at the time of the 1910 census. A September 1908 newspaper report stated that Mrs. J. A. Boyden spent several days in Lexington as guest of Dr. and Mrs. F. D. Robinson and that Misses Irene and Mary Boyden were guests of Miss Lillian Chiles. "Personals," *Lexington Herald,* 29 September 1908, 6.
591. "Colored Synod," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 3 November 1908, 7.
592. The forms for 1880, 1900, and 1920 list his race as "Black." 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.
593. Rev. C. B. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," 9.
594. "Colored Presbyterians," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 11 November 1914, 3; Denis, *We Were Here: African Americans in Danville and Boyle County, Kentucky*.
595. "Mayers Exercises," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 27 May 1919, 17.
596. "To Have Symposium on Race Relations," *Journal and Tribune* (Knoxville, TN), 13 June 1922, 2.
597. "Religious News," *Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. XCIII, No. 40 (4 October 1922), 9.

Institute.[598] Octavia Boyden appears to have moved to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, where she purchased property in October 1928.[599] She appears to have sold the couple's former home in Knoxville in October 1929.[600] She worked as a teacher at Charlotte's Second Ward High School from at least 1929 to 1932 and at the Myers Street school from at least 1933 to 1943.

Rev. Henry William McNair, minister & principal/ president 1914-1934

Henry William McNair was a Black man born March 19, 1878, in Aberdeen, North Carolina, to Evander McNair and Ida Toomer McNair. He graduated from Biddle University, a historically Black Presbyterian university in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1909. McNair was one of six of the eleven graduates of the school of arts and sciences who delivered an oration; his was titled "Lifting as We Climb."[601] McNair received a Bachelor of Sacred Theology (STB) degree from Biddle in 1912.[602]

Established in 1867 as the Biddle Memorial Institute, it was known as Biddle University from 1876 until it was renamed Johnson C. Smith University in 1923.

McNair married Mary Elizabeth Martin around 1910. A son, Henry William McNair Jr. (1914-1993), was born to the couple in March 1914 at Charlotte, North Carolina. Rev. McNair came to the Fee Memorial Institute in the fall of 1914 and served as its principal for twenty years.[603] Rev. McNair's September 1918 draft registration card lists him as a minister residing and working in Camp Nelson, Kentucky. The card states that he was of medium height and medium build, with brown eyes and brown hair. In the 1920 census, the McNair family appears on the page labeled "Camp Nelson Main St." by the enumerator. Their house was listed as a farm and Rev. McNair was listed as a "school teacher."

In March 1915, the McNair family was living in the large dormitory building, where Mary McNair supervised the six girl boarders then in residence.[604] William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) remembered Rev. McNair's family living in the dormitory.[605] 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.[606] Bessie Stull Watts (1896-1999) recalled that McNair would take a walk down to Poortown and back every evening.[607]

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

598. "Rev. J. A. Boyden is Dead," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 12 October 1926, 3.
599. "Mecklenburg Real Estate," *Charlotte Observer,* 24 October 1928, 17.
600. "Daily Records," *Knoxville Journal,* 13 October 1929, 19.
601. "Biddle Sends Out 19 Men," *Charlotte News,* 2 June 1909, 10.
602. Parker, *The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1865-1970*, 291.
603. Allen, "Our Colored Work in Kentucky," 9.
604. *Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Negro Education, Vol. II,* 271.
605. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
606. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
607. Kim A. McBride, Tape Summaries, Hall, Camp Nelson Oral History Project, University of Kentucky, 1997, 38.

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 m y 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.[608]

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.[609] 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.[610] The 1940 census records that Rev. McNair was a minister in a church, Mary E. McNair worked as a matron in a junior college, H. W. McNair Jr. worked as a plasterer for a building contractor, and a boarder named R. C. Johnson worked as a minister in a church. By the time of his draft registration in 1942, Rev. McNair had moved to Amelia, Virginia, about eighteen miles north of Burkeville. The card lists McNair as self-employed and states that he had black eyes, black hair, and a dark complexion. The details of Rev. McNair's later life are unknown.

His son, Henry W. McNair Jr., attended school in Oxford, North Carolina, in the spring of 1928 and attended Harbison College for Boys in Irmo, South Carolina, that fall.[611] In 1929, he enrolled in Swift Memorial College, a historically Black college that operate from 1883 to 1953 in Rogersville, Tennessee.[612] From 1930 to 1932, he was a student at Lincoln Institute, a Black boarding high school that operated from 1912 to 1966 in Shelby County, Kentucky.[613] The 1940 census records indicate that he had completed four years of college. He married Zenobia Delilah Lancaster in 1947 in Amelia, Virginia.

J. C. Gill, teacher in scientific agriculture, ca. 1912-1914

J. C. Gill served as the Fee Memorial Institute's "teacher in Scientific Agriculture" from at least 1912 to 1914.[614] Gill's life dates and race are currently unknown. In 1912, Gill occupied a newly constructed farmer's cottage built on the Institute's farm. In 1913 and 1914, Gill and Rev. J. A. Boyden were the school's only employees paid for twelve months of service; other teachers were only employed during the seven-month school year.[615]

608. 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.
609. "Winchester Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 19 August 1934, 19.
610. 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."
611. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 6 May 1928, 2; "Fee Memorial Institute," *Lexington Herald,* 16 September 1928, 10.
612. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 29 September 1929, 4.
613. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 14 December 1930, 14; "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 3 April 1932, 11.
614. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671.
615. *One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 49; *One Hundred and Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 50.

Rev. William Theodore Byrd, minister & dean 1929-1934

William Theodore Byrd (1888-1963) was a Black man born May 12, 1888, in McIntosh, Georgia. His parents were Cecelia and Bristow Byrd. He completed four years of college studies at the Johnson C. Smith Theological Seminary in Charlotte, North Carolina. Byrd married Mattie M. Wilson around 1918. Mattie completed two years of college. At the time of the 1920 census, Byrd was the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Mocksville, North Carolina. Two children were born to the couple in Mocksville, William Theodore Byrd Jr. (1921-) and Myrtle Cary Byrd Foneto (1925-1980). In October 1925, Byrd became the pastor of the College Street Presbyterian Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky.[616] The church was renamed the Cecelia Memorial Presbyterian Church by the time that Byrd left in September 1929 to become dean of the faculty at the Fee Memorial Institute.[617] Mattie Byrd became principal of the institute's elementary school.[618]

Oral history interviews conducted in 1994 indicate that Byrd served as pastor of the church in Hall during some part of his time at the school in Nicholasville. Helen Margaret Booker Stone Stewart (1914-2003) recalled that Rev. Byrd and Rev. McNair lived in the house next to the Hall church while pastoring.[619] Both the Byrd and McNair families were living in Nicholasville at the time of the 1930 census, but Byrd may have lived in the house in Hall sometime between 1929 and 1934.

After the relocation of the school to Virginia in 1934, Rev. Byrd served as caretaker of the Nicholasville campus during its use as the Fee Memorial Community Center and Mattie Byrd worked as a music teacher.[620] Rev. Byrd's 1942 draft cart tells us that, at age 53, he was approximately five feet, seven inches tall, weighed approximately 150 pounds, had brown eyes, black hair, and a dark complexion. In 1944, Rev. Byrd became pastor of the Leonard Street Presbyterian Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Byrds lived at 405 W. Tenth Street in Chattanooga during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1963, Byrd was one of the first Black ministers to be accepted into the Chattanooga United Presbytery following its integration.[621] At the time of Rev. Byrd's death on June 10, 1963, the couple was living at 1810 Oak Street in Chattanooga. Rev. William Theodore Byrd Jr. was minister at the Lawrence Chapel United Presbyterian Church in Morristown, Tennessee, and Myrtle Byrd Foneto was living in Houston, Texas.

Interim Ministers, ca. 1931-1961

From the available documentation, it is unclear whether the congregation had a full-time minister from the 1930s to the early-1960s. Newspaper references to the church indicate that ministers from a variety of area churches officiated at funerals held in the church. A 1931 obituary states that a funeral was to be conducted "at Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church by the pastor Dr. J. P. Miller and Dr. H. W. McNair."[622] This may refer to the church in Hall or the nearby white church on Old Danville Road. This and a 1932 obituary also referring to Rev. Miller are both for Black residents of the Hall area.[623]

The affiliations of some officiants are not stated, meaning that they could have been current or part-time ministers to the congregation. Among these was Rev. Richard Taylor, who officiated at a funeral held in the church in 1940. [624] Other references are found in passing, as in the 1957 announcement that Rev. D. Yandell Page, "Presbyterian minister to the students at the University of Kentucky… who preaches once a month at Westminster Presbyterian Church at Camp Nelson," was to assume pastorate of First Presbyterian Church in Middlesboro.[625] Some guest ministers may have been students from Asbury College, located ten miles away in Wilmore, Kentucky. The 1961 annual homecoming of the Westminster Presbyterian

616. "Rev. Byrd will Fill Presbyterian Pulpit," *Park City Daily News* (Bowling Green, KY), 31 October 1925, 2.
617. "Jubilee Service at Church Here Slated," *Park City Daily News* (Bowling Green, KY), 6 September 1929, 5.
618. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 22 September 1929, 5.
619. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
620. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 29 October 1934, 10; "We Buy Wheat," *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville, KY), 6 July 1935, 4.
621. "Veteran Minister Dies at Home in Chattanooga," *Morristown Gazette Mail* (Morristown, TN), 11 June 1963, 3.
622. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 14 December 1931, 12.
623. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 23 July 1932, 9.
624. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 7 February 1940, 6.
625. "Page to Preach," *Lexington Leader,* 9 February 1957, 2.

Church of Camp Nelson included a service by Rev. George Mahan and Rev. G. L. Green of Louisville, both identified as associate pastors of the church.[626]

Rev. Leandrew H. "Doc" Green Sr., minister ca. 1964-1975

Leandrew Hammond "Doc" Green Sr. (1918-1975) was a Black man born November 29, 1918, in Louisville, Kentucky. His mother was Henrietta Roberts Green. Green graduated from Louisville's Central High School in 1936.[627] Following high school, he worked as at the Brown Hotel for several years, as a porter for the Louisville Flower Shop, and as a janitor for the Louisville Cement Company. Green married Viola Bullitt about 1940. Their children included Leandrew Hammond Green Jr. and Frances Belle Green Boone. The couple filed for divorce in 1952.[628] Green later married Arabella Thurston.

From at least 1948 to 1950, Green directed a pre-band instrument group and a band for elementary school students.[629] In 1950, after the Day Law was amended to allow voluntary integration, Leandrew Green was part of the first five Black students to enroll in the University of Louisville's School of Music.[630] Green's obituary states that he was "a professional musician and leader of the Doc. Green Orchestra in the Louisville area for several years.[631] A 1938 newspaper reference to "Doc Green and his jazz band" may reference this group.[632]

Green appears to have become pastor of the church sometime between 1961 and 1964. The following notice appeared in a Lexington newspaper in April 1964: "Rev. Leandrew H. Green, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Camp Nelson, will be the guest speaker, accompanied by his congregation."[633] A 1970 notice of the congregation's annual homecoming noted, "The Rev. L. A. Green is pastor of the church."[634] Green died in 1975. His obituary noted, "He lived at 6113 Cooper Chapel Road [in the Louisville suburbs] and was the pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Camp Nelson. He had been a plant operator at several Jefferson County Board of Education buildings for 20 years." [635] He was survived by his wife, Arabella Thurston, daughter Mrs. Frances Boone, and son Leandrew H. Green Jr.

Smith Kemper, church janitor

Smith Kemper (1876-1953) was a Black man born to Mary Jones and Thomas Kemper in Garrard County, Kentucky. The Kemper family moved from Garrard County to Jessamine County sometime between 1880 and 1900. Smith Kemper was working at a distillery at the time of the 1910 census. By 1918, he was working as a farm laborer for Tom Caywood. He worked as a farm laborer or farmer until his death at age seventy-seven. Kemper never married.

In a 1994 interview, Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003), recalled, Smith Kemper, son of Thomas and Mary Kemper, was a Presbyterian "and every Sunday morning, we had a bell in the hole up there, he'd go down every Sunday morning and ring the bell at the Presbyterian Church."[636] William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) reported that Smith Kemper (1876-1953) had been the janitor for the Presbyterian church—"he kept the place spotless."[637]

Payne remembered Kemper living "in a little place we called Frogtown, down below the school… kind of down along the river."[638] Stewart remembered Kemper living near James and Maud Tevis, north of the Fee Memorial Institute.[639] Patricia Ruth True Walker (1928-1998), who spent most of the summer of 1938 with her grandmother in Poortown, remembered that Kemper's name was pronounced like "camper" and that he lived on

626. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald-Journal* (Lexington, KY), 6 July 1961, 33.
627. "Central High Graduates 110," *Courier-Journal,* 13 June 1936, 4.
628. "Statistics," *Courier-Journal,* 2 November 1952, 5:10.
629. "School Children Plan Music Show at Male High," *Courier-Journal,* 6 May 1948, 17; "Schools to Stage Music Festival at Male High," *Courier-Journal,* 18 May 1949, 17.
630. "Negroes Enroll for First Time in U. of L.'s School of Music," *Courier-Journal,* 12 September 1950, 9.
631. "Louisville Area Deaths," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 2 July 1975, B15.
632. "Bee Carnival to Show at the Fair," *News-Democrat and Leader* (Russellville, KY), 1 September 1938, 1.
633. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 19 April 1964, 20.
634. "Jessamine Church Plans Homecoming," *Lexington Herald,* 14 July 1970, 13.
635. "Louisville Area Deaths," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 2 July 1975, B15.
636. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
637. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
638. Ibid.
639. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.

west Main Street, across the street from Aunt Bettie Crutcher.[640] The 1940 census indicates that Kemper had been renting the same house since 1935 and that a near neighbor was Bettie Crutcher.

Albert Tracy, groundskeeper

In a 1994 interview, William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) recalled that Albert Tracy maintained the grounds of the Fee Memorial Institute. As he remembered, "it was all down in beautiful bluegrass… and they had hogs, and they had horses, and, of course, they kept the grass eat down."[641] Albert Tracy (1872-1953) was a Black man, the son of John and Julia Tracy. His family lived in Jessamine County as of the 1880 census. Census records list Tracy as a farm laborer in the 1900, 1920, 1930, and 1940 and as a farmer in 1910. His first wife was named Sarah and his second wife was named Maggie (married 1899). Tracy was one of the trustees of the church when the PCUSA transferred the church parcel to the congregation in 1932.[642] Tracy was killed in 1953 when a stove exploded in his house near Camp Nelson, and he was trapped inside the house as it burned.[643]

640. Patricia R. Walker, interview by Kim McBride, 19 September 1994.
641. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994, History of Hall, Kentucky Oral History Project, L.
642. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
643. "Fire Near Camp Nelson Fatally Burns Man, 80," *Courier-Journal,* 26 April 1953, 28.

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				

Year	Church	Minister	Members/ Communicants	Sabbath/Sunday School Scholars	Elders	Deacons	Church Erection Funds Contributed	Value of Church and Manse Property
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		-	-	-				
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[644]	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[645]	Coeducational
1915-1916			McNair		Coeducational
1916-1917			McNair	$16,000[646]	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[647.]	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

644. 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.
645. 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.
646. This reflects investments in the property in 1915, including the Boys' Dormitory and painting the large dormitory and recitation building.
647. Years shown in italics represent the years that the Fee Memorial Institute operated in Nicholasville.



Figure 42. Fee Memorial Church, facing east. (WLA Studio, 2021)

Architectural Context

The Fee Memorial Church is a wood-frame church building of vernacular style incorporating catalog-order, factory-made elements including windows, doors, and balustrade components. [**Figure 42**] The building's openings 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 catalogs published between 1891 and 1917 and seem to have been most popular in the 1890s. These openings reflect the Carpenter Gothic style, a strain of the Gothic Revival as adapted by American carpenter-builders, primarily between the 1850s and the 1880s.

The peak head window treatment was a common treatment for wood-frame church buildings, particularly those in rural communities or built by urban congregations of modest means.[648] Other Presbyterian congregations were building with these windows after 1900, with photographed examples published in *The Assembly Herald* including the Presbyterian Church of Monument (1902) in Grant County, Oregon; Mount Lebanon View Church (approximately 1905) near Spartanburg, South Carolina; the Colored Presbyterian Church (approximately 1911) in Whiteville, North Carolina; and Wallace Presbyterian Church (pre-1917) in Van Zandt County, Texas.[649] 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

648. Such buildings are better documented in adjacent states, with examples in Indiana including the Fairfield Friends Meeting House (1892) in Camby, Osceola Methodist Church (1894) in St. Joseph County, Holland Christian Reformed Church (c.1894-1896, demolished 1950s) in Lafayette, and Fletchers Lake Methodist Church (1896) in Fulton County.

649. 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.

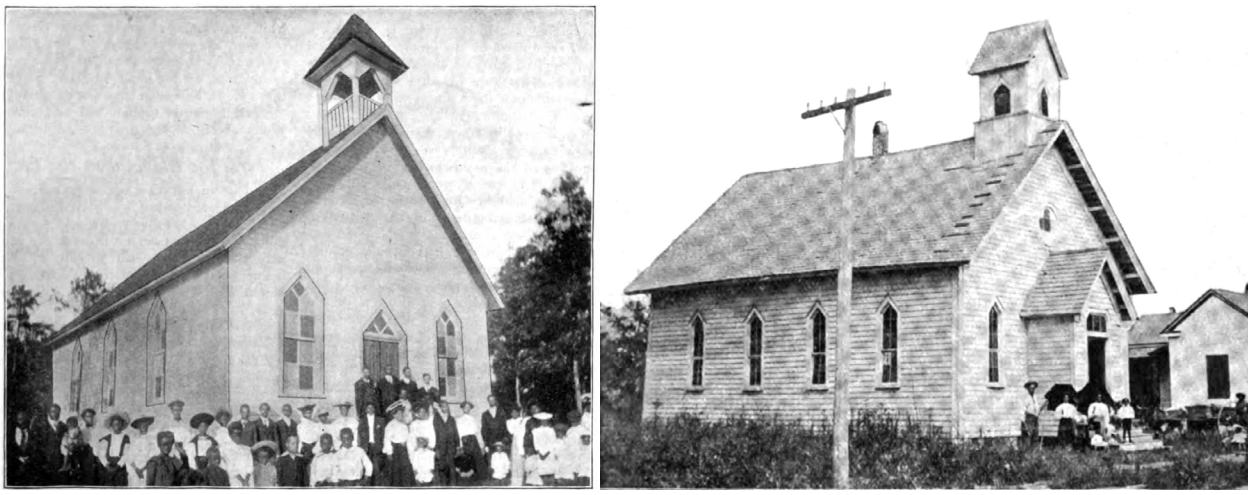


Figure 43. (Left) Mount Lebanon View Church (ca. 1905) near Spartanburg, South Carolina, published 1906. This building with "peak head" windows was built by a congregation sponsored by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and was published in a 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)

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 43**] 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.[650] A collage published in 1912 shows the wide range of church buildings built by congregations under the care of the Board for Freedmen. [**Figure** 44]

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 45**] 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.[651] 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.

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 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

650. 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.

651. "For the Record," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 18 May 1988, section, 1.



Figure 44. Some of the other churches under the care of the Board for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America at the time of the Fee Memorial Church's construction. This collage reflects the wide variety of church buildings built by individual congregations and was published in a magazine that may have been read by members of the Fee Memorial Church. (Source: "Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XVIII, No 1 (January 1912), 52)



Figure 45. 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)

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.[652] 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.[653]

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).[654] 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 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.[655] 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.

652. 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.

653. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 193.

654. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 156, 161, 170, 192-194, 199.

655. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 166, 178, 187, 193.

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 Olive 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.

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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
1877	Rev. Gabriel Burdett leads many members of the Ariel community to Kansas as part of the Exoduster movement.
1884	Ariel Academy renamed Camp Nelson Academy.
1890-1920	The community's name Ariel is replaced by "the Hall," community is seen as a model Black community and a center for Black education in Kentucky.
1890-1903	Camp Nelson Academy struggles.
ca. 1890-1910	House built north of church on church lot, later used as residence of minister and principal of the school (one person filled both roles).

1902	Congregation associates itself with the Presbyterian Church USA (PCUSA) and renames itself the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson
1903	Camp Nelson Academy acquired by the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA, renamed Fee Memorial Institute.
1904	Camp Nelson Academy land deeded to Board of Missions for Freedmen of the PCUSA.
1907	American Missionary Association deeds remaining interest in school property to PCUSA
1912	Present Fee Memorial Church built. Farmer's House built on the Fee Memorial Institute farm to house the teacher of scientific agriculture.
1915	An old building in Camp Nelson remodeled to serve as a boys' dormitory.
1910-1970	Great Migration, many residents of Ariel / Hall move to northern cities.
1919	Curley distillery in Camp Nelson on the river closes with the advent of Prohibition, Ariel / Hall begins sustained decline.
1924	Fee Memorial Institute moves to Nicholasville and develops a new campus between 1924-1931. Most of the buildings on the Ariel / Hall campus are demolished soon after. Recitation hall and boys' dormitory appear to have been demolished by 1937. Large dormitory may have survived into late-1930s. Church and house to north (manse/ parsonage) survived.
1934	Fee Memorial Institute merges with the Ingleside Seminary of Burkeville, Virginia, abandons Nicholasville campus.
1938	Rural Electrification Administration begins providing electric power to the Camp Nelson area. Present "schoolhouse"-type electric pendants may date from around this time.
ca. 1960s-1970s	Interior remodeled with addition of plywood paneling and acoustical ceiling tile covering plaster surfaces; south chimney may have been removed at this time.
1977	Church photographed by the Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory
1970-2010	Hall continues to decline as older residents die, descendants move away, white residents move in, many historic buildings demolished.
1980s-91	Congregation dwindles to a few members, church suffers from deferred maintenance and vandalism; manse to north abandoned and deteriorating.
1991	Congregation stops meeting and is dissolved. Property reverts to ownership of the Presbytery of Transylvania
1994	Hall residents interviewed by Dr. Kim A. McBride as part of an oral history project.
1996	Church purchased by Jessamine County Fiscal Court as a part of the development of the Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park.

2000	Church renovated by Jessamine County Fiscal Court. Court staff report that they have no records from this project. Park does not appear to have any records of it. It appears to have included selective replacement of exterior siding and trim, repairs to wood sash windows, replacement of the historic entry doors (horizontal panel) with the present "Colonial"-type six-panel doors, demolition of the north brick chimney, the addition of a metal roof on the main building, painting over the plywood paneling, removal of the center section of the dais balustrade and replacement of the north section of the balustrade, and the construction of the present dais steps. Most of the furnishings present in 1990s photos appear to have been removed at this time, including Gothic Revival pews (ca. 1880-1915), a pulpit, and other items.
ca. 2004-05	Heating and air-conditioning installed.
ca. 2007	Manse north of church demolished by county employees, leaving stone foundation.
ca. 2011-12	West louvers of cupola removed and opening covered with siding. Steel angles added as temporary bracing at foundation cracks.
2018	Jessamine County Fiscal Court deeds church property to American Battlefield Trust, 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."[656] 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.[657]

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."[658] "Gabriel" was Gabriel Burdett, a soldier who had been ordained at Camp Nelson in June 1864 and who would serve as a leader of the community during the late-1860s and 1870s.[659]

656. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 2.

657. Quoted in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 123-124.

658. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 2.

659. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 14.

In October 1865, Fee wrote of the church in a letter to George Whipple of the AMA reflecting on his fifteen months at the camp, intended for publication in the *American Missionary*. He wrote:

> A church was organized – "Church of Christ at Camp Nelson Ky". Some eighty one names have been enrolled of those who here have professed faith in Christ, and received as such. Thousands have attended the regular sabbath preaching. / Many sermons and addressed have been delivered by Bro Scofield and myself in the different regiments during the week—between sabbaths. / Many copies of the New Testament have been distributed to such soldiers and children as could read—Tracts & papers without number.[660]

The church remained under the care of the AMA after the Civil War. The racially integrated nature of the church declined after the closure of Camp Nelson. By November 1866, the only white residents of Camp Nelson were Rev. Abishai Scofield and his family.[661] The congregation likely included white members from the small faculty of Ariel Academy.

By May 1867, Gabriel Burdett had settled in Camp Nelson, "reporting to the AMA that he had been teaching the district school there and had reorganized the church and school where [Rev. Abishai] Scofield had been working." [662]

Historian Brian Eades reports, "Through the church, Burdett sought to strengthen the ties within the community." During 1868 and 1869, the village's residents' "main source of education was through the Church of Christ at Camp Nelson. By denouncing 'all partyism' and establishing the church as a non-denominational entity, Burdett effectively resisted efforts made by Baptists and Methodists who wanted to educate the blacks and bring them into their respective denominations."[663] The commitment of the residents of the Camp Nelson area to education funded by the Freedmen's Bureau was highlighted by a January 1870 article in a Washington, D.C., newspaper:

> Sabbath Schools.—Sabbath schools are generally well sustained, as the reports of the teachers testify Many who cannot attend a day school go to the Sabbath school to learn to read. A colored woman residing near Camp Nelson travels a distance of five miles, accompanied by her little daughter five years of age, to get a lesson on the Sabbath.[664]

Burdett reported on December 1, 1870, "our church is now having quite a good meeting. There have been several added to the church and the church is in a prosperous condition. . . and though we are poor it appears that the Lord will help us in our undertaking to do good at this point. . . upon the whole I am led to believe that there is a special Providence over this place at least I believe it any way." [665] Burdett was optimistic about the future of Camp Nelson during this period and continued evangelical work around Central Kentucky. On June 1, 1872, Burdett reported that he had been "appointed by the State Convention as the elector for the seventh district of Kentucky."[666] Eades reports:

> While Burdett traveled the state praising the merits of the Republican Party and preaching at various churches, the independent congregation 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.[667]

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:

660. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865, quoted in Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 267.
661. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, 54, 69.
662. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, 154.
663. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 15.
664. "Bureau Items and Incidents," *New Era* (Washington, D.C.), 27 January 1870, 3.
665. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 15.
666. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 16.
667. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 17.

> 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.[668]

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."[669] 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.[670] Drew was hired by the American Missionary Association in the early months of 1878. He ministered to a congregation of 140 and traveled to various churches in the vicinity of Ariel.[671]

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."[672]

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.[673]

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 it was first reported by the Transylvania Presbytery. Camp Nelson Academy became associated with the PCUSA in 1903 and was renamed the Fee Memorial Institute. The PCUSA, established in 1789, was often known as the "Northern Presbyterian Church" following an 1861 split over enslavement, politics, and theology, where churches in the Confederate states that had seceded formed a separate denomination called the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. The southern denomination renamed itself the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) in 1865. Kentucky remained part of the United States throughout the Civil War and most congregations remained part of the PCUSA. The two denominations reunited in 1983 to form the Presbyterian Church (USA).

By the time the congregation's membership data first appeared in the annual report of the PCUSA in 1904, membership had fallen to forty-three, with thirty Sunday school scholars. It fell to a nadir of twenty-eight members in 1909, before reaching fifty-two members in 1919. The decline to forty-four members in 1920 likely reflects the beginnings of out-migration from the community that would proceed for the next century.

An account published in December 1912 gives an idea of the schedule of Sunday services in the new church building:

668. *Twenty*-Ninth *Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1875), 24.
669. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 19.
670. Quoted in Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 19.
671. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 20.
672. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers,* 20.
673. 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.

> On Sabbath morning, we attended the Sabbath school, in which there was an Adult Bible Class of good size. Rev. Francis J. Cheek, Synodical Superintendent for Kentucky, was present and preached at the morning service. The writer preached at the service in the afternoon, and the Rev. J. A. Boyden, the principal of the school, preached at the night service. The church was filled at all these services.[674]

A March 1918 article provides a detailed description of an event held in the church:

> A PATRIOTIC MEETING
>
> A meeting was held under the auspices of the National Service Commission and the Department of Country Church Life in Westminster Church, Camp Nelson, Ky, Thursday and Friday nights, Feb. 28th and March 1st, by Rev. J. A. Boyden, D.D. The duty of the war-time church was presented to the people, and all seemed to be deeply interested in the matter. Co-operation with the Red Cross work, Y. M. C. A. and Food Conservation were advocated, and each found a ready response. Many who did not understand the subjects and who were not ready to enter into a hearty co-operation with he efforts to win the war through such sacrifices as they were called upon to make, declared their willingness to do anything for the boys who go to the front. From some of the homes there their sons have gone to the camps, and one is in France already. A local service commission was organized in the church and an offering was taken for the work. Thursday night after the sermon evangelism and loyalty to the boards of the church were presented, and a spirit of patriotism swept over the house, and all felt repaid for attending the service. The Presbytery of Lincoln will hold its April meeting with this church. Rev. H. W. McNair and his people are making preparations for the presbytery. Fee Memorial Institute, of which he is the principal, is standing the war-time conditions bravely.[675]

In 1920, the post office in the village of Camp Nelson on the river closed and the congregation's postal address changed from Camp Nelson to Nicholasville. The church's pastor, Rev. McNair, wrote a letter to *The New York Age* in July 1920 advocating for unity rather than division among churches and reflecting on fundraising and the needs of churches in the rural South:

> We ministers have gone wild over the rising of money. I know that the church must have money, but our methods should be in keeping with decency and order. I may be a little radical when I say I believe a minister has as much right to help the people buy homes, land, and assist them in organizing enterprises, but I firmly believe it. I make this assertion because I know scores of ministers who have been raising money for years, building fine churches, fine manses, and beautifying the church property, but the bulk of those who contribute the money are living in rented homes, many of them not fit to live 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.[676]

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.[677] 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,

674. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 671.
675. "A Patriotic Meeting," *The Herald and Presbyter,* Vol. LXXXIX, No. 11 (13 March 1918), 8.
676. H. W. McNair, "Too Many Churches!" *New York Age,* 17 July 1920, 2.
677. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 19 September 1923, 2.

the Rev. Mr. Byrd, Mrs. McNair and Mrs. Byrd accompanied the quintet to Camp Nelson."[678]

Reports of the church's homecoming celebrations indicate 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.[679] In 1952, Rev. Mack Robert Jackson, the choir, and members of Bethel AME church worshiped at the Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church's "homecoming rally."[680] 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.[681] 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."[682] 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.[683]

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.[684] In 1963, Rev. Mack Jackson and his congregation were "guests for the basket meeting and homecoming services at the Camp Nelson Presbyterian Church."[685] Also that year, the "Male Chorus of the First Baptist Church, Versailles," presented a program sponsored by Miss I. L. Payne."[686] 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."[687] 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.[688] That September, the Presbyterian Church hosed an event for the Baptist Church's building fund, attended by Rev. Floyd Raglin, the choir, and members of the Macedonia Baptist Church in Black Bridge.[689] Its pastor Rev. L. A. Green led the church's 1970 homecoming. According to a newspaper report, "Sandwiches and cold drinks will be served at noon and a musical program is planned for 3:30 p.m."[690] Rev. Leandrew H. "Doc" Green Sr. died in 1975 at age fifty-six.[691]

A 1994 oral history project conducted by Dr. Kim A. McBride recorded many pieces of information about the church. These accounts from community members, many of whom were elderly and died within a few years of the interviews, are a critical source of information about the church and the community. Some of these memories include dates and names. For example, William Jacob "Jake" Payne (1912-1998) reported that Smith Kemper (1876-1953) had been the janitor for the Presbyterian church—"he kept the place spotless."[692] Helen Booker Stewart (1914-2003), remembered Kemper as an active member of the church; "every Sunday morning, we had a bell in the hole up there [in the cupola above the vestibule], he'd go down every Sunday morning and ring the bell at the Presbyterian Church."[693]

678. "Fee Memorial Institute Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 10 April 1932, 9.
679. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 10 July 1943, 7.
680. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 13 July 1952, 36; "Colored Notes," *Lexington Herald,* 20 July 1952, 3.
681. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 15 July 1953, 17.
682. "Page to Preach," *Lexington Leader,* 9 February 1957, 2.
683. "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.
684. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald-Journal* (Lexington, KY), 6 July 1961, 33.
685. *Lexington Herald,* 21 July 1963, 50, c 7.
686. "Colored Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald,* 7 July 1963, 2.
687. "Colored Notes," *Lexington Leader,* 19 April 1964, 20.
688. "Notes and Obituaries," *Lexington Herald,* 21 July 1968, 12.
689. "News Notes and Deaths," *Lexington Leader,* 27 September 1968,21.
690. "Jessamine Church Plans Homecoming," *Lexington Herald,* 14 July 1970, 13.
691. "Louisville Area Deaths," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 2 July 1975, B15.
692. William Payne, interview by Kim McBride, 10 September 1994.
693. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.

Susie Miler (ca. 1904-1997), wife of Robert H. Miller (1903-1997), who served as pastor of the Camp Nelson Baptist Church from 1954, reported that the Baptists would go to the Presbyterian Church on the second and fourth Sundays and that the congregations would hold joint programs.[694] Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929), daughter of Eva Bright Steele and Robert Steele, attended the Baptist Church but recalled that the Baptist and Presbyterian congregations were not competitive and assisted each other with events like Christmas services. She thought that there was not much difference between the services at the two churches.[695]

The 1994 interviews also document the gradual decline of the church into the mid-1990s. Kay Anderson, who moved to the area in 1979, recalled that Miss Sallie Overstreet was taking care of the Fee Presbyterian Church and the Camp Nelson cemetery in the early 1980s. The church was then in good condition and being used once per month. Overstreet was working with someone in Wilmore or through Asbury University to put on services. Anderson believed that it must have been a hardship for Overstreet to care for the church during this period and suggested some factors leading to the building's deterioration between the early-1980s and 1994; "I imagine that what happened was that people just started vandalizing it and she just couldn't afford to do that she just couldn't afford to… take care of it." [696] A 1980 bird's eye photograph suggests that some short clapboards at the southeast end of the east elevation had fallen off by that time. Anderson was not aware of the homecomings held in the church each August and interviewer Kim McBride noted that not many people came to the 1994 homecoming, which appears to have been held at the community center. Stewart reported that the church was once full of members from the community, but the congregation gradually dwindled to about three members before it stopped meeting in 1991.[697] Rev. John W. Robertson, Jr. (1935-2016), pastor of Camp Nelson Baptist Church, reported that the Baptist and Presbyterian congregations had attempted to sustain each other by uniting for worship at each church on alternate Sundays.[698] The Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson was dissolved on April 27, 1991, and its property, including the church and manse, reverted to the ownership of the Presbytery of Transylvania.[699] A map of Jessamine County approved in June 1992 shows the Baptist Church as the only church in Hall.[700] The church and manse appear to have remained empty through the mid-1990s.

1996-2021 Jessamine County and National Park Service Ownership

In May 1996, the Trustees of the Presbytery of Transylvania sold the church property to the Jessamine County Fiscal Court for $15,000. This contained a two-acre tract containing the church and manse as well as an adjacent five-acre tract with no buildings. The Jessamine County Fiscal Court purchased the church as a part of the development of the Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park. Photographs of the church taken between about 1994 to 2000 show the building with peeling paint, missing clapboards, broken windows, and vines and weeds growing up along the exterior walls.

In 1997, Kim A. McBride wrote that, "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."[701]

The church was renovated in 2000, with additional work including the addition of heating and cooling systems occurring around 2005. In his 2002 book on Camp Nelson's Civil War history, Richard D.

694. Susie Miller, interview by Kim McBride, 17 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/xt7pk06x0n02.
695. Sallie Overstreet, interview by Kim McBride, 12 September 1994.
696. Kay Anderson, interview by Kim McBride, 23 November 1994.
697. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.
698. John W. Robertson, Jr., interview by Kim McBride, 22 September 1994.
699. Deed of Conveyance between Trustees of the Presbytery of Transylvania and Jessamine County Fiscal Court, May 13, 1996, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
700. *County Road Series Map, Jessamine County, Kentucky*, approved by fiscal court 30 June 1992.
701. Kim A. McBride, "Hall, Kentucky," 28-29.

Sears wrote of a recent winter visit to the village of Hall, where he 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…"[702]

In November 2002, Jessamine County granted a preservation and conservation easement on the property to the Kentucky Heritage Council. Baseline documentation prepared on May 7, 2002, notes that the building was "stabilized and renovated in 2000," including a new roof, new doors, and replacement of some window panes, and that it was presently used as a "meeting area" and for "interpretive displays of African American experience[s] at Camp Nelson during the Civil War."[703] By 2010, the rehabilitated church was "used for meetings, lectures, and special church services."[704] A music video filmed in the church sometime before November 29, 2011, was released in June 2012.[705] In 2018, the county transferred the church to the American Battlefield Trust and thence to the National Park Service for inclusion in Camp Nelson National Monument. The county and NPS occasionally used the church for programing during the 2010s, but it has sat mostly unused and deteriorated. Site managers repainted the exterior sometime between 2012 and 2020.

Church Name

The nondenominational church congregation established by John G. Fee at Camp Nelson in 1864 was referred to by various names. An October 1865 letter from Fee to George Whipple of the American Missionary Association lists the church's name as the "Church of Christ at Camp Nelson Ky."[706] This name followed one of the principles of the Restoration Movement (also known as the Stone-Campbell Movement), a part of the Second Great Awakening with one center in the Bluegrass region of Kentucky between 1801 and the 1830s, which sought to restore their vision of the original practices of New Testament Christianity and eschewed church and denominational names of human origin as divisive. Most congregations affiliated with the movement used names like "Christian Church" or "Church of Christ." During the early decades of the church's existence at Camp Nelson and Ariel, the name Church of Christ would not have carried the connotations of separateness based on a theological and cultural commitment to *a capella* worship later associated with this name.[707] Written references over the subsequent decades often noted the church's founding by Fee.[708]

The congregation became a member of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) in 1902, when the Transylvania

702. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*, 375.
703. Preservation and Conservation Easement, November 4, 2002, Camp Nelson National Monument archives.
704. McBride & McBride, "Archaeology and the Creation of a Civil War Park: Experiences from Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 119.
705. "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI; 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/.
706. John G. Fee to George Whipple, 2 October 1865, quoted in Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 267.
707. The name "Church of Christ" remained popular among a subset of churches affiliated with the Restoration Movement who prohibit the use of musical instruments in worship, with a particular concern about the use of organs and pianos. Instruments were controversial within a range of Protestant churches during the nineteenth century, and some argued that the lack of reference to instruments used in worship in the New Testament should be taken as evidence that their use was inherently sinful. For frontier congregations, the kinds of instruments present in their communities—notably the violin or "fiddle," associated with drunkenness and dancing, and the pianoforte, associated with wealth and worldly decadence—carried cultural connotations that made them incompatible with use in worship. The widespread popularity of melodeons—compact, comparatively cheap, and often portable reed organs—between the 1840s and 1860s gave rural congregations and traveling evangelists access to organ music that had previously been available only in larger urban churches with pipe organs. The instrumentalist/non-instrumentalist controversy was often seen as marking the division between more conservative and financially constrained rural congregations, holding to practices from the frontier era, and more open and prosperous urban congregations who could afford instruments like reed or pipe organs and faced pressure to keep up with other churches in their communities. James B. North, *Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the Restoration Movement* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1994), 221-249.
708. Eades, *Slaves to Soldiers*, 15.

Presbytery reported the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson. This is the first record of the congregation's adoption of a new name. Membership statistics reported in 1904 list the congregation as "Concord;" this may be an error referencing Rev. J. A. Boyden's prior charge, Concord Presbyterian Church in Danville. No church name or statistics appear in reports for 1905 or 1906. Reports and other records from at least 1908 to 1975 list the congregation as the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Camp Nelson. It was later known as the Hall Presbyterian Church, the Old Hall Church, the Fee Church, or the John G. Fee Memorial Church, not to be confused with the John G. Fee Memorial Union Church (1920-1922) in Berea, Kentucky.

Church Ministers

From 1868 to 1934, pastorate of the congregation appears to have been combined with employment as principal or superintendent of Ariel Academy, Camp Nelson Academy, or the Fee Memorial Institute. To date, the following ministers are known:

1864-1866	Rev. Abishai Scofield
1867-1877	Rev. Gabriel Burdett (with W. S. Overstreet, ca. 1874-?)
1877	Howard S. Fee (interim)
1878-1880	Rev. John Drew
1880-1881	Rev. W. S. Overstreet
1881-1882	Rev. J. F. Browne
1883-1885	vacant
1885-1886	Rev. W. S. Overstreet
1887	vacant
1888-1902	unknown, possibly W. S. Overstreet
1903-1914	Rev. J. A. Boyden
1914-1934	Rev. H. W. McNair
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."[709] 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."[710] 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, recounts that "the Government erected quite a number of cottages, and some larger buildings as hospital wards and school rooms" at Camp Nelson;

709. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, 151.
710. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1869*, 47.

"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."[711] 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.[712]

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."[713] 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."[714] 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."[715]

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 46] 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."[716] 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.[717] 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…."[718]

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."[719] 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.[720]

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 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

711. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association*, 24.
712. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association*, 24.
713. *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, Ky.*, 64-65.
714. "Camp Nelson on Kentucky Cliffs," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 11 September 1895, 15.
715. Cowan, "The Board for Freedmen," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. 9, No. 6, 606.
716. "Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October 1908), 481.
717. *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.
718. 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.
719. *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education: History of Education in Kentucky,* Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1914), 327.
720. Helen B. Stewart, interview by Kim McBride, 6 September 1994.

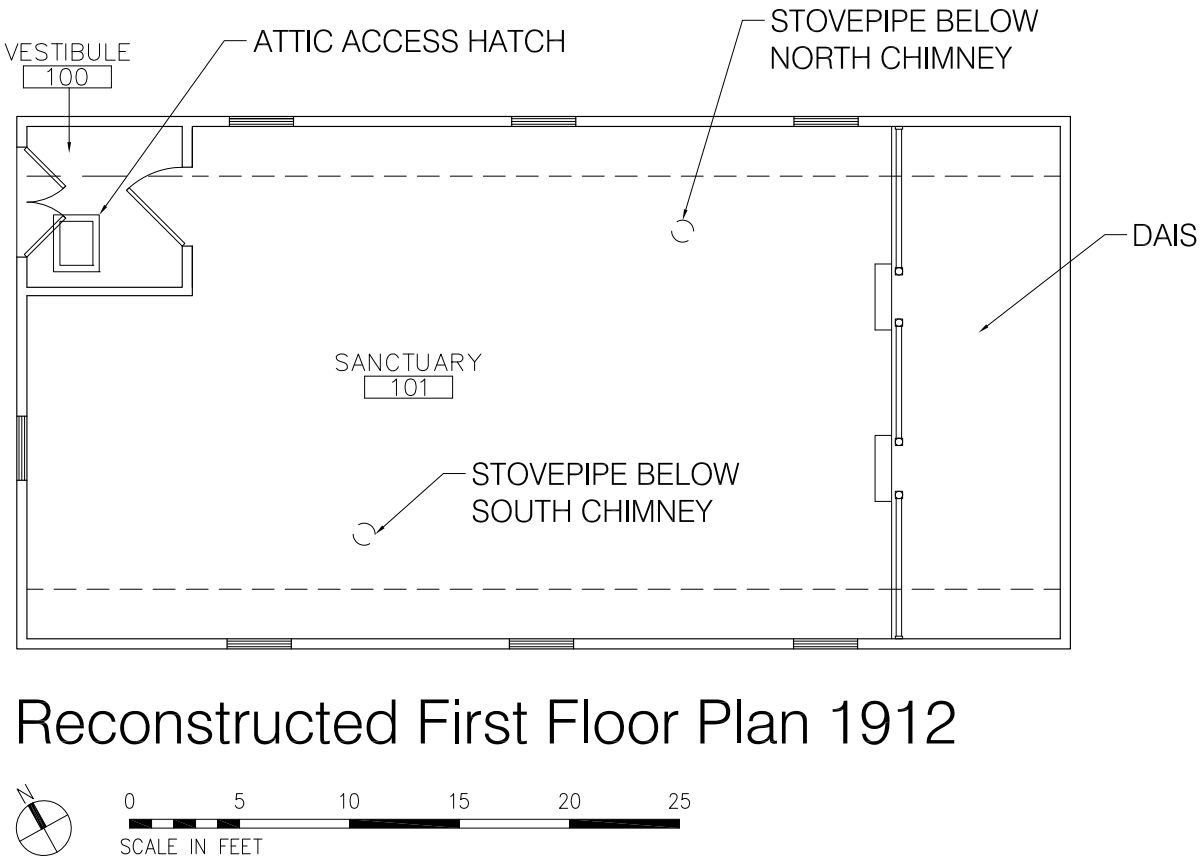


Figure 46. Reconstructed first floor plan as constructed in 1912. This reconstructed plan was adapted from an existing plan drawing based on measurements taken in 2020. Lost features have been shown based on physical evidence observed in the building and documentary evidence in the form of historic photographs. A larger version is included in Appendix B. (Source: RATIO Architects)

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 catalogs 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.[721] 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

721. *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.



Figure 47. 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. A larger version is included in Appendix B.(Source: RATIO Architects)

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.[722]

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 46**, **Figure 47**] No historic architectural drawings of the building have 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.

722. 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.

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** 50-**Figure** 57] 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."[723] 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."[724] 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.[725] Steel angles were added as temporary bracing across cracks in the foundation between about 2011 and 2013.

723. Greg Kocher, "Dramatic tribute restaged," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* 1 September 2004, E3.
724. 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/.
725. 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.

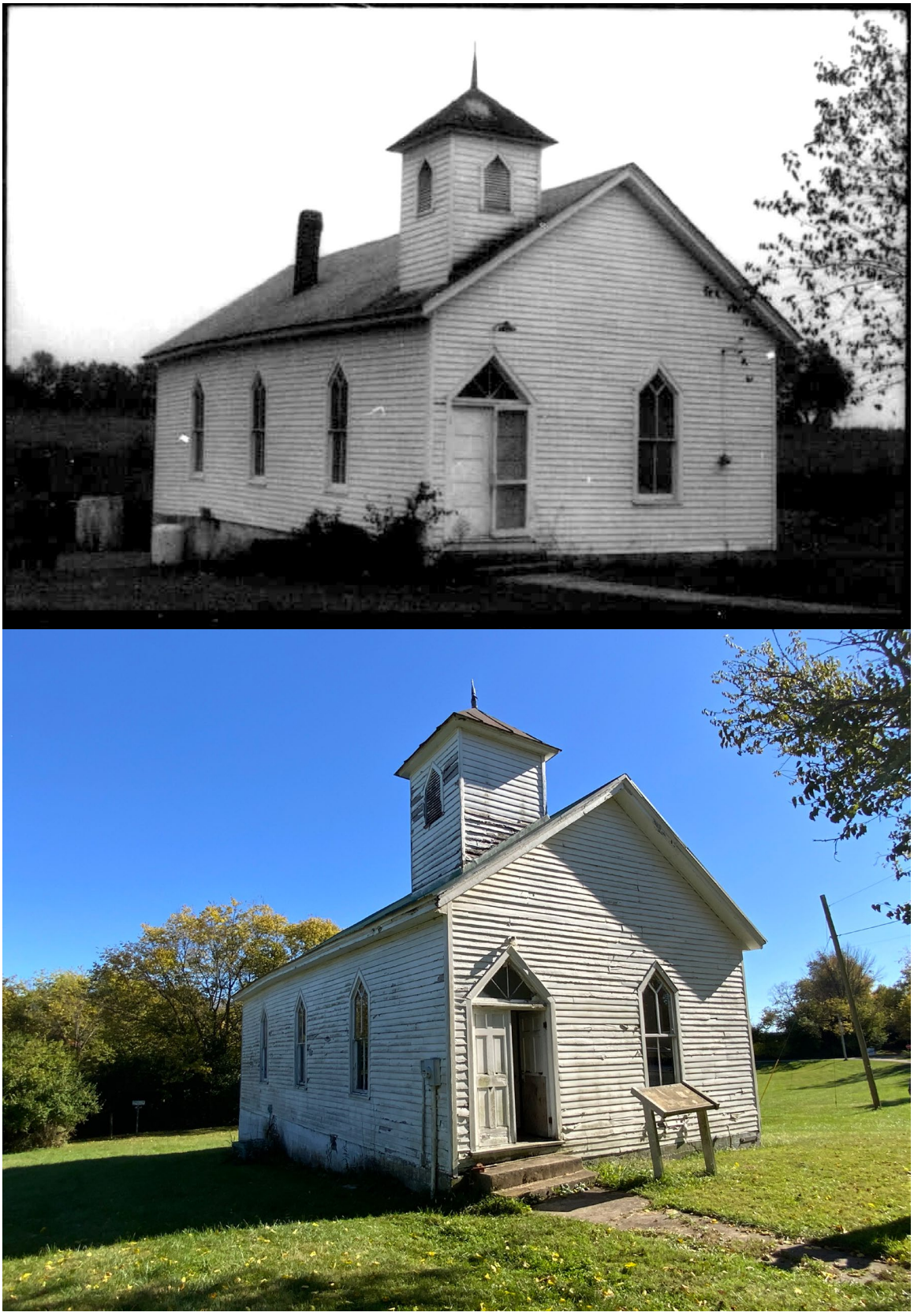


Figure 48. (Top) North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, summer 1977. These are the earliest photographs of the church located to date and they appear to show the building largely as built in 1912. Note the horizontal-panel entry doors, north chimney, and louvers on the face of the cupola, all now missing. Note also the propane tank along the north wall and the privy in the distance at left. (Source: Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory, JS56. Reprinted with permission from the Kentucky Heritage Council) Bottom photo is a similar view in October 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



Figure 49. (Top) West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, summer 1977. These are the earliest photographs of the church located to date and they appear to show the building largely as built in 1912. Note the entry doors and louvers on the face of the cupola, all now missing. The south chimney had been removed before this photograph was taken. Note also manse at left. (Source: Kentucky Historic Resources Inventory, JS56. Reprinted with permission from the Kentucky Heritage Council) Bottom photo is a similar view from October 2020 (Source: RATIO Architects)



Figure 50. (Top) West façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. Note louver on west face of cupola and horizontal-panel front doors. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) March 2021 photo of a similar view (Source: WLA Studio)



Figure 51. West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. Note manse in distance at left. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) December 2021 photo of a similar view (Source: WLA Studio)



Figure 52. East and north elevations of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) Similar view of the east and north elevations in 2021 (Source: WLA Studio)



Figure 53. Sanctuary of Fee Memorial Church, facing east, ca. 1994-2000. This is one of the earliest known interior photographs of the church and shows furnishings that are no longer present. Note center section of dais balustrade and pulpit. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) View in the sanctuary, facing east, 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



Figure 54. Sanctuary of Fee Memorial Church, facing northeast, ca. 1994-2000. This is one of the earliest known interior photographs of the church and shows furnishings that are no longer present. Note Gothic Revival pews and schoolhouse pendant shade resting on dais. (Source: W. Stephen McBride) See figure 51 for a similar view in 2020.



Figure 55. North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 1994-2000. This shows the deteriorated condition of the church prior to the Jessamine County renovation. (Source: Camp Nelson Civil War District National Register nomination) Similar view of the north elevation and west façade in 2020. (Source: RATIO Architects)



Figure 56. North elevation and west façade of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 2000. This appears to document the exterior during the Jessamine County renovation. Note louver on west face of cupola and horizontal-panel front doors. (Source: Camp Nelson Civil War District National Register nomination) See Figure 46 for a similar view in 2020.

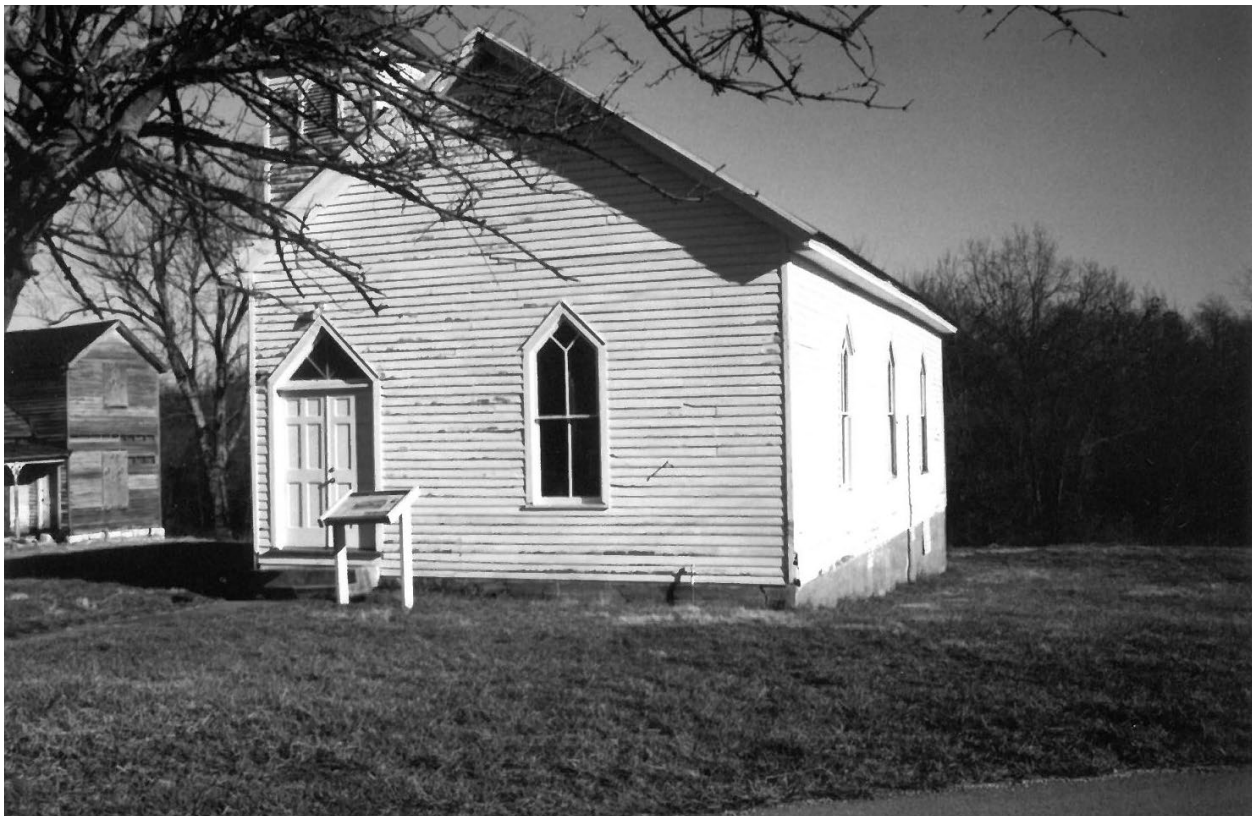


Figure 57. West façade and south elevation of Fee Memorial Church, ca. 2000-2005. This appears to show the building near the end of the Jessamine County renovation. Note modern replacement doors on church, west louvers of cupola, and manse in distance at left. (Source: W. Stephen McBride)

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 58, Figure 59**] 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 60**] 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 61**]

The stone foundation exists of the manse or parsonage (described in more detail in section 1.A) that was demolished around 2007. [**Figure 62**]

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** 63] 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.[723] [**Figure 64**]

723. The forthcoming "Camp Nelson National Monument Cultural Landscape Report" will include a full description and analysis of site conditions.



Figure 58. Fee Memorial Church from apparent site of dormitory, facing southeast; overgrown manse foundation is at left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 59. Fee Memorial Church and context from the south, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 60. View of Fee Memorial Church from Church Street (formerly Row Street), facing east. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 61. Immediate context of Fee Memorial Church showing partially exposed concrete walkway, uneven steps, and wayside interpretive sign. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

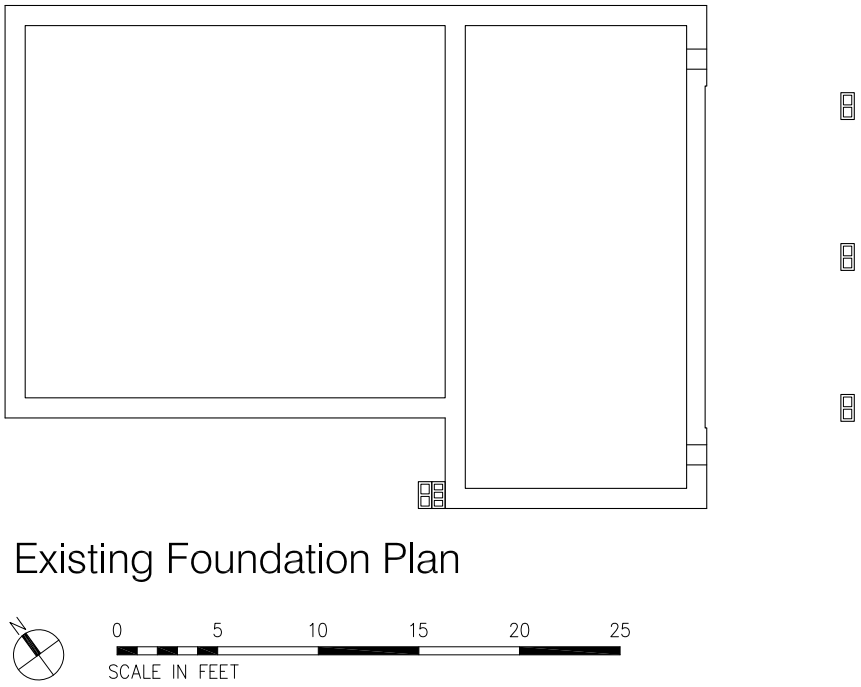


Figure 62. Existing foundation plan of manse associated with Fee Memorial Institute and Fee Memorial church; scaled drawing included in Appendix B. (RATIO Architects)



Figure 63. Refugee School wayside interpretive sign in front of church, showing biological growth. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

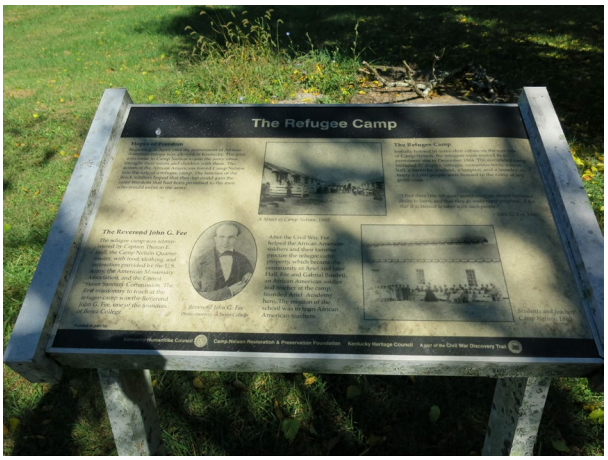


Figure 64. Refugee Camp wayside interpretive sign west of church. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Exterior

Illustrations located in Appendix B include scaled drawings the exterior elevations of the building.

With the exception of alterations to the front door and the west face of the cupola, the church's exterior appears to retain its general appearance from the time of its construction in 1912. It is a one-story, gable-front wood-frame building on a cast-in-place concrete foundation. The exterior is clad in wood weatherboard siding and openings feature triangular heads-- a Carpenter Gothic shape referred to as a "peak head" in some period sources. The building features seven double-hung wood sash windows with a three-over-two-lite configuration. The roof's narrow overhangs include fascias with crown molding and boxed eaves.

The west façade is divided into two unequal bays; the narrower north bay contains a pair of doors topped by a triangular transom while the south bay contains a single window. [**Figure 65, Figure 66**]

Two concrete steps lead up to this door. A cupola rises from the north face of the roof just behind the west façade and is centered on the entrance below. This cupola is clad in weatherboard siding and is topped by a hipped roof capped by a tapered finial. Its west and north sides originally featured louvered openings with triangular tops; the west opening was covered with replacement siding during the 2000s and is no longer visible on the exterior. [**Figure** 67]

The north and south elevations each contain three evenly spaced windows. [**Figure** 68, **Figure** 69] Two evenly spaced foundation vents are present at each of these elevations, with one larger opening below the easternmost window of the south elevation. The east elevation has a grade-level crawlspace access door but no openings in the wood superstructure. [**Figure** 70, **Figure** 71] The main roof and the cupola are covered with two different types of metal roofing.



Figure 65. North elevation and west façade, facing southeast. Note modern siding covering west face of cupola where a louvered opening was formerly present. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 66. West façade and south elevation, facing northeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 67. Detail of east and north elevations of cupola, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 68. North elevation and west façade, facing southeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 69. South elevation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 70. East and north elevations, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 71. 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 72**] 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 73**] Further description of the foundation can be found in the Structural Systems section.

Siding

The exterior of the church is clad in wood weatherboard siding with an exposed width of approximately 4 ½". The siding is mounted directly to the building's studs, with no sheathing present. [**Figure 74**] 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 72. Detail of board-formed concrete foundation at south elevation showing typical exterior surface and modern lattice applied over crawlspace vents. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 73. Angle irons in place at crack on south elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 74. 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)

Windows, Louvers, and Vents

The church's seven double-hung windows follow a Carpenter Gothic shape, using a triangular head to approximate the effect of a pointed arch. [**Figure 75, Figure 76**] Sometimes referred to as "peak head windows" in period sources, windows in this shape appear in millwork catalogs published between 1891 and 1917. Below the triangular head of the windows, the windows are two-over-two wood sash. The muntin of the upper sash splits into a "Y" shape, forming a square lite set on a 45° angle within the peak of the window and forming triangular tops for the two vertical lites. The muntins include a relatively wide, flat exterior face. Simple, angular detached sash lugs or stops are mounted below the upper sash and are nearly concealed within the track; these may be later additions or may indicate that the upper sash were not intended to operate. The windows feature simple exterior casings of flat, 4″-wide boards. The triangular head of the window features a narrow wood drip molds along the upper edges of the casing. The casings terminate into plain wood sills.

The lower sash are hung from sash weights on cords and pulleys that are visible from the interior and are fitted with simple tongue-lifts. No locks are present, but wire hooks are centered on the top of the meeting rail of the lower sash. [**Figure 77**] It is unclear whether these hooks were intended to secure the windows in a particular location or whether they were used to hang decorations, light fixtures, or other items.

The double front doors are topped by a divided-lite triangular transom. [**Figure 78, Figure 79**] It is divided into four triangular lites by a central vertical muntin and two muntins that extend from the bottom of the vertical muntin to the centers of the top sides. In contrast to the wide muntins of the windows, the transom's muntins are narrow.

Photographs taken about 1994-2000 show the windows in fair to poor condition, with broken lites in most of the windows. The windows underwent limited repair, reglazing, and selective replacement of components during the 2000-2005 renovation. Replacement muntins are easily identified by their wider and flatter profile when compared with the originals. Work on the windows appears to have been left incomplete; most of the sash lack glazing putty, with the new glass secured



Figure 75. 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 76. Typical interior face and trim of windows; west window of north elevation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

only by metal clips. Plastic sheeting was installed over the exterior face of these windows during that renovation and appears to have been removed sometime between 2012 and 2015, with traces remaining around the transom.

The windows are in fair condition overall. Inadequate management of rainwater runoff from the roof has damaged the windows. This is most apparent at the south elevation, where the sills have been largely destroyed and the bottom sash are experiencing paint loss and deterioration, but damage of a similar character is also present at the north elevation. [**Figure 80, Figure 81**]

The north and west faces of the cupola originally featured louvers with triangular tops, corresponding with the design of the building's other openings. The casing and sills of the louvers matched those of the window openings. These louvers allowed the sound of the church's bell to be heard more clearly and provided ventilation for the building's attic. Sometime between 2011 and July 2012, site managers removed the west louver and largely resided that face of the cupola, covering the opening.[724] The north louver remains intact and is in fair to poor condition, with extensive paint loss. It is boarded over at the interior face. [**Figure 82**]

Two evenly spaced foundation vents are present at the north and south elevations, with one larger opening below the easternmost window of the south elevation. [**Figure 83**] These openings appear to be cast into the concrete foundation. The original treatment of these openings is unclear. Builders may have left the smaller openings open or may have fitted them with metal grilles or wood louvers. The larger opening is similar in size and placement to a coal chute door. It contains a wooden frame of unknown date and is boarded over with tongue-and-groove bead-board. All five of these openings are covered at the exterior with modern diagonal lattice panels installed in 2000.

724. 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=EVB-mqAofmHI.



Figure 77. Detail showing typical muntin profiles and wire hook at meeting rail on lower sash. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 78. Entrance with modern replacement doors installed during 2000-2005 renovation. These doors have a very different appearance from the original horizontal-panel doors. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 79. Detail of triangular transom. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 80. Detail of typical windowsill at south elevation. Note extensive deterioration of sill and bottom sash caused by lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 81. Detail of typical windowsill at north 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 82. Detail of east and north elevations of cupola, facing southwest. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 83. Detail of foundation vents. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 84. Entrance with modern replacement doors installed during 2000-2005 renovation. These doors have a very different 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 84**] 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 85**]



Figure 85. Typical deterioration at modern wood replacement doors. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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 86**] 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 87**] 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** 88] 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 86. Sanctuary face of door between vestibule and sanctuary, facing west. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 87. Detail of hardware at vestibule door. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 88. Detail of part of Suffolk latch installed upside-down and used as a pull on vestibule door. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Roof

The main building features a gable roof with narrow overhangs that include fascias with crown molding and boxed eaves. Examination of the underside of the roof within the attic reveals skip-sheathing composed of a mix of boards that appear to have been new and salvaged at the time of the church's construction. [**Figure 89**] These boards contain very few nail holes, suggesting that the original roof was likely of standing-seam metal. The skip-sheathing is covered by a layer of plywood. Three-tab composition shingles covered the roof in photographs taken around 1994-2000; this same roofing appears to be in place in a 1980 bird's eye photograph. The main roof is covered with metal roofing installed during the 2000-2005 renovation. This roofing includes exposed fasteners, a profile often called "rib," and a green paint finish. There appears to be a lack of adequate flashing at the base of the cupola, leading to deterioration of the cupola's siding and trim. The main roof appears to be in good condition overall.

The roof is not fitted with gutters or downspouts; such features may never have been present. The lack of adequate management of rainwater runoff from the roof has contributed to deterioration of the building's historic fabric, particularly at the north and south elevations, where siding, windows, and other components have suffered extensive damage. [**Figure 90, Figure 91**] The west face of the cupola appears to shed water down onto part of the west façade, including the entrance. Deterioration at these areas is evident in photographs taken before the 2000-2005 renovation and in evidence of deterioration that occurred between 2005 and 2020.

Unlike the roof of the main building, the cupola includes continuous board sheathing. [**Figure 92**] The cupola's roof is of metal dates to before 1977. It appears to be an earlier form of metal rib roofing with three triangular ribs per face of the roof. The cupola roof appears to be in fair condition.



Figure 89. View southwest in attic showing back side of weatherboard siding at west façade and skip-sheathing at roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 90. Extensive deterioration of sill and bottom sash located at south elevation caused by lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 91. Typical deterioration of sill at north elevation and bottom sash caused by lack of gutters and downspouts to handle rainwater runoff from roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 92. View into cupola from attic, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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 93**] Its location is marked by a square panel in the ceiling of the sanctuary. [**Figure 94**]

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 95**] A circular stovepipe opening cover is present in the ceiling of the sanctuary below.



Figure 93. View east in attic showing base of north chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 94. Sanctuary, facing east. Note patch at underside of north chimney at upper left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

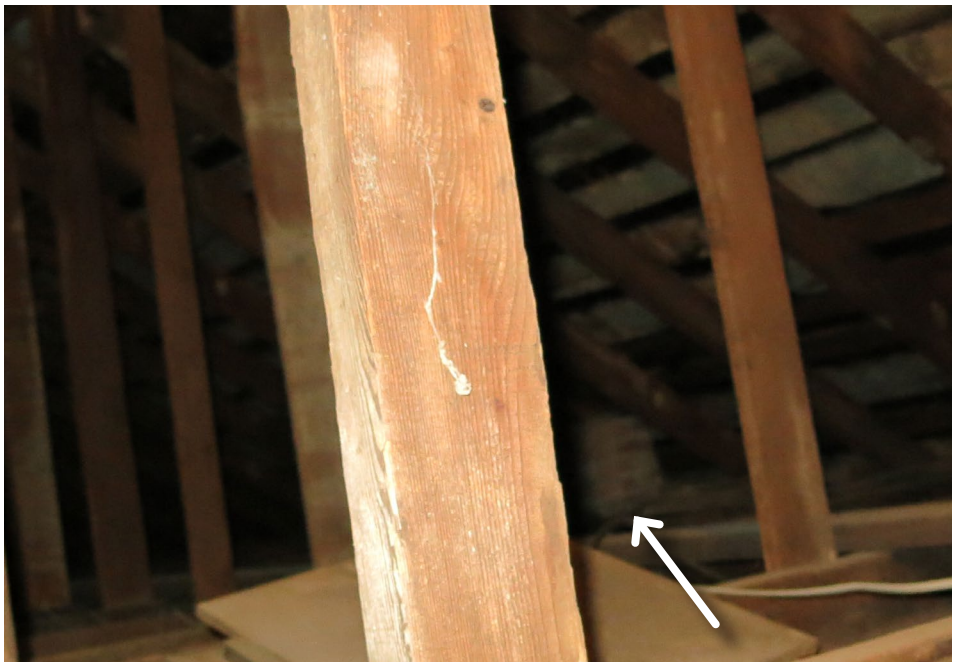


Figure 95. View southeast within attic. The studs in the foreground define the south wall of the vestibule; The base of the south chimney is visible at center right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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 96]** 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 96. 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 97**] The wood joists are approximately 1 ¾″ × 9 ½″, 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 97. Crawlspace looking west, showing joists. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 98. Crawlspace facing northwest, showing central beam. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

widespread insect damage, meaning that their capacity is likely even lower. Remedial measures will be required to bring the joists into compliance with a live load capacity of 100 PSF.

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. Remediation of the existing floor structure's insufficient capacity 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.

The raised wood stage or dais 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 that the framing for the 17″-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.

Central Wood Floor Beam

A central beam made up of four, 2″ × 9 ½″ wood joists nailed together supports the floor joints along the interior ends, and a series of column members support the joists on the ends. [**Figure 98**] The farthest-spaced columns require a span of 12′, but the rest are 5′-to-6′ spans. There is no visible anchorage between the beam and columns. The ends of the beams bear directly on the east and west concrete foundation walls. The project team noted insect damage like that found in the joists in some areas of the central beam; 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



Figure 99. Detail of displacement at east face of foundation, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

approximately 50 to 60 PSF, below the 100 PSF floor live load for public gathering space required by the KBC. The beam does not meet this requirement in its current state, especially when the insect damage is considered. Remedial measures will be required to bring the beam system into compliance with a live load capacity of 100 PSF.

Internal Column Supports

The internal columns supporting the central beam are at somewhat random spacing between 5′ and 12′. Three of the columns are concrete, two are stone, and one is wood. The stone and concrete columns are in fair condition and seem to be part of the original construction of the church. It is not clear if the columns bear on a footing below grade except for the easternmost wood column, which may date from the 2000-2005 renovation and sits on a small concrete footing. 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 are 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. The concrete walls are battered with a thickness of 12″ at the top and 15″ at grade. There is a 2″ × 12″ wood plate on top of the wall upon which the joists and exterior walls rest. 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 project team noted the most severe outward shift on the east side where the face of concrete is approximately 2 ½″ beyond



Figure 100. 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)

the wood siding. [**Figure 99**] This shift 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 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.



Figure 101. View inside hole at north wall showing deterioration of wall framing. Note wire nail now exposed. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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.

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 ¾″ × 3 ¾″ 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



Figure 102. View southwest in attic showing roof framing. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

has damaged both the studs and the interior wood paneling. [**Figure 100, Figure 101**] This condition exists at the bottom of the north wall near the front stage. The team slightly opened this area by removing some paneling and examining the wood deterioration. The damage appears to be the result of insects, possibly termites. This condition does not appear to be widespread, 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 sheathing behind the siding 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 project team examined and measured the roof framing from a ladder that extended up into the ceiling hatch. The team did not go into the attic at the time of the site visit. The roof framing consists of 1 ¾″ × 6″ sloped wood rafters spaced at 24″ on center. [**Figure 102**] The ceiling joists are also of 1 ¾″ × 6″ and spaced at 24″ 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 corresponding ceiling joist. This vertical member is intended to provide roof support for the ceiling joist. The ceiling joists span approximately 22′ over the width of the church structure. These joists require 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,



Figure 103. 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 104. View east in attic showing base of north chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

but leaks do not have appear to have seriously damaged the members. The attic was dry at the time of the site visit, but the project team 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 is 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 103, Figure 104**] 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 105**] 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



Figure 105. View into cupola from attic, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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., 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 106**] 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.

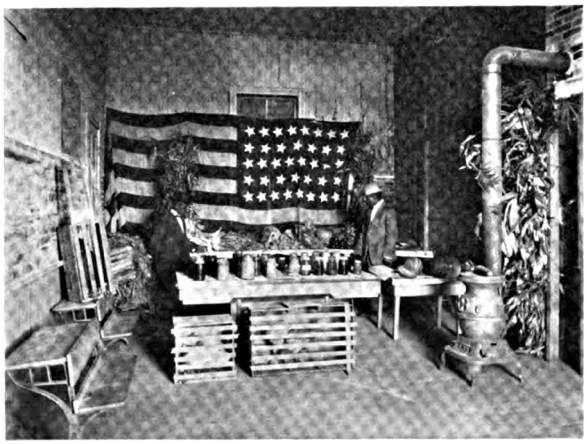


Figure 106. Interior of one classroom in the school/recitation hall used as an exhibit space during a "Farmer's Institute" conference held at the church and school in 1912. ("Fee Memorial Institute," *The Assembly Herald,* December 1912, 670-671)

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.



Figure 107. Heat pump at north elevation, facing south. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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 107**] 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 108**] 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.



Figure 108. Crawlspace looking west, showing air-handler and flexible ducts. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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.

A clue to the church's lighting may be found in a memory of one of the Hall's other public buildings; Patricia R. True Walker (1928-1998), who spent most of the summer of 1938 with her grandmother in Poortown, remembered going to an event in the Benevolent Hall, which was lit by coal oil (kerosene) lamps mounted on the walls.[725]

Electricity became available in the Camp Nelson area in June 1938, when the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), a New Deal program that brought electricity to rural areas, completed 126 miles of rural lines in Jessamine, Fayette, and Madison Counties. Although electric power was now available, it is unclear when residents of the Hall first connected to the utility.[726] Sallie Steele Overstreet (born 1929 in Camp Nelson) later recalled that her family got electricity at their home about 1950.[727] The building's present electrical systems are believed to date from the 2000-2005 renovation. A circuit-breaker panel manufactured by Murray Electrical Products is mounted on the north wall of the vestibule.

The interior of the church is fitted with four "schoolhouse"-type electric pendants, three in the sanctuary and one in the vestibule. These pendants follow a style common from the 1920s through the 1940s, with bell-shaped brass canopies and shade-holders, chains, and milk glass shades. [**Figure 109, Figure 110**] The two photographs taken inside the church between 1994-2000 show only the lower part of the sanctuary, but the shade from one of these fixtures is visible laying on the dais. It is presumed that electricians rewired the fixtures during the 2000-2005 renovation. The existing chains appear to be modern replacements likely dating from the 2000s. The fixtures appear to be in fair condition overall. The shade for the vestibule fixture is currently resting on the dais. One photograph from around 1994-2000 shows an electric task lamp, of a form sometimes called a piano, desk, or banker's lamp, standing on the

725. 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.
726. "Power Surges to Bluegrass Farm Homes," *Lexington Leader,* 16 June 1938, 1-2.
727. 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 109. Typical "schoolhouse"-type electric pendant. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 110. Detail of shade holder of vestibule pendant showing later chain of dissimilar finish. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 111. 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)

pulpit and plugged into an outlet centered on the face of the dais; this lamp is no longer in the building. Some of the lights were functional during a 2020 site visit. [**Figure 111**]

Plumbing Systems

The church does not appear to have ever been fitted with plumbing systems. A 1950 aerial photograph suggests that an outhouse was present along the rear of the lot, roughly in line with the north elevation. A 1956 aerial does not appear to show that outhouse but appears to show another along the rear of the lot roughly aligned with the south elevation. It is reported that a pair of outhouses were present in a ruined state behind the church in the 1990s.

Accessibility

The site currently includes no parking and no accessible path to the church. The church is accessed by entry doors several steps above grade, making it inaccessible for anyone who cannot climb steps. The existing concrete steps have experienced differential settlement and no landing is present outside the entry doors. Raised wood thresholds at the entry door and the door between the vestibule and sanctuary may present tripping hazards.

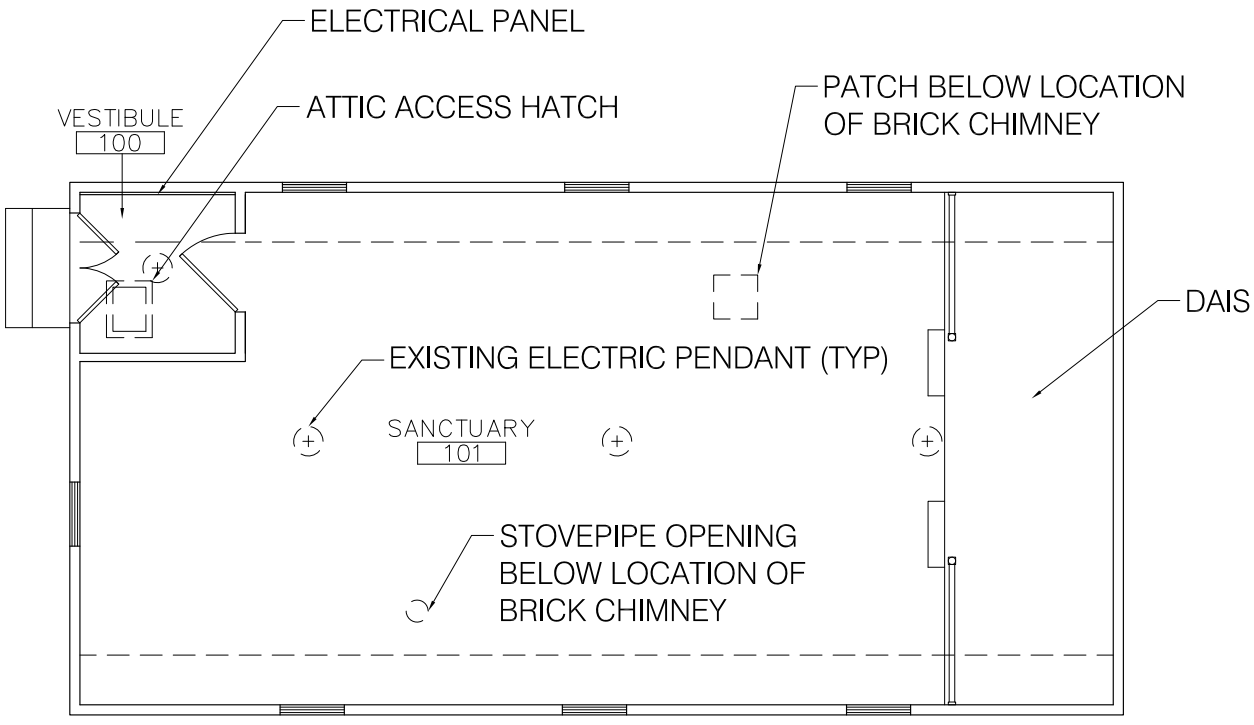


Figure 112. Existing first floor plan, scaled drawing located in Appendix B. (Source: RATIO Architects)

Interior

The Fee Memorial Church contains approximately 1,160 square feet (gross) of interior space on one level above a crawlspace. [**Figure 112**] 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 113**] The floor of the crawlspace appears to be a mix of dirt, gravel, and debris. [**Figure 114**] 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 115**] 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 116**] 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 113. Crawlspace looking west. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 114. 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 115. 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 117**] 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 118**]



Figure 116. Upper part of vestibule, facing west. Note attic hatch, bell-rope, and pendant fixture. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 117. 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 118. Vestibule floor, looking west from sanctuary. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 119. Sanctuary, facing east. Note patch at underside of north chimney at upper left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

101 Sanctuary

The sanctuary or audience room, measuring approximately 23′-3″ × 47′-0″, occupies the entire first floor with the exception of the small corner vestibule. [**Figure 119**] The north and south walls each contain three windows, and one window is centered on the portion of the west exterior wall south of the vestibule. [**Figure 120**] A dais, 7′-8″ deep and 1′-5″ high, extends across the east end of the room.

Walls

The sanctuary's walls are trimmed by a wood wainscot 37 ½″ in height. [**Figure 121**] The wainscot consists of tongue-and-groove boards with beaded edges, a cap molding, and wide quarter-round shoe molding. A small section of the cap molding north of the door to the vestibule has been replaced with a molding of dissimilar profile. This appears to date from the 2000-2005 renovation. Visual examination of the wainscot suggests that it originally featured a reddish-brown stained finish that later darkened to a dull blackish brown. Subsequent paint finish layers appear to include a light orange, light cream (likely the finish visible in the photographs taken between 1994-2000), white (possibly a primer), and the present dark cream (believed to date from the 2000-2005 renovation). [**Figure 122**] The wainscot appears to be in good condition except for a hole in the north wall below the east window; this hole appears to be the result of insect damage, possibly combined with water infiltration through the windowsill caused by the lack of management of rainwater runoff from the roof. [**Figure 123**]



Figure 120. Sanctuary, facing west. Note stovepipe opening for south chimney at upper right. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 121. Detail of west wall of sanctuary showing typical finishes: bead-board wainscoting, plywood paneling covering flat plaster, and typical window casing. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 122. Detail of wainscot at south wall showing underlying finish layers. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 123. 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)

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 124**] 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. They 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 wall following the underside of the roof. These surfaces were originally covered with lath and plaster. Examination of the upper side of the



Figure 124. 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 125. View of sanctuary ceiling south of vestibule, facing southeast; note broken plaster keys and snakeskin at left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

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 125**] 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.



Figure 126. Seam at sanctuary floor, facing southeast. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Floor

The room is fitted with tongue-and-groove flooring running east-west. A north-south seam is present running parallel to the west wall roughly in line with the shoe molding on the east face of the vestibule wall. [**Figure 126**] This seam ends before reaching the south wall. It may reflect the laying of the floorboards after the framing of the vestibule partitions, a typical practice of the period, or later replacement of the floorboards at the west end of the room. This seam does not appear to mark the location of a partition. It is unclear whether the floorboards were painted in the photographs from 1994-2000. They are now painted a light gray color, a finish presumably dating from the 2000-2005 renovation. The floor appears to be in good condition with the modern paint finishes in fair to good condition.

Dais

The face of the dais is clad in beaded boards matching those of the wainscot. The upper and lower ends of these boards are trimmed by narrow ogee moldings. The ends of the dais floorboards are exposed, showing their tongue-and-groove construction. A balustrade along the face of the dais includes turned balusters and newels that match porch newels in catalogs dating from 1895 to 1911.[728] [**Figure 127**] This balustrade originally included three sections, with two gaps providing access to the dais.

The interior photographs taken between 1994-2000 show that the balustrade included the present south section and a center section that appears to have been removed during the 2000-2005 renovation. The north section is missing in the photographs; however, a stray baluster is visible laying on the floor in the photograph. The north section of the balustrade appears to have been reinstalled during the 2000-2005 renovation; it bears the same traces of early finishes as seen on the south section and is larger than the now-missing middle section.



Figure 127. Detail of dais showing balustrade, edge of floor, and wainscot. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 128. 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)

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 128**] A mouse nest composed of various fibers and at least one mouse

728. 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.



Figure 129. Upper (east) face of south section of dais balustrade. Note curtain hardware mounted to newel and wall. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

skull was located in one of the two chambers of the void. The north step was not in place in the photographs taken between 1994-2000; the face of the dais was painted, but the image appears to show signs of the step's former location. A step currently in this location likely dates from the 2000-2005 renovation.

It appears that the congregation fitted the east face of the dais balustrade with curtain hardware to accommodate fabric modesty panels behind the balusters. [**Figure 129**] Mounting brackets for a small curtain rod remain in place at the south wall and the newel of the south section and the north section appears to retain ghost marks of matching hardware. The wall bracket is mounted over the plywood paneling, indicating that someone installed or reinstalled after the installation of the paneling. The face of the dais and the balustrade components appear to retain traces of a finish sequence matching the wainscoting: a stained finish, a pale orange, light cream, white, and the present dark cream. [**Figure 130, Figure 131, Figure 132**]



Figure 130. Detail of south section of dais balustrade showing evidence of earlier finishes. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 131. Detail of north section of dais balustrade showing evidence of earlier finishes. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 132. 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)



Figure 133. View southwest in attic showing back side of weatherboard siding at west façade and skip-sheathing at roof. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 134. 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)

201 Attic

An unfinished attic covers the entire building above the flat ceiling. It is accessed by a small panel in the ceiling of the vestibule. The floor of the attic consists of the upper side of the ceiling joists and lath. Its ceiling consists of the roof rafters and sheathing. The east and west gable ends show exposed studs and the back side of the wood weatherboard siding. [**Figure 133**] The bases of two brick chimneys remain in place within the attic. [**Figure 134, Figure 135**] The attic contains debris including broken plaster keys, a rusty can of Raid-brand wasp and hornet spray, and snakeskins indicating past rodent and snake infestation. [**Figure 136**]

A hole in the sheathing of the main roof provide access into the cupola. [**Figure 137**] A ferrous metal bell is mounted within a wood cage in the cupola, with a bell-rope that passes down through the access panel to the vestibule below. Future examination of the upper side of the bell may reveal the marks of its manufacturer and possibly its date of manufacture.



Figure 135. View east in attic showing base of north chimney and back of siding at east elevation. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 136. View of sanctuary ceiling south of vestibule, facing southeast; note broken plaster keys and snakeskin at left. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 137. View into cupola from attic, facing north. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Furniture

The following pieces of furniture are either present in the building at this time or were present in past photographs of the interior. Some of these items may have been present in the church during its period of operation.

Gothic Pews (ca.1885-1915)

Interior photographs of the church taken between 1994-2000 show at least six pews that likely dated from around 1880 to around 1915. These pews featured raised panels with pointed arch tops along the aisle end and plain end panels at the other end. Both end panels featured armrests with scrolled top and bottom ends. Circular bosses or rosettes were mounted on the outer faces of the armrest scrolls and on a lower projection of the end panel on the aisle end. One photograph shows two pews with the aisle ends facing the center aisle, three pews that appear to have the outer end facing the center aisle, and a sixth pew in the distance with its two ends concealed from the camera. The back sides of the pews were fitted with hymnal racks. The County appears to have removed the pews from the building before 2012 and NPS staff located them in storage elsewhere on site in 2021.

Vernacular Pews

The church currently contains fifteen pews of a simple, vernacular design. [**Figure 138**] Eleven of these measure 8′-0″ long and four measure 6′-0″ long. The pews feature simple board end panels cut in at the top to form a small horizontal armrest and then angling up to the top of the back. The end panels and armrests are topped by a simple



Figure 138. 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.[729] The origin of these pews is unclear.

729. 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.[730] 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.[731] 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 139**] 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

730. "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI.

731. 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 139. 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.[732] 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

732. Sears, Roebuck and Company. *1917 Sears Roebuck Catalogue*. New York :Chelsea House Publishers, 1968, 852.



Figure 140. 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 around1895-1915) 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.[733]

Thomas Trianon Organ (ca.1969-1979)

This organ, the Trianon Model 606, was produced by the Thomas Organ Company of Sepulveda, California. [**Figure 140**] 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.[734] 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.[735] The origin of this organ is unclear.

733. "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI.
734. Frank Pugno, "Thomas Organs," accessed 4 February 2021, http://theatreorgans.com/hammond/keng/ken-html/Thomas%20Organs%20Page.htm.
735. 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.



Figure 141. Crucifix. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)



Figure 142. Plaque on north wall of vestibule. (Source: RATIO Architects, 2020)

Other Furnishings

Other furnishings are currently present in the church or are known from interior photographs.

One of the photographs of the church interior taken between 1994-2000 appears to show a rectangular area of discoloration centered on the east wall's plywood paneling, likely marking the location where a picture had hung against the paneling for many years. A framed picture depicting a full-length standing Jesus Christ, appearing to correspond with the size of the rectangular outline on the wall, was visible standing on a pew on the dais. This appears to have been a print of Warner Sallman's painting *Jesus, The Light of the World* (1955). It matches the size and appearance of lithograph prints of the painting produced by Kriebel & Bates (copyright 1956) that featured a textured glossy finish suggestive of an oil painting.[736] The picture is no longer in the building.

The other photograph taken between 1994-2000 appears to show a larger rectangular area of discoloration at the east end of the north wall, just above the wainscot. A rectangular board that appears to correspond to the size of this outline is visible hanging over the dais balustrade; this may have been a chalkboard. It is no longer in the building.

One of the photographs taken between 1994-2000 shows a small vase or compote containing flowers standing on one corner of the pulpit. This appears to have had a polygonal form with sloped sides, a shape common for milk glass, compotes, planters, and candy dishes of the period 1950-1970. The flowers were presumably artificial. The vase is no longer in the building.

A small crucifix is mounted on the wall of the sanctuary adjacent to the vestibule door. [**Figure 141**] The cross is of wood with a double border of gold stripes. A brass figure of Jesus Christ and a brass scroll bearing "INRI" are mounted to the cross. This crucifix appears to date from the period 1950-1970. A small plaque memorializing the 2000 renovation of the church hangs on the north wall of the vestibule. [**Figure 142**]

The dais is currently fitted with a painted backdrop composed of panels bearing a stylized image of the Hickman covered bridge (1838, demolished 1933) over the Kentucky River at the village of Camp Nelson. This was reportedly painted as the backdrop for a play presented in the building in the 2000s. It was in place in a music video filmed in the building in 2011 and released in 2012.[737]

736. Kriebel & Bates, an affiliate of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), was formed specifically to market Sallman's works. They produced hundreds of millions of prints of Sallman's better-known painting, Head of Christ (1940) over several decades, making his works a common sight in churches between the 1950s and the 1980s.
737. "Shooter Jennings – The Real Me (Music Video)," YouTube, posted 5 June 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVBmqAofmHI.

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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."[738] 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

738. 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 suggested period of significance of 1912 to 1924. The project team also identified a possible expanded period, which 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:[739]

- Epoch 1: 1912-1924 (Suggested Period of Significance)
    - Both local-level and 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.[740] 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,

739. 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.

740. 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.

and association. The retention of essential physical features from the period of significance is necessary for the property to have sufficient integrity to convey its significance. Character defining features of the church during its period of significance include its shape and form, cupola, original fenestration, concrete foundation, painted weatherboard siding and trim, interior spatial configuration of the vestibule and sanctuary, and interior features and finishes including a paneled wood door, bead-board wainscoting, smooth plaster walls and ceiling (now covered or removed), wood floors, dais balustrade, wood window and door casings, and the church bell.

Location
The building retains integrity of location. The building remains in its original location and has never been moved.

Design
The building retains integrity of design. The building's overall appearance, fenestration, spatial configuration, and most of its finish materials retain a high degree of integrity to the original 1912 design. Alterations postdating the period of significance have been comparatively minor, including unsympathetic replacements of the entry doors, removal of the west louver of the cupola, and later treatments in place of interior flat plaster surfaces.

Setting
The building retains integrity of setting. The immediate surroundings of the church are a mowed lawn and likely resemble their conditions during the period of significance. The site's wider context has changed since the period of significance through the demolition of the other buildings of the Fee Memorial Institute campus, including the large dormitory, school, and manse, the demolition of many of the historic buildings on neighboring blocks, and the transformation of the surrounding land from agricultural uses to new-growth forest. Despite these changes, the setting continues to convey the basic physical conditions under which the building was construction and the functions it was designed to serve.

Materials
The building retains integrity of materials. Aside from the cast-in-place concrete foundation, the building's materials are modest, mass-produced items like wood weatherboard siding, tongue-and-groove bead-board, and wood windows, which are all representative of the period of construction. Some of the siding was replaced in kind during the 2000-2005 renovation and during subsequent repairs in 2011-2012. The most notable alteration to the building's interior materials was the removal or covering of the original plaster surfaces of the upper walls and ceilings with modern materials including acoustical tiles and plywood paneling.

Workmanship
The building retains integrity of workmanship. The board-formed concrete foundation, interior and exterior wooden components, including mass-produced items like wood weatherboard siding, tongue-and-groove bead-board, wood windows, and a paneled wood door are all representative of the workmanship of both factory-based craftspeople and craftspeople working in the field to construct the building during the 1910s.

Feeling
The building retains integrity of feeling in its present condition. Feeling is an intangible quality of a historic property that evokes the sense and experience of the period of significance. The building's exterior and interior character, interior spatial volumes, and exterior and interior materials and finishes contribute to its integrity of feeling.

Association
The building retains a high degree of integrity of association. The building itself is a direct link to the story of the community of Ariel / Hall during the twentieth century, and it is the last remaining building from the Fee Memorial Institute campus connected to the experiences of the African Americans who settled on the site of the National Home for Colored Refugees in the late-1860s, the people educated at Ariel Academy/Camp Nelson Academy/Fee Memorial Institute between 1868 and 1924, and the broader experiences of Black Kentuckians on the site during the Civil War.

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Part 2 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.*[741]

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."[742]

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 Memorial Church is a historic structure and is therefore subject to the provisions of KBC

741. 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.

742. Kyle Bernard to Ernest Price, Memorandum (Trip Report), H30 (HPTC), 21 June 2021.

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.[743] 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."[744]

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 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."[745]

Recommended Ultimate Treatments

The Fee Memorial Church's Management Category has not yet been determined and Camp Nelson 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*.[746]

743. International Building Code Council, 2015 International Existing Building Code, Fifth Printing, (Country Club Hills, IL: Publications, 2014).
744. Ibid.
745. "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).
746. 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.[747]

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.

747. 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.

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 park headquarters 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. Resource managers will develop and adapt an IPM plan to meet the needs of the resource.

Preservation work should be assumed to include the following:

Consider the interpretive potential of maintenance, repair, and preservation work.

Stabilization Design Phase

- Hazardous materials testing is not within the scope of this HSR. It is recommended that a Phase I Environmental Site Assessment (ESA) be undertaken to identify hazardous substances or other environmental conditions that may need to be addressed. Based on the age of the building, it is likely that lead asbestos, or other hazardous materials have been present in the building, and that some may remain.
- 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 selective removal of exterior and interior finishes to expose underlying structural components and selective excavation 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

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. Camp Nelson 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 (ACCUs). 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 Camp Nelson National Monument staff do not anticipate the separate visitor center, contact station, office, storage, or primary maintenance facility at Fee Memorial Church, a restroom may be desirable to support visitor and programming use of the Fee Memorial Church.
  - 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 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.
- Camp Nelson 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 not change the character of the windows. Storm sash should be placed on the exterior to protect the historic sash, should be mounted within the existing window frames, should be painted to match the sash color, should include frames the same size or narrower than the sash rails and stiles, should not replicate the muntins of the sash, and should provide adequate weepholes at the sill to allow the removal of any condensation. 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. [**Figure 54**] Provide compliant hardware for access.
- Maintain existing exterior finish scheme (monochrome white). Prepare, prime, and paint all exterior wood surfaces. Surface preparation for repainting should removal of loose or delaminated finishes down to a stable surface tow which new finishes can adhere.
- 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. The historic hardware should be maintained if possible. If hardware modification is necessary 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 Camp Nelson National Monument.
- Install fire suppression system.
- Consider providing 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 will be necessary to limit the number of visitors and staff in the building at any one time to fifty or fewer if the historic configuration of the in-swing entry and vestibule doors is to be retained. 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. 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).
- If restrooms outside the building are constructed, they should meet accessibility standards (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.[748]

748. 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.

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.

Alternative Treatments

An alternative treatment for the Fee Memorial Church would be an exterior Restoration and interior Rehabilitation treatment. This treatment would include sympathetic adaptations to support interpretive use of the interior while restoring the exterior 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. Exterior 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. Features not present during the period of interpretation that are needed to support preservation of the building's historic fabric (e.g. gutters and downspouts to conduct rainwater away from the walls and windows) could be installed. The interior's character-defining features and historic fabric would be retained, but features postdating the period of interpretation (e.g. the electric pendant lights) could be maintained. 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 and Restoration 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.
>
> Restoration is defined as the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a restoration project. The Restoration Standards allow for the depiction of a building at a particular time in its history by preserving materials, features, finishes, and spaces from its period of significance and removing those from other periods.[749]

Rehabilitation of the Fee Memorial Church will address long-term maintenance problems, including rainwater management, while accommodating interpretive and programmatic needs of Camp Nelson 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

749. Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (Revised) (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017) 2-3, https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf.

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 Camp Nelson National Monument headquarters 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.
- Hazardous materials testing is not within the scope of this HSR. It is recommended that a Phase I Environmental Site Assessment (ESA) be undertaken to identify hazardous substances or other environmental conditions that may need to be addressed. Based on the age of the building, it is likely that lead asbestos, or other hazardous materials have been present in the building, and that some may remain.
- 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 selective removal of exterior and interior finishes to expose underlying structural components and selective excavation 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

  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. Camp Nelson 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 (ACCUs). 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 Camp Nelson National Monument staff do not anticipate the need for a separate visitor center, contact station, office, storage, or primary maintenance facility at the parcel containing Fee Memorial Church, a restroom may be desirable to support visitor and programming use of the Fee Memorial Church.
  - 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 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.
- Camp Nelson 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.[750] Prepare, prime, and paint all exterior wood surfaces. Surface preparation for repainting should removal of loose or delaminated finishes down to a stable surface tow which new finishes can adhere.
- 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 not change the character of the windows. Storm sash should be placed on the exterior to protect the historic sash, should be mounted within the existing window frames, should be painted to match the sash color, should include frames the same size or narrower than the sash rails and stiles, should not replicate the muntins of the sash, and should provide adequate weepholes at the sill to allow the removal of any condensation. 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 with new doors matching the appearance of the lost historic entry doors. [**Figure 54**] 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.

750. 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.

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. The historic hardware should be maintained if possible. If hardware modification is necessary 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 Camp Nelson National Monument.
- Install fire suppression system.
- Consider providing 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 will be necessary to limit the number of visitors and staff in the building at any one time to fifty or fewer if the historic configuration of the in-swing entry and vestibule doors is to be retained. 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. 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).
- If restrooms outside of the building are constructed, they should meet accessibility standards (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, and an updated survey form for the resource should be submitted to the Kentucky Heritage Council. 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 suggested 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.

The property should be evaluated to determine whether it possesses national-level significance as an example of a congregation and school supported by the national Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Any future nomination could consider eligibility under Criterion C, as a well-preserved vernacular example of an African American religious structure in rural Kentucky.

Future Building Uses

Preliminary discussions among NPS staff have identified the following appropriate activities and uses for the Fee Memorial Church:

Interpretation and programing:

- 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).[751]

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."[752] 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.[753] 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.[754]

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.[755] "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."[756]

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 of ferrous metal features, and accelerate the deterioration of wooden components.[757]

Increasing temperatures are associated with an increased frequency and intensity of severe weather. Tornadoes and high winds present a particular threat to the building.[758] 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

751. 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.
752. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 6.
753. 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.
754. 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.
755. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 2, 4-5.
756. Nicholas Fisichelli, *Climate Change Trends for Planning at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park, Kentucky* (National Park Service, 3 June 2013), 6.
757. Ibid.
758. "A history of twisters: Tornadoes in Kentucky since 1950," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), accessed 13 October 2021, https://data.courier-journal.com/tornado-archive/.

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).[759] 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).[760]

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."[761] 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."[762]

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.

759. NOAA Historical Hurricane Tracks, National Ocean Service, accessed 13 October 2021, https://oceanservice.noaa.gov/news/historical-hurricanes/.

760. 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).

761. 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.

762. John B. Jarvis, February 10, 2014, 2.

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.[763] 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.

763. 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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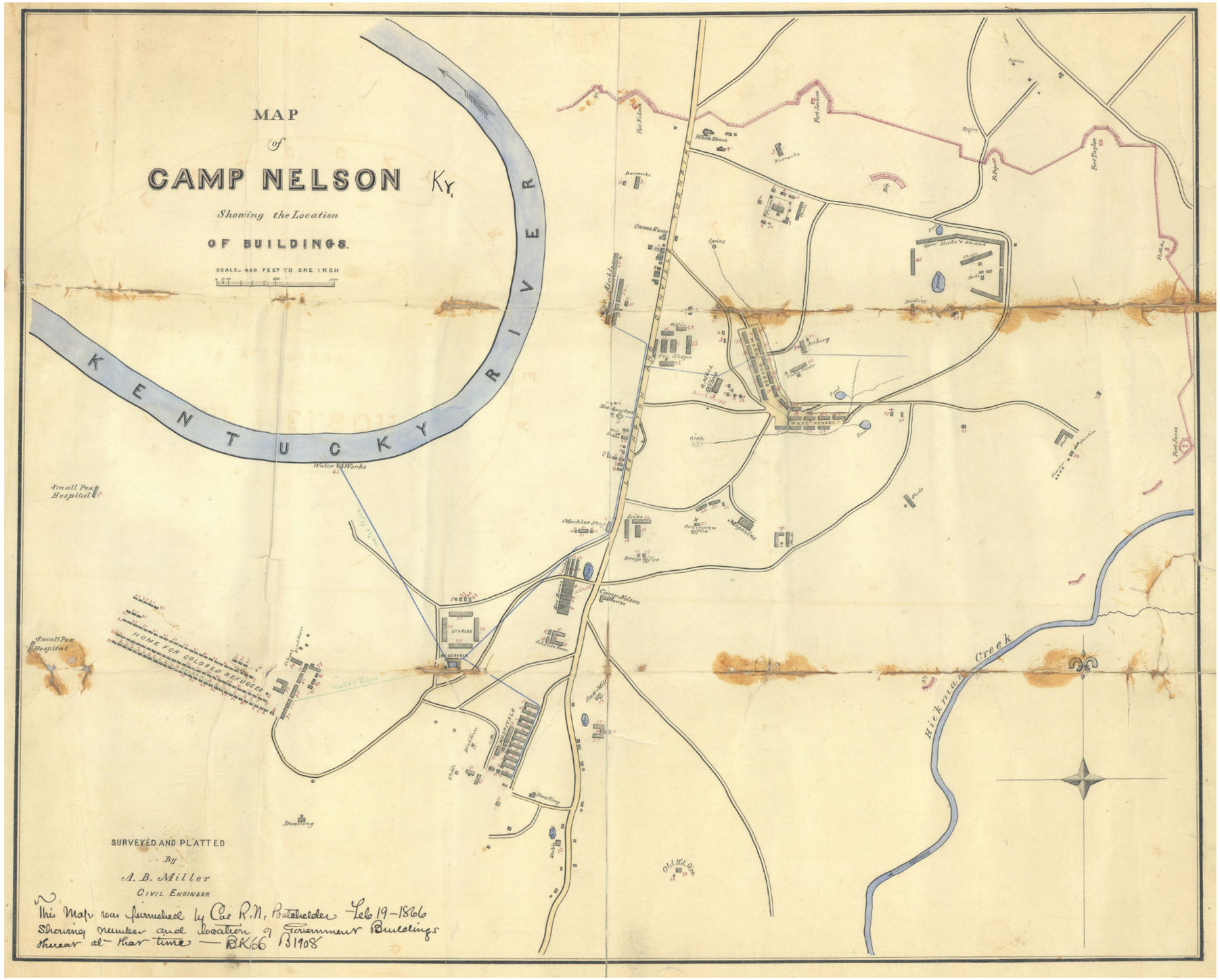
Appendix A. Historic Maps

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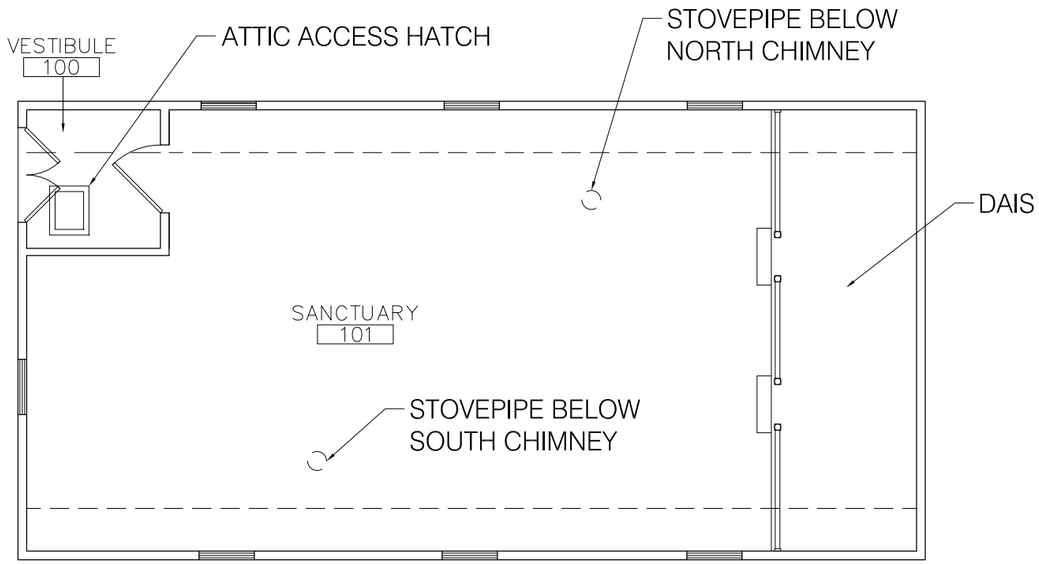
"Map of Camp Nelson Showing the Locations of Buildings." Miller, A. B.
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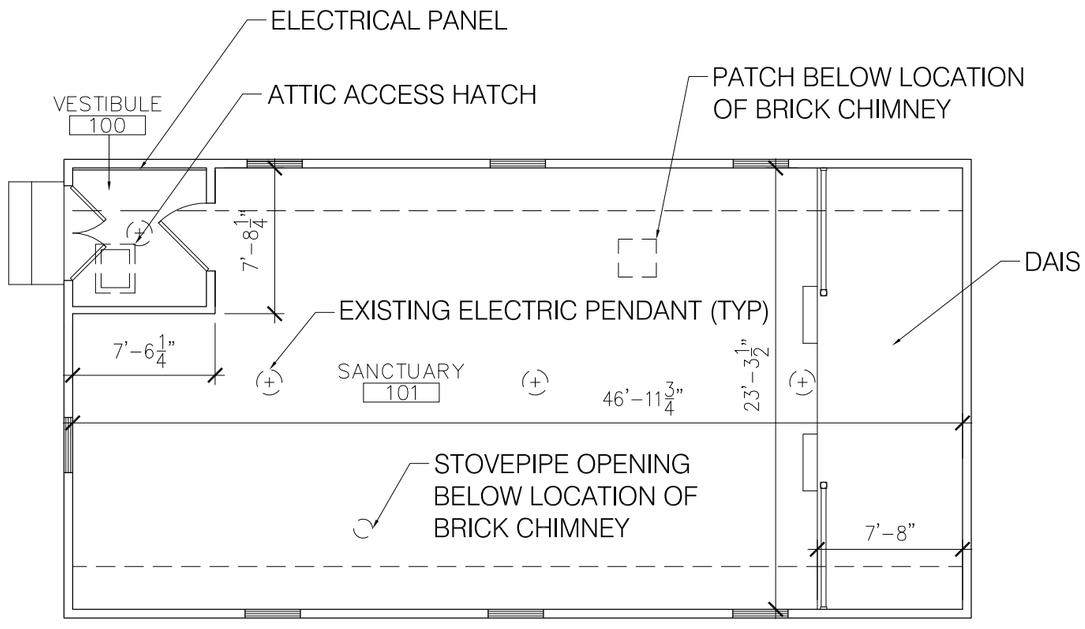
Appendix B. Developmental History Drawings and Maps

Sheet 1	**Reconstructed First Floor Plan 1912 / Existing First Floor Plan**
Sheet 2	**Reconstructed West Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation**
Sheet 3	**Reconstructed North Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation**
Sheet 4	**Reconstructed East Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation**
Sheet 5	**Reconstructed South Elevation 1912 / Existing West Elevation**
Sheet 6	**Reconstructed Section 1912 / Section Facing West**
Sheet 7	**Reconstructed South Interior 1912 / Existing South Interior Elevation**
Sheet 8	**Manse associated with Fee Memorial Institute and Fee 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 Floor Plan

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Fee Memorial Church
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, INTERIOR REGION 2

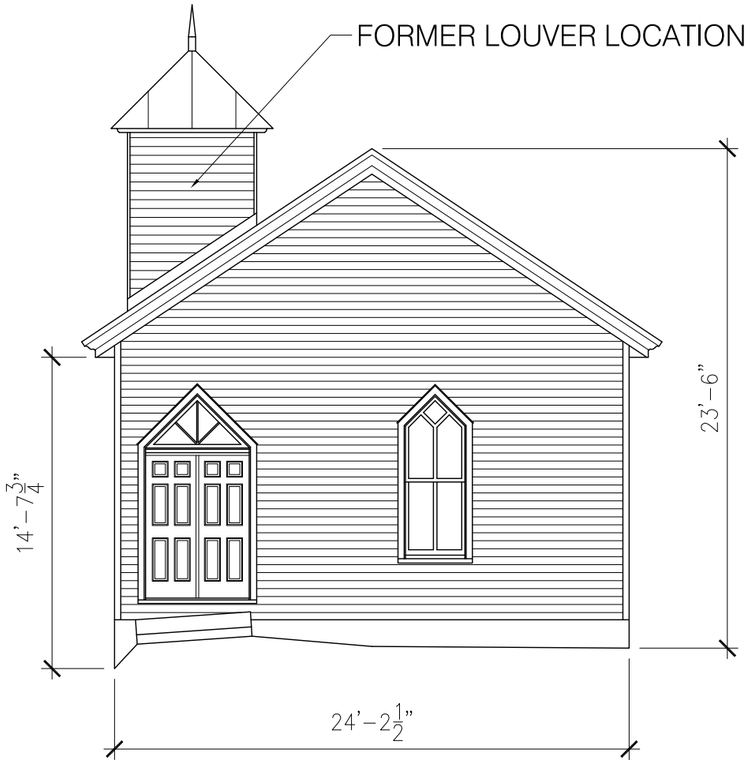
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Reconstructed West Elevation 1912



Existing West Elevation

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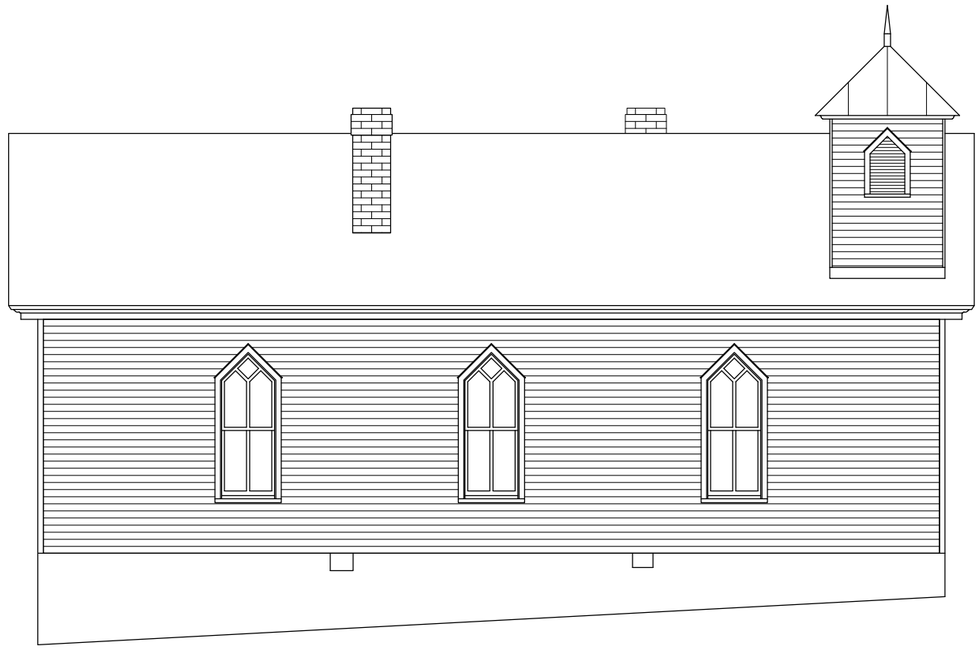
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Fee Memorial Church
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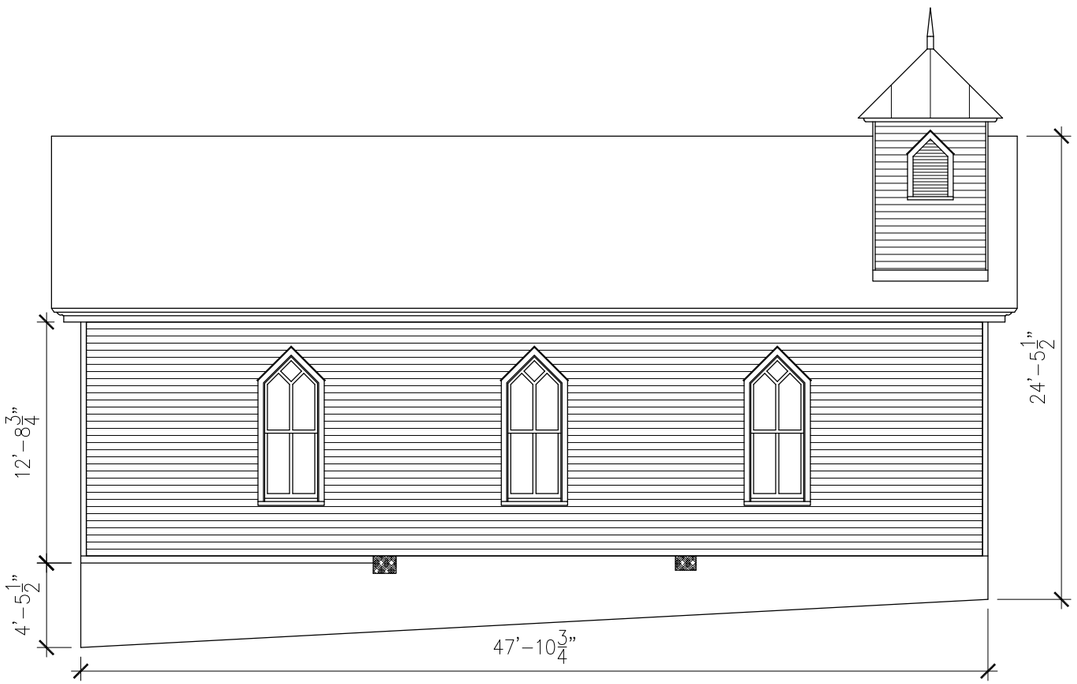
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Reconstructed North Elevation 1912



Existing North Elevation

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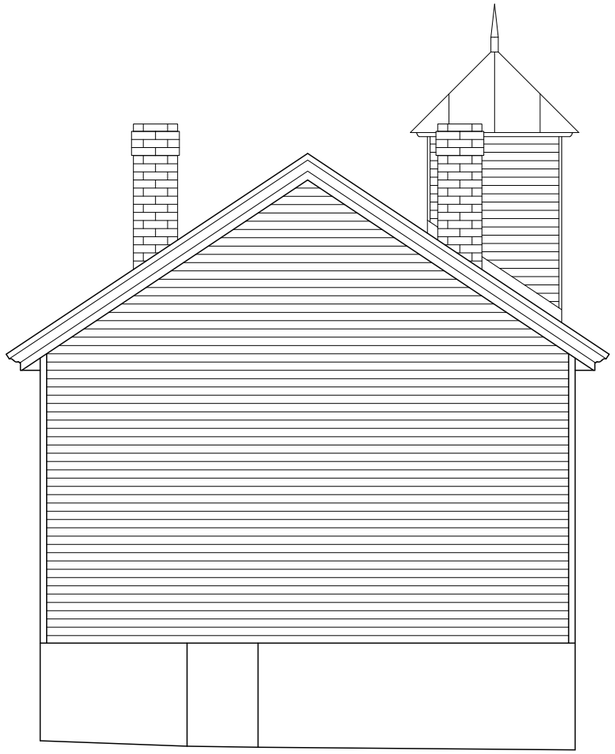
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Fee Memorial Church
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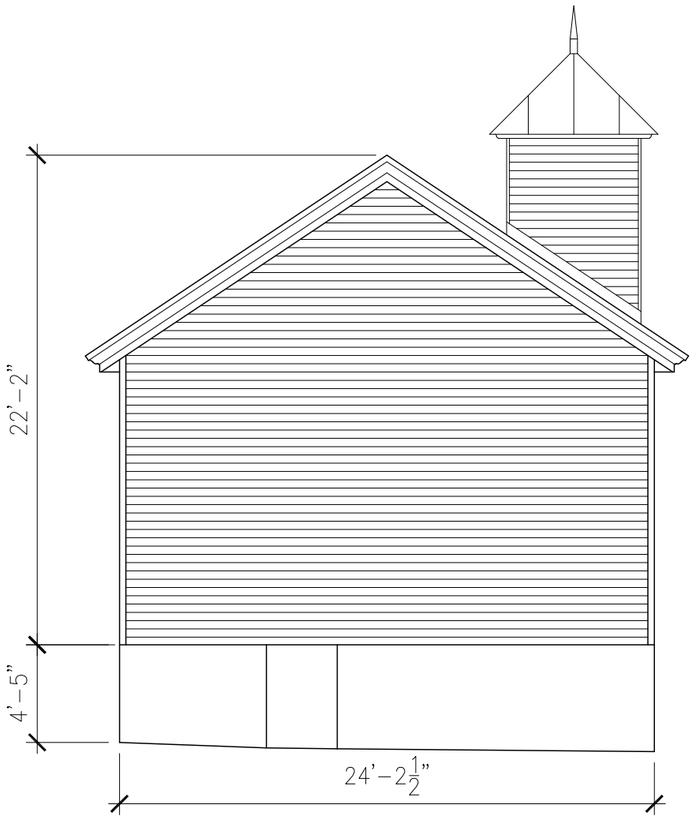
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Reconstructed East Elevation 1912



Existing East Elevation

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Fee Memorial Church
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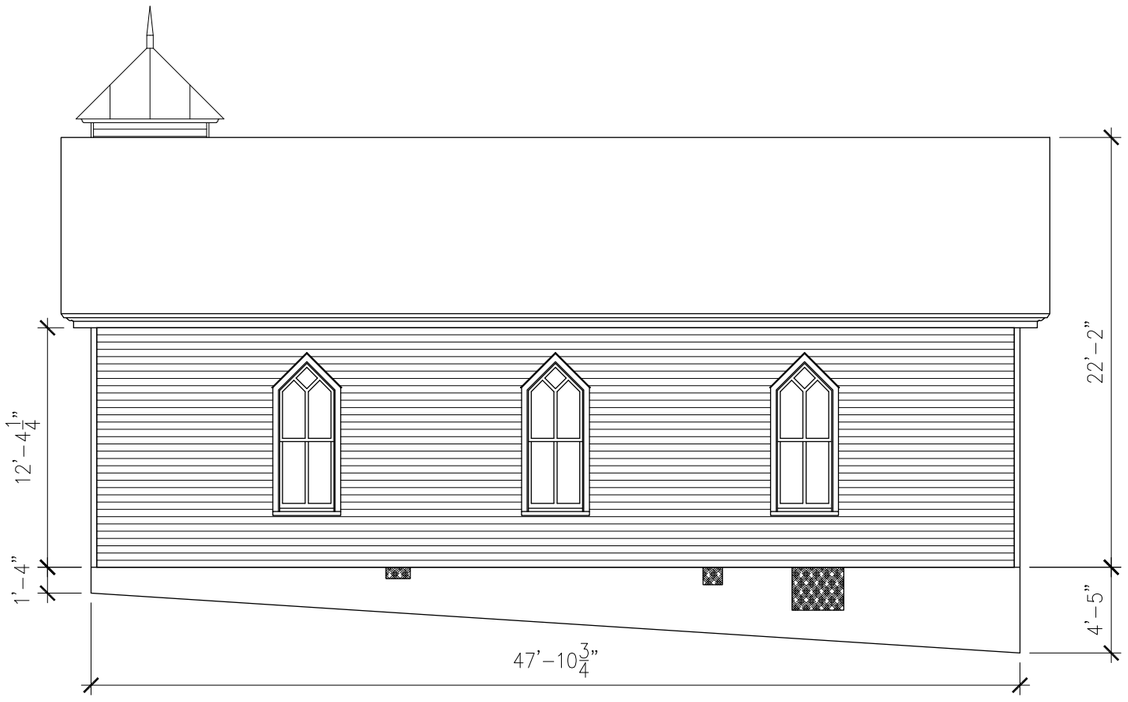
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Reconstructed South Elevation 1912



Existing South Elevation

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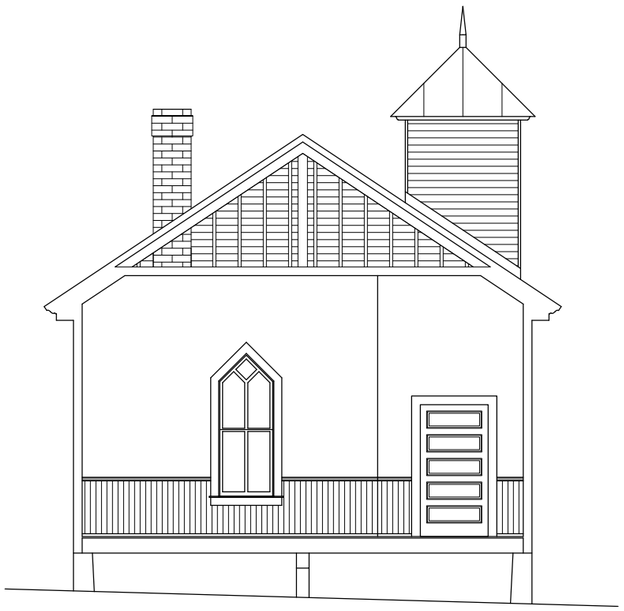
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Fee Memorial Church
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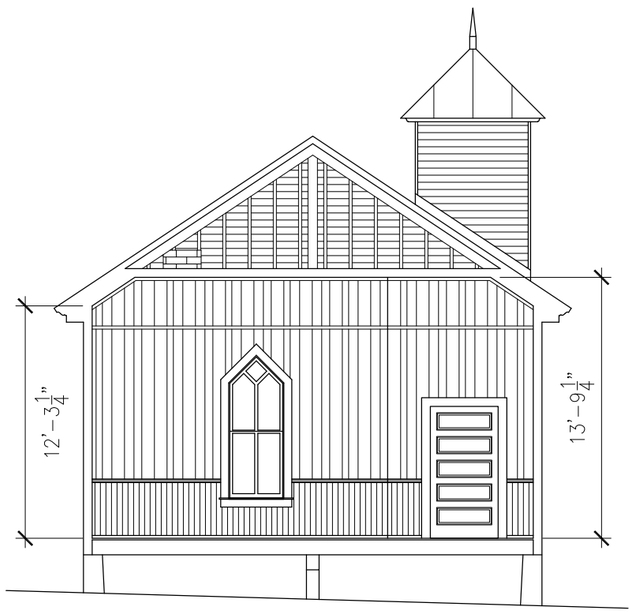
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Reconstructed Section 1912



Existing Section

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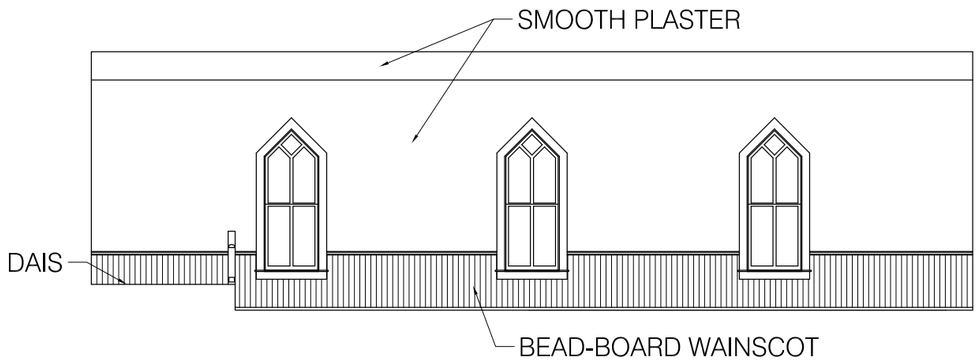
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Fee Memorial Church
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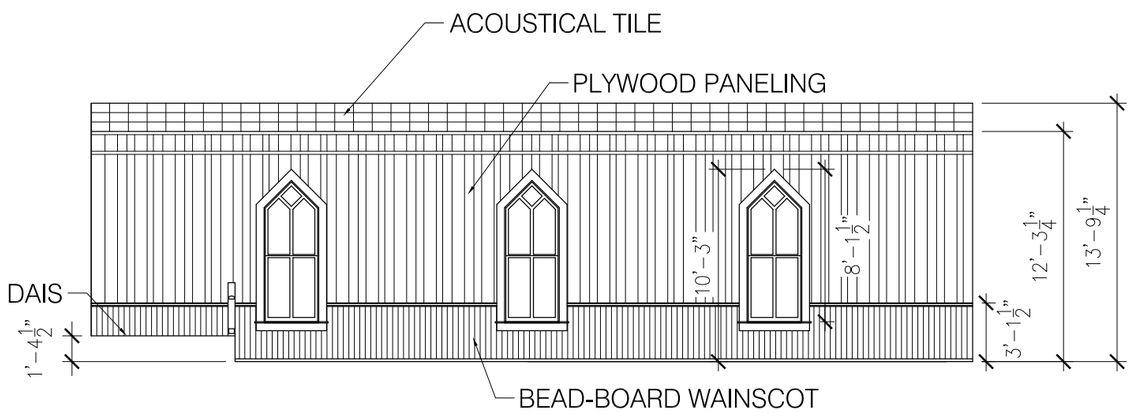
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Reconstructed South Interior Elevation 1912



Existing South Interior Elevation

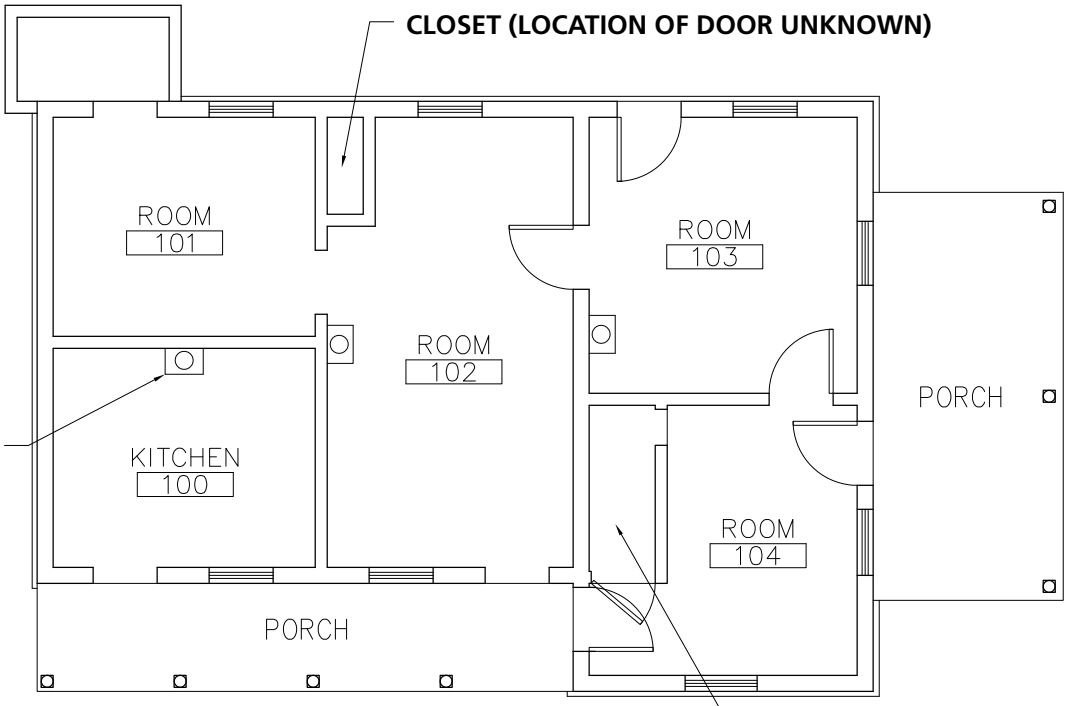
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Fee Memorial Church
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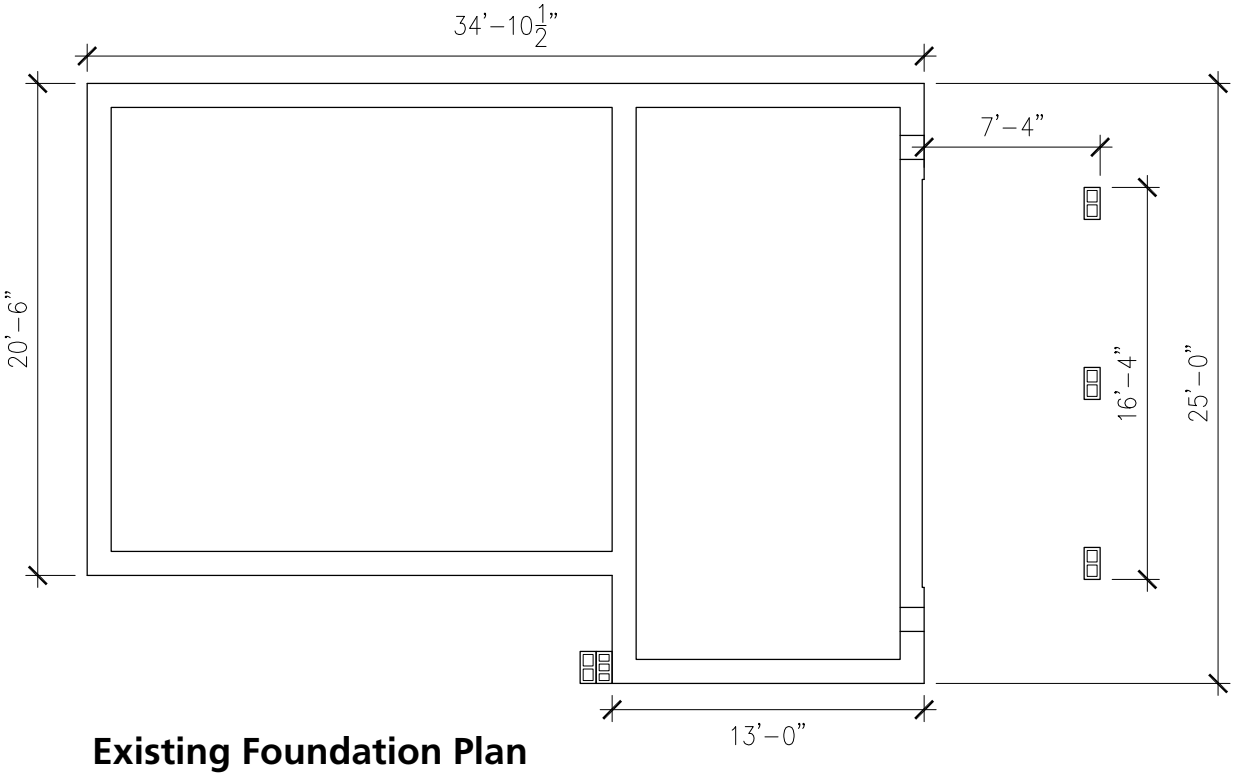
RECORDED BY:
BEN ROSS
RATIO

SCALE:
NOTED

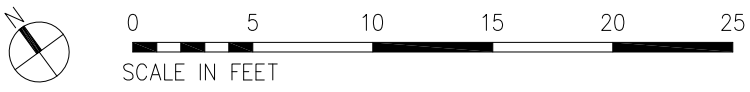
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APPENDIX B:
SHEET
7



Reconstructed First Floor Plan



Existing Foundation Plan



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.

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RECORDED BY:
BEN ROSS
RATIO

SCALE:
NOTED

HSR
APPENDIX B:
SHEET
8

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HAY SHEDS

SOLDIERS' HOME

STABLES

WATER CONVEYANCE

RESERVOIR

HOME FOR COLORED REFUGEES AREA

HOSPITAL AREA

NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY

DWELLING

0 400 800

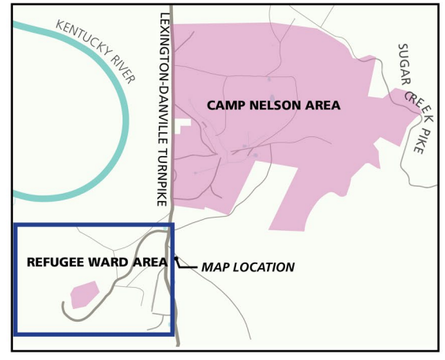
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Illustration Key

- 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



Sheet 9

1866- National Home for Colored Refugees Area

Camp Nelson National Monument

November 2021

CULTIVATED FIELDS

APPARENT FENCELINE
MOWN OR DIRT ROADS

CAMP NELSON COMMUNITY CEMETERY

W.S. OVERSTREET HOUSE

BROWN ST

TEVIS HOUSE

APPARENT BOUNDARY OF FORMER FEE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE CAMPUS PARCEL

ROW ST

WALK HOUSE

BAPTIST CHURCH

FRONT ST

HALL RD

HALL ROAD

LEXINGTON-DANVILLLE TURNPIKE

BOOKER HOUSE

RIVER ST

POSSIBLE SITE OF SCHOOL/RECITATION

DORMITORY (LIKELY LOCATION)

PUBLIC SCHOOL

PARSONAGE/MANSE

FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH

SECOND ST

BENEVOLENT HALL

PAYNE HOUSE

CALDWELL HOUSE

MAIN ST

CHURCH STREET

NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY

TO POORTOWN

WILLIAMS HOUSE

WILLIAMS BARN

MOSS ALLEY

OVERSTREET HOUSE/STORE

CARPENTER HOUSE

CULTIVATED FIELDS

N

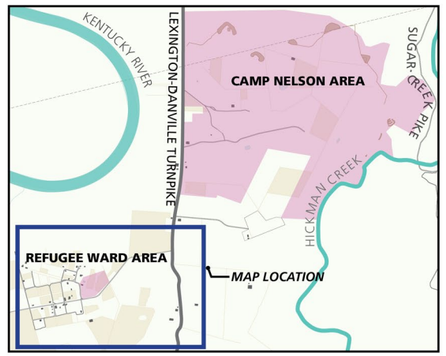
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Illustration Key

- 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



Sheet 10

1937- Village of Hall

Camp Nelson National Monument

November 2021

RICKHOUSES

CAMP NELSON COMMUNITY CEMETERY

BAPTIST CHURCH

COMMUNITY CENTER

ISOM ST

PAYNE LN

CHURCH ST

PARSONAGE/MANSE

FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH

APPARENT FENCELINE

HALL ROAD

US-27 DANVILLE ROAD

BOWLES ST

CHURCH ST

FIELD OR PASTURE EDGE

TO POORTOWN

HALL ROAD

CARPENTER HOUSE

WILLIAMS HOUSE

OVERSTREET ST

SPRING ST

0 400 800

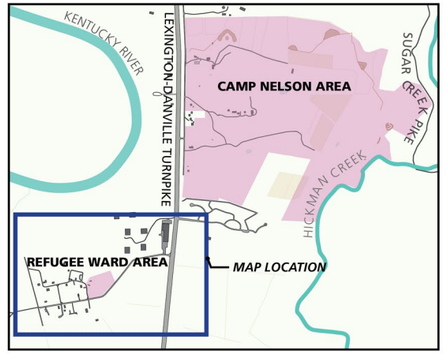
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Illustration Key

- APPROXIMATE NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY
- APPROXIMATE TREELINE
- WATER
- CULTIVATED FIELDS
- PASTURE/GRASS

Notes:
1. Fencelines approximated from aerial imagery and known existing fences.

Credits:
1. ESRI
2. Historic Aerials, NETR Online
3. Google Earth



Sheet 11

1998- Village of Hall

Camp Nelson National Monument

November 2021

Appendix C. Structural Assessment

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ENGINEERING CONSULTANTS

Fee Memorial Church

Historic Structure Report

Camp Nelson National Monument

Structural Assessment



Building Location:
Hall, Kentucky

Review Completed For:
Ratio Architects
101 South Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis, In

Field Assessment Made On:
October 13-15, 2020

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Purpose of this Assessment

This report is the property of Lawson Elser, Inc. and is provided for sole use by Ratio Architects. This report describes a visual condition assessment of the structure of the existing Fee Memorial Church, Hall Kentucky. It is not intended for use by any other party, or without the express written permission of Lawson Elser, Inc.

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. For this report, the front entrance will be referred to as the west side and the remaining cardinal directions will follow accordingly. *See Figure 1, and Figure 2.*

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. *See DWG S1.* 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. *See DWG S3.* 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

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of many of the joists, likely cause by powder post beetles. *See Figure 3.* 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. *See Figure 4.* 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. *See Figure 5.* The beam has spans that range from 5'-0" to 12'-0" maximum between column supports. Only one of the spans is 12 feet, the rest are 5 feet to 6 feet typical. The ends of the beam are supported in direct bearing on the east and west concrete foundation walls. *See Figure 6.* The beam is resting on the interior columns in simple bearing, with no visible anchorage between the two. *See* Figure 7.

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. *See Figure 8,Figure 9,Figure 10.* 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. *See Figure 11.* 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.

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Perimeter Concrete Foundation Walls

The exterior foundation walls support the wood framed walls and floor joists and are constructed of board formed concrete. *See Figure 12.* 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. *See Figure 13.* 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. *See Figure 14.* 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. *See Figure 15, Figure 16, Figure 17.* There is a smaller crack repair at the southwest corner of the foundation made with a metal strap bolted to the concrete. *See Figure 18.* 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 the 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. The cracks themselves should be filled with backer rod and sealant to prevent water infiltration into the crawlspace.

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.

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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. *See Figure 19.* This condition exists at the bottom of the north wall near the front stage. The area was opened slightly by removing some rotted 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 is 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. There does not appear to be substantial structural damage to the exterior shear walls that would trigger a requirement to bring them up to current wind and seismic design load. However, it may be desirable to modify the walls, so they do meet current wind and seismic load requirements. This would require adding new plywood panels or strap bracing to portions of the walls, which may affect some of the historic fabric of the structure.

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 of 1.75" x 6" of sloped wood rafters spaced at 24 inches on center. *See DWG S2.* 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. *See Figure 20.* This vertical member is intended to provide support for the ceiling joist at the midspan by transferring load to the roof rafters. 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 is it is recommended that new vents be added to allow for better air circulation in the attic.

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The roofing material consists of standing seam metal over a wood decking material and is not original. 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 in those areas where visible.

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. *See Figure 21.* It is not clear why this small portion of brick was not removed, but the joists supporting this weight should be modified with steel angles or channels to ensure structural integrity if the brick is to remain. Additional study is needed to design the required modifications.

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. *See Figure 22.* 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 since 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 from above, 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.

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Photos are attached to illustrate some of the findings of this report.

We appreciate the opportunity to provide a structural condition assessment of the Fee Memorial Church. Let us know if we can be of further service regarding this building.

Sincerely,

Michael J. Lawson
Professional Engineer

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Figure 1. View of the west side of the structure.



Figure 2. View of the east side of the structure. The door allows access to the crawlspace.

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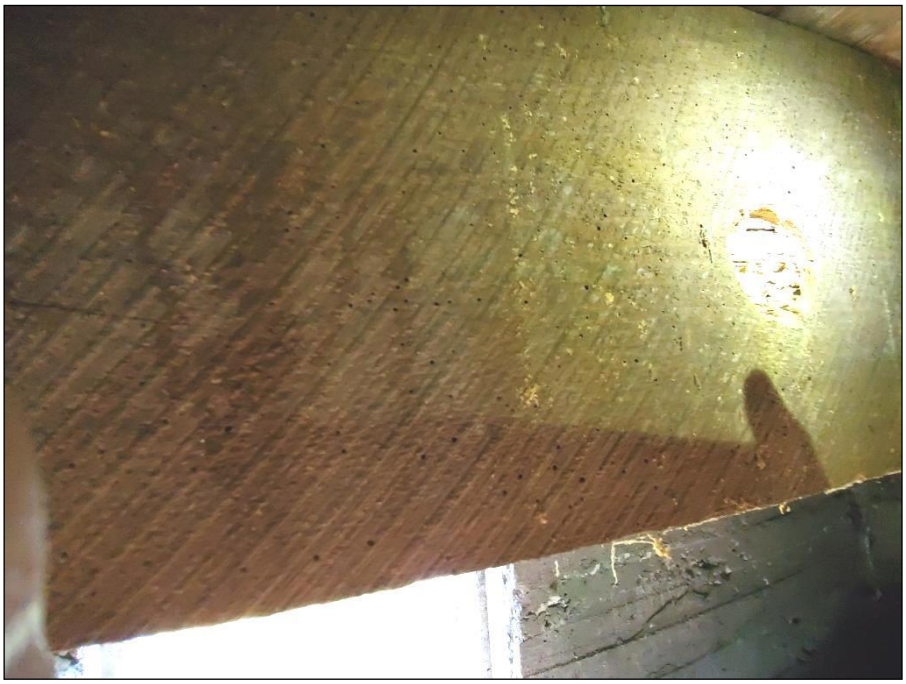


Figure 3. Wood floor joists with small pinholes caused by insects.



Figure 4. Internal damage caused by insects behind the pinholes seen throughout the wood floor framing.

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Figure 5. Central wood floor beam as seen from the crawlspace.



Figure 6. East end of central floor beam where it bears on the concrete foundation

©Lawson Elser, Inc.



Figure 7. Central wood floor beam at a columns support. The beam is not anchored to the columns.



Figure 8. Concrete column supporting the central floor beam.

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Figure 9. Stone column supporting the central floor beam.



Figure 10. Wood column supporting the central floor beam.

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Figure 11. Footing under the east wood column.



Figure 12. Board formed concrete foundation wall as seen on the south side of the structure below the wood siding. This foundation wall occurs on all four sides of the structure.

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Figure 13. Wood plate on top of the concrete foundation wall which provides bearing for the floor joists. The plate does not appear to be anchored to the foundation wall.



Figure 14. View along the east foundation looking north. The wall has shifted outward approximately 2.5 inches at the maximum.

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Figure 15. Steel angle repair to the foundation wall crack on the crawlspace side. There is a corresponding angle on the outside of the wall at each location.



Figure 16. Steel angle repair to the foundation wall crack on the outside. There is a corresponding angle on the inside of the wall at each location.

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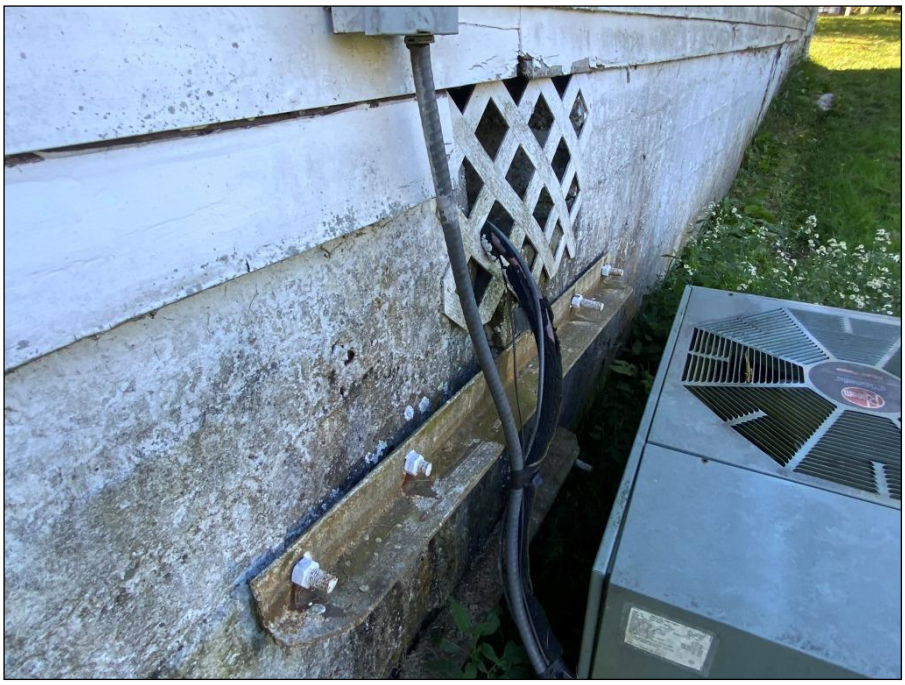


Figure 17. Single angle crack repair on the outside behind the air conditioner. This crack occurs at a crawlspace vent opening in the foundation wall.



Figure 18. Steel strap repair at a small crack in the foundation on the south corner of the foundation wall.

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Figure 19. Water damaged, rotted wall stud on the inside of the north wall as seen from inside the structure.



Figure 20. Roof rafters and vertical wood member extending from the apex of the rafters down to the ceiling joists. The wood plank decking can be seen in this photo.

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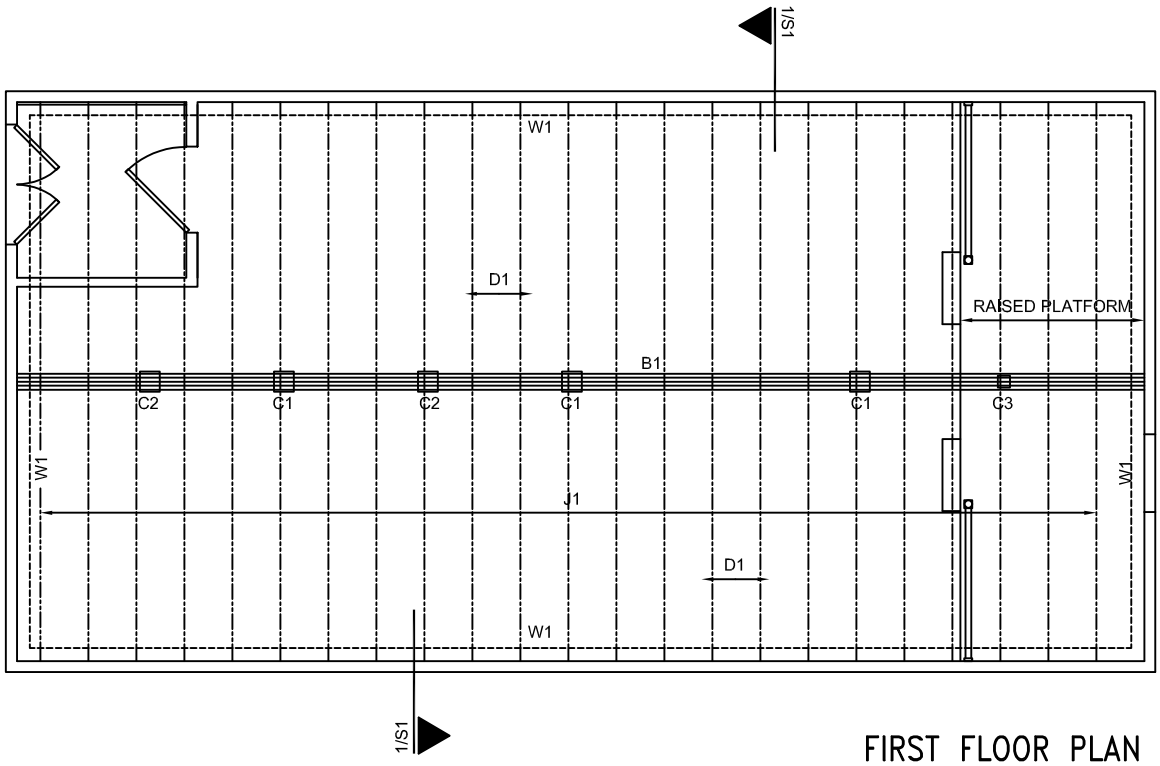


Figure 21. Remnant of a brick chimney above the ceiling in the attic. Additional steel support should be provided to support this weight on the ceiling.



Figure 22. View of the cupola looking up from the attic access opening in the ceiling over the west entry showing wood framing and the iron bell.

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FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SCALE: 1/8"=1'-0"

PLAN NORTH

TRUE NORTH

LEGEND

C1	CONCRETE COLUMN
C2	STONE COLUMN
C3	WOOD COLUMN
J1	WOOD JOIST - 1.75" x 9.5" AT 24" O.C.
B1	WOOD BEAM - 8" x 9.5"
D1	WOOD DECK OVER JOISTS
D2	WOOD DECK OVER WOOD ROOF PURLINS
W1	CONCRETE FOUNDATION WALL
W2	WOOD STUD WALLS - 1.75"x3.75" AT 16" O.C.
R1	WOOD ROOF RAFTERS 1.75"x6" @ 24" O.C.

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CARMEL, INDIANA 46032
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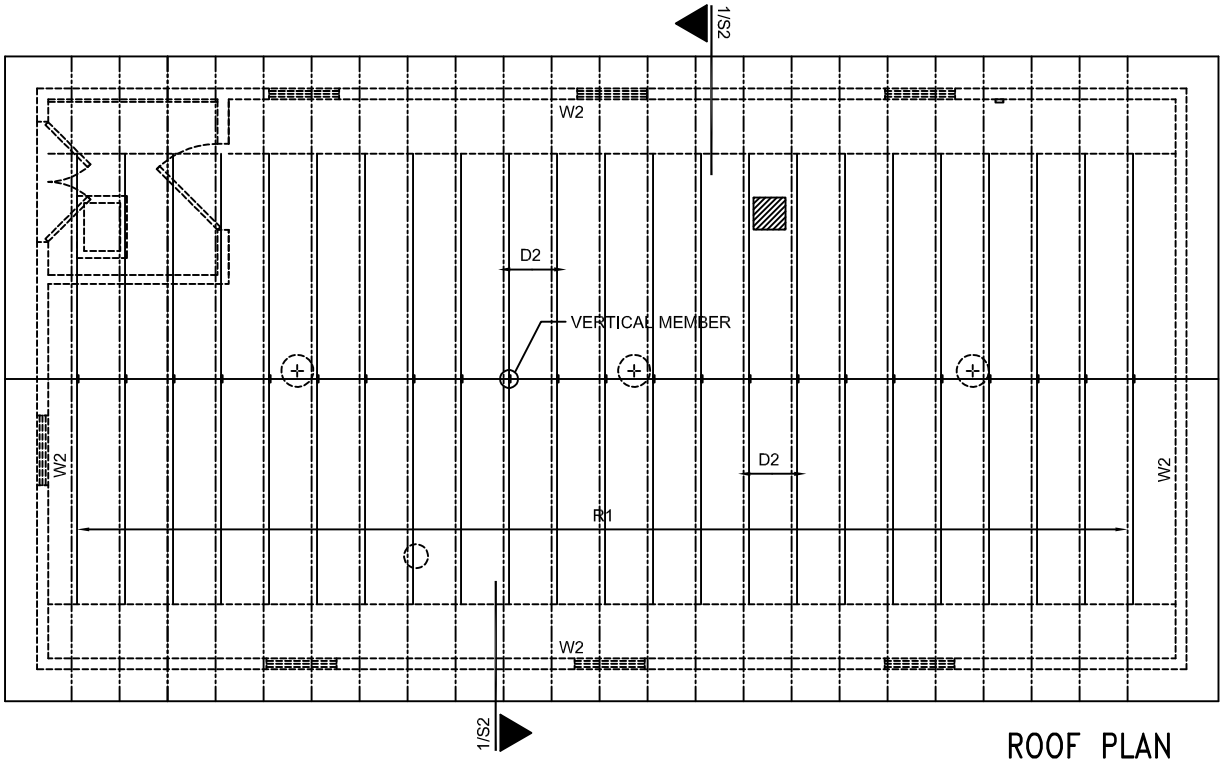
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FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT

TITLE
STRUCTURE - FIRST FLOOR FRAMING PLAN

SCALE 1/8"=1'-0"

DATE 03-15-22

DWG. NO. DWG S1



ROOF PLAN
SCALE: 1/8"=1'-0"


PLAN NORTH


TRUE NORTH

LEGEND

C1	CONCRETE COLUMN
C2	STONE COLUMN
C3	WOOD COLUMN
J1	WOOD JOIST - 1.75" x 9.5" AT 24" O.C.
B1	WOOD BEAM - 8" x 9.5"
D1	WOOD DECK OVER JOISTS
D2	WOOD DECK OVER WOOD ROOF PURLINS
W1	CONCRETE FOUNDATION WALL
W2	WOOD STUD WALLS - 1.75"x3.75" AT 16" O.C.
R1	WOOD ROOF RAFTERS 1.75"x6" @ 24" O.C.

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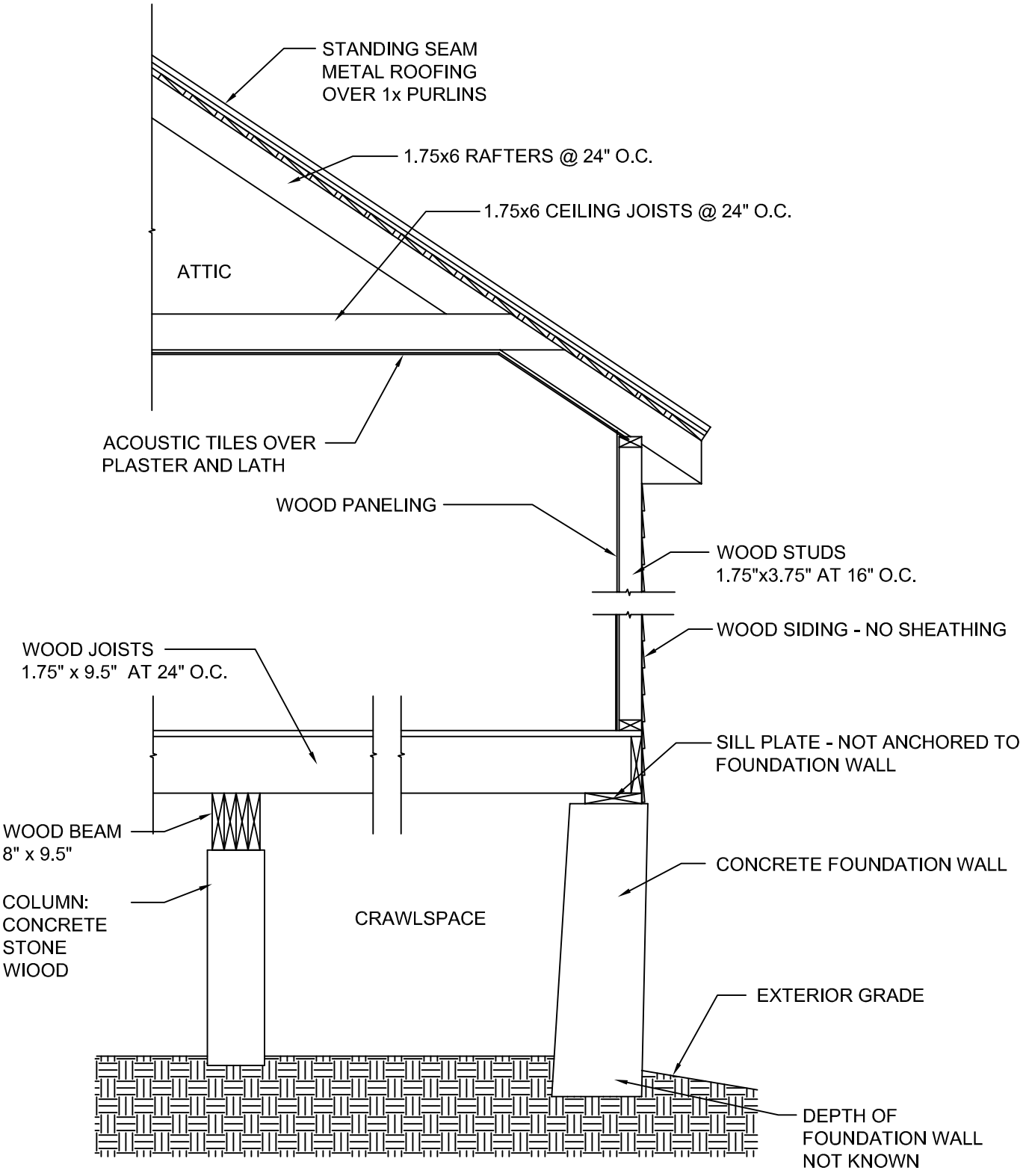
PROJECT
FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT

TITLE
STRUCTURE - ROOF FRAMING PLAN

SCALE 1/8"=1'-0"

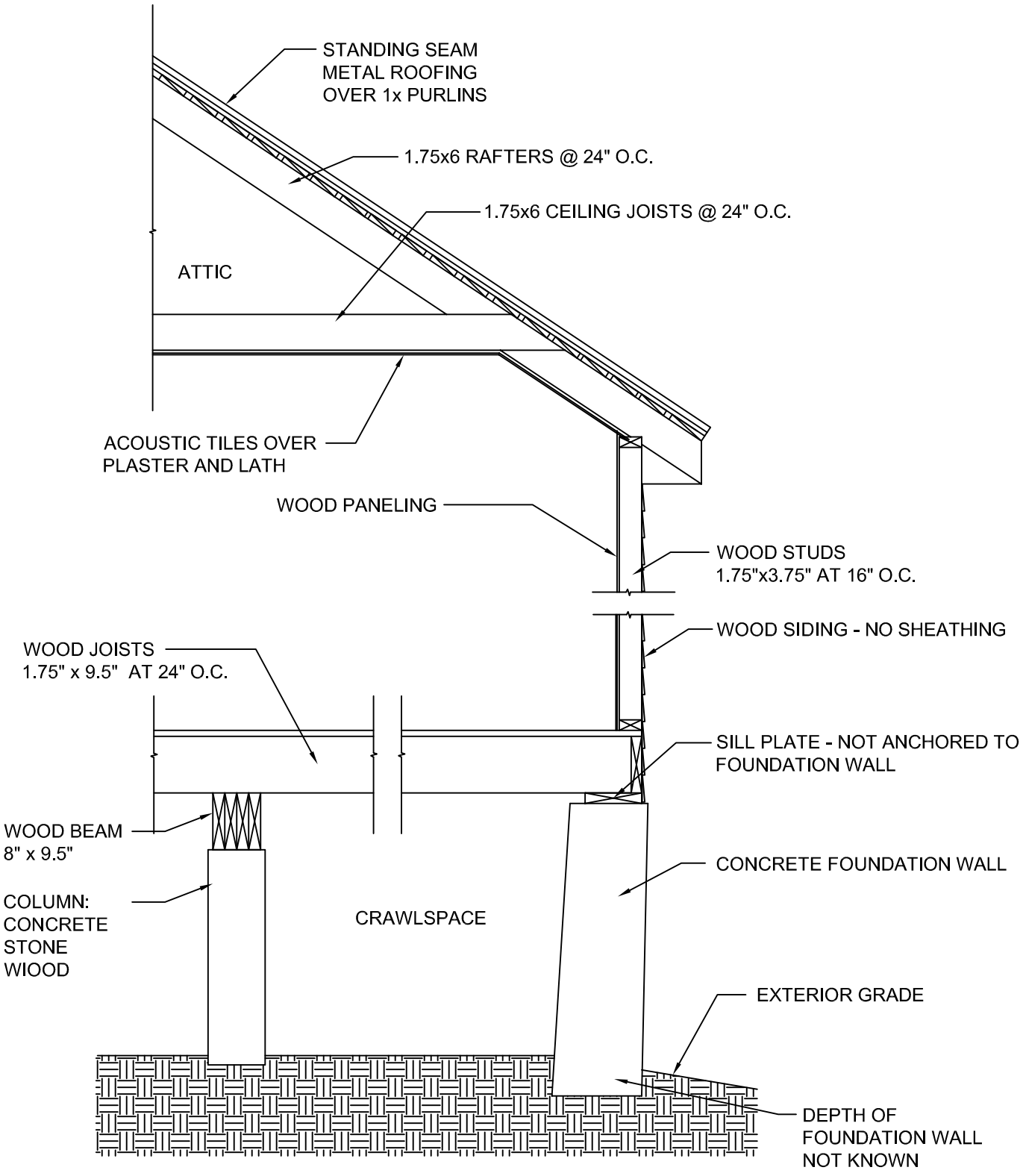
DATE 03-15-22

DWG. NO. DWG S2



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PROJ. NO. 2016	PROJECT FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT		SCALE 1/2"=1'-0"
			DATE 03-15-22
	TITLE STRUCTURE - APPROXIMATE WALL SECTION		DWG. NO. DWG S3



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PROJ. NO.	PROJECT	SCALE
2016	FEE MEMORIAL CHURCH HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT CAMP NELSON NATIONAL MONUMENT	1/2"=1'-0"
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Appendix D. Additional Historical Information

Brief Overview of Other Black Churches in Jessamine County, Kentucky

According to historian Marion B. Lucas, "In towns and communities scattered throughout the Commonwealth [of Kentucky], sufficiently prosperous blacks organized autonomous, separate churches, mostly after about 1840." He notes that in Danville, fifteen miles southwest of Camp Nelson, "both the black Presbyterians and Baptists began meeting separately from the white. In 1841 with the permission of the First Presbyterian Church, blacks repaired the "old church" and began evening prayer meetings and Sunday afternoon services, probably with a white present."[764] A similar trend appears to have taken place in Nicholasville, located north of Camp Nelson.

A *History of Jessamine County, Kentucky* describes other African American churches located near Camp Nelson and established prior to the Civil War. These churches include: the African Methodist Episcopal Church, located in Nicholasville and organized on September 15, 1845, by Rev. Samuel Miller; the Colored Christian Church, located in Nicholasville in a building constructed in 1843 (originally known as Union Church); the Colored Baptist Church, located in Nicholasville, organized in 1846.[765]

The Colored Baptist Church is now known as First Baptist Church. Construction of a church at the existing location took place in 1911.[766]

Providence Church (Baptist) was established in 1802, near Lower Howard's Creek (northwest of Camp Nelson). According to historian Diane Perrine Coon, enslaver George Talyor gave "consent for his slave George to exercise the gift of exhortation among his brethren" that year.[767] After the Civil War, the "Old Stone Church" was "Passed by deed from the white Baptists to the colored Baptists."[768]

Free Black persons established Bethel Methodist, later Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) in the 1840s in Nicholasville. The congregation used a "rebuilt stable" in Nicholasville for services. The building also housed Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian congregations.[769] After the Civil War, the Bethel AME congregants constructed a frame church measuring forty-five feet by seventy feet.[770]

Many other Black congregations continued after the Civil War, while those that were integrated (usually white-dominated churches attended by enslaved persons) transitioned to segregated congregations, "especially in towns and rural areas where blacks were small in numbers."[771]

In 1867, Macedonia Baptist Church "emerged as a separate black congregation from out of the old Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church" in Keene, located northeast of Camp Nelson and associated with the Black Bridge Community.[772] According to one historian, the "First church building was a one room log structure . . . used as a school and a place of worship."[773]'

764. Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky* (University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 129–30, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1w76tk3.
765. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, From Its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 198–99.
766. Young, *A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, From Its Earliest Settlement to 1898*, 199.
767. Diane Perrine Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky" (Louisville, KY, 2015), 2.
768. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 15.
769. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 5–6.
770. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 16.
771. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*, 210.
772. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 5; Rebecca Turner, "Historic Context of the Black Bridge Community in Jessamine County, Kentucky" (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Department of Transportation, April 2020).
773. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 5.

Cedar Top Baptist Church is also located northeast of Camp Nelson. According to church history:

> In approximately 1869, church services were being held on the banks of the Jessamine Creek near Wilmore, Kentucky at what is now called Grows Mill Road. There was not enough money to construct a proper building with a roof. The structure consisted of 4 walls and limbs from the cedar trees in the area were used to make a roof. At that time, the church was called "The Community Church." When the association for the Methodist denomination came in, the decision was made to split the church. The Baptist portion of The Community Church then made the decision to purchase land and build, thus the beginning of Cedar Top Baptist Church.
>
> The church commissioned three members, Brothers Horace Rodgers, Price McAfee and Deacon Anderson Lewis to purchase the present property on Scott Street for the sum of $55 cash in hand from Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Wood. The deed was dated the 6th day of September, 1894. Construction of the current structure began shortly thereafter. However, this was not an easy task to undertake. Big stones were pulled from Jessamine Creek to lay the foundation for the building. The rocks were so large they had to be pulled out and carried by oxen. The ground where the rocks were laid was also nothing much but rock-- our foundation is rock laid upon rock. Talk about a solid foundation!
>
> Baptisms were held in Jessamine Creek. The congregation would travel approximately 2-3 miles by foot, wagon, or horseback, singing all the way, to watch a candidate for baptism be taken in the water. People would line up on the bridge and watch from the road. We are sure the pastors who served here prior to the installation of the baptismal pool baptized in the creek and assisting several of them was Deacon Noah Weaver. Deacon Weaver would walk into the water carrying a long stick or staff looking for the best place for baptism.[774]

In 1909, a congregation established in 1879 purchased property from a Mrs. Thompson to construct Perkins Chapel A.M.E. Church. The church was named for Sam Perkins, who was buried in the old church lot.[775]

Brief Biographical Description of John G. Fee

Rev. John Gregg Fee was born in Kentucky in 1816 into a middle-class slaveholding family. Fee's upbringing convinced him that slaveholding was sinful, and "like every other evil institution, bore evil fruits, blunted the finest sensibilities and hardened the tenderest hearts."[776] Fee became a minister after receiving education in Ohio and Kentucky. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister and married Matilda Hamilton in 1844, who was also a devoted abolitionist. Fee's ardent abolitionist views often put him at odds with leadership in the Presbyterian church and with his own family. His father disinherited him due to his outspokenness regarding the institution of slavery. Rev. Fee and Matilda Fee aided enslaved persons seeking freedom and were known conductors of the Underground Railroad.[777] According to historian Amy Murrell Taylor, Rev. Fee argued:

> . . . that true Christians could not worship with those who perverted their faith in the defense of slavery, a stance that put him at odds with his fellow Presbyterians and prompted

774. "Cedar Top Baptist Church," accessed June 8, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/ctbwilmore/.
775. Coon, "Early African-American Congregations of North Central Kentucky," 20.
776. John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee* (Chicago, IL: National Christian Association, 1891), 11.
777. The term Underground Railroad refers to the network of people who helped freedom seeking African Americans from south of the Ohio River reach non-slaveholding states in the North. Conductors were individuals who escorted or directed freedom seekers between stations and safe houses.

> his departure from the church. Fee went on to envision the model Christian church as a nonsectarian one, firmly committed to anti slavery principles and to racial equality. He spent much of the 1840s and 1850s, with the assistance of the nonsectarian AMA, working to establish independent churches in Kentucky where white and black people could worship together on an equal basis.[778]

Rev. Fee applied to the American Missionary Association (AMA) for a commission in 1848 and established Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, in 1858-1859. "From its founding the college was an anomaly—an interracial, co-educational, cohabitating institution, opposed to slavery and caste within than antebellum, slaveholding South. To break the system of caste, the school founders committed themselves to providing a church and free education to all."[779] Fee and his family were forced into exile a year later, and they lived in the suburbs of Cincinnati, Ohio, until 1864.[780] Fee called Camp Nelson, "the cradle of liberty to central Kentucky."[781] He wrote "there the thousands, men, women and children, received their passports from government officials, into that freedom which naturally is the heritage of all men."[782] Like other missionaries called to work in refugee camps during the Civil War, Rev. Fee had had a long-time association with the AMA, but he differed from most other AMA missionaries in that he was a Southerner and came from a slaveholding family.

Rev. Fee authored the *Autobiography of John G. Fee, Berea, Kentucky* (1891), which describes his life, work, and philosophy and discusses his time at Camp Nelson.

778. Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys Through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps*, 189.
779. Berea College, "John G. Fee," Carter G. Woodson Center, accessed March 14, 2022, https://www.berea.edu/cgwc/john-g-fee/.
780. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 149–54.
781. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 178.
782. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 178.

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Appendix E. Kentucky Heritage Council Correspondence

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ANDY BESHEAR
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TOURISM, ARTS AND HERITAGE CABINET
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR &
STATE HISTORIC
PRESERVATION OFFICER

06/18/2022

Ernie Price
Superintendent
Camp Nelson National Monument
6614 Danville Loop 2 Road
Nicholasville, KY 40356

Re: CANE, Fee Memorial Church Determination of Eligibility and 95% Draft Historic Structures Report
Camp Nelson National Monument, Jessamine County, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Price:

Thank you for your submittal of a revised 95% Historic Structures Report (HSR) and determination of eligibility for the above-referenced project. Our office has worked with CANE throughout its development of the HSR for the Fee Memorial Church in Jessamine County, Kentucky. The Fee Memorial Church is housed on discontinuous NPS land in the former community of Ariel/Hall. This community was settled by the soldiers and families formerly at Camp Nelson during the war. Through missionary-led efforts, this community served the educational, religious, and community needs of African Americans for many decades.

The Fee Memorial Church, named after its founder John Fee, is one of the last remaining resources from the Ariel/Hall Community. Built in 1912, this HSR outlines the history, usage, rehabilitation needs, and recommendations for this resource's future preservation and use. As noted, through additional consultation, future research may highlight additional associations with the property and other resources, including possible connections such as those between Ariel/Hall and the African American community of Black Bridge, also developed in the post-Civil War era in Jessamine County by former residents of Camp Nelson.

Based upon the information provided, our office concurs with the recommendations that the Fee Memorial Church is individually Eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for its association with the cultural and educational life of the African American community of Ariel/Hall from 1912-1924. Our office also concurs that it meets Criteria Consideration A, and is individually Eligible under Criterion C, as an important intact example of vernacular African American worship places from the same period. We additionally concur that the resource is significant at both the state and local levels, with the proposed period of significance, and with the proposed NRHP boundary.

Re: CANE, Fee Memorial Church Determination of Eligibility and 95% Draft Historic Structures Report, Camp Nelson National Monument, Jessamine County, Kentucky

This concurrence is conditional upon receipt of a final electronic HSR and electronic copy of the survey form for the Fee Memorial Church so its eligibility recommendations can be recorded. Our office has appreciated the opportunity to work with CANE throughout this project and looks forward to future consultation regarding its preservation and rehabilitation goals.

Should you have any questions, please contact Gabrielle Fernandez of my staff at Gabrielle.Fernandez@ky.gov.

Sincerely,

Craig Potts
Executive Director and
State Historic Preservation Officer

CP: gf KHC# 65744



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.



TIC Number: 532/179689; PMIS: 310595A

John G. Fee Memorial Church

Historic Structure Report

Camp Nelson National Monument

June 2022

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Camp Nelson National Monument
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