

PROFILES OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN TENNESSEE



***Profiles of African Americans
in Tennessee***

**Bobby L. Lovett
and
Linda T. Wynn**

Editors

Nashville, Tennessee

1996

*Bobby L. Lovett
Linda T. Wynn*

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Bobby L. Lovett and Linda T. Wynn, Editors
For the Annual Local Conference on
Afro-American Culture and History

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Wendolyn Bell, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Ms. Viola Woods, Assistant Professor of Art, at Tennessee State University; the latter was a member of the planning committee for the Local Conference on Afro-American Culture and History. For many years, these Tennessee State University women supported the conference with their time and talents and assisted in making the annual day-long meeting a stimulating and edifying exchange of African-American culture and history.

This book also is dedicated to Lois C. McDougald, T S U Professor of History *Emerita* and long-time resident of Nashville, until early December of 1995, when she returned to her home state of North Carolina. As a teacher she demanded excellence; as a mentor she inspired and supported her students; as a member of the Local Conference planning committee she kept us focused and committed; and as a friend she epitomized friendship.

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**African-American Members of the Tennessee General Assembly
1873--1995**

Representative Sampson W. Keeble	(R-Nashville)	1873-1875
Representative John W. Boyd	(R-Tipton County)	1881-1885
Representative Thomas A. Sykes	(R-Nashville)	1881-1883
Representative Thomas F. Cassels	(R-Memphis)	1881-1883
Representative Isham F. Norris	(R-Memphis)	1881-1883
Representative Samuel A. McElwee	(R-Haywood County)	1883-1889
Representative David F. Rivers	(R-Fayette County)	1883-1887
Representative Leonard Howard	(R-Memphis)	1883-1885
Representative Greene E. Evans	(R-Memphis)	1885-1887
Representative William A. Fields	(R-Memphis)	1885-1887
Representative William C. Hodge	(R-Hamilton County)	1885-1887
Representative Styles L. Hutchins	(R-Hamilton County)	1887-1889
Representative Monroe W. Gooden	(D-Fayette County)	1887-1889
Representative A. W. Willis, Jr.	(D-Memphis)	1965-1969
Senator J. O. Patterson, Jr.	(D-Memphis)	1967-1975
Representative Dorothy Brown	(D-Nashville)	1967-1969
Representative R. B. Sugarman, Jr.	(D-Memphis)	1967-1969
Representative M.G. Blakemore	(D-Nashville)	1967-1971
Representative Harold Love	(D-Nashville)	1969-1995
Representative Alvin King	(D-Memphis)	1969-1993
Senator Avon Williams, Jr.	(D-Nashville)	1969-1991
Representative Ira Murphy	(D-Memphis)	1969-1983
Representative Robert Booker	(D-Knoxville)	1960-1973
Representative James I. Taylor	(D-Memphis)	1969-1971
Representative Charles Pruitt	(D-Nashville)	1971-1985
Representative Harold Ford	(D-Memphis)	1971-1975
Representative Lois DeBerry	(D-Memphis)	1973-Present
Representative Harper Brewer	(D-Memphis)	1973-1987
Senator John Ford	(D-Memphis)	1975-Present
Representative C.B. Robinson	(D-Chattanooga)	1975-1993
Representative Teddy Withers	(D-Memphis)	1975-1985
Representative Emmitt Ford	(D-Memphis)	1975-1981
Senator Ed Davis	(D-Memphis)	1979-1994
Representative Rufus Jones	(D-Memphis)	1981-Present
Representative Roscoe Dixon	(D-Memphis)	1983-1994
Senator Roscoe Dixon	(D-Memphis)	1995-Present
Representative Charles Drew	(R-Knoxville)	1983-1989
Representative Charles J. Walker	(D-Nashville)	1985-Present

**African-American Members of the Tennessee General Assembly
1873--1995**

Representative Mary Pruitt	(D-Nashville)	1985-Present
Representative Larry Turner	(D-Memphis)	1985-Present
Representative Ulysses Jones	(D-Memphis)	1987-Present
Representative Joe Armstrong	(D-Knoxville)	1989-Present
Senator Thelma Harper	(D-Nashville)	1991-Present
Representative Tommie F. Brown	(D-Chattanooga)	1993-Present
Representative Henri E. Brooks	(D-Memphis)	1993-Present
Representative Bretran Thompson	(D-Memphis)	1993-1995
Representative Larry Miller	(D-Memphis)	1993-Present
Representative Kathryn I. Bowers	(D-Memphis)	1995-Present
Representative Edith T. Langster	(D-Nashville)	1995-Present
Representative Joe Towns, Jr.	(D-Memphis)	1995-Present
Representative John F. DeBerry, Jr.	(D-Memphis)	1995-Present

Preface

Introduction

A Profile of African Americans in Tennessee History

This publication is a project of the planning committee for the Annual Local Conference on Afro-American Culture and History. The project is an effort to collect and publish nearly seventy one-to-two-page historical profiles presented at the Local Conference from 1983 through 1995.

Through the efforts of Representative Rufus Jones, representing House District 86 in Memphis, some funding was provided by the Tennessee General Assembly. Representative Harold Love, representative for House District 54, and Senator Thelma Harper, representing Senatorial District 19, were very supportive of the project from its inception. Members of the Tennessee Caucus of Black State Legislators, as well as other General Assembly members, gave support for funding this project. General Assembly funding became a special appropriation to Tennessee State University, where the co-editor and the Conference were headquartered.

The Annual Local Conference on Afro-American Culture and History (ALCACH) began in September of 1981 at Tennessee State University's downtown campus. The founding members were Bobby L. Lovett (Tennessee State University), Lois C. McDougald (Tennessee State University), Maydean Coop Eberling (Metropolitan Historical Commission), and Linda T. Wynn (Tennessee Historical Commission). The purpose of the conference was to hold an annual all-day meeting for presentation of papers, projects, and activities related to local and Tennessee black culture and history. During its second conference in February of 1983, the ALCACH began publication of one-to-two-page profiles of black historical personalities and institutions.

The Conference published four or five profiles for distribution at each annual meeting, totaling nearly seventy profiles by the Fourteenth Annual Conference in February of 1995. The conference's profiles and additional ones gathered from across the state during 1994-1995 serve as the main body of this publication.

December 15, 1995

Bobby L. Lovett

In every significant chapter of Tennessee's history, black men and women have played important roles. Yet few of the many books published on Tennessee's history attribute significant roles to the state's African-American citizens.

Except for chapters on slavery, the aftermath of slavery, and civil rights, the books written by most European-American authors generally ignore social and cultural African-American history in Tennessee. Therefore, the majority of history books on Tennessee are inadequate and incomplete for the full study of the state's rich history and culture, because in the nineteenth century African Americans comprised fully a quarter of Tennessee's citizens --which should mean that they would be included in at least twenty-five percent of the state's history. That is not the case and in Tennessee, in particular, early black history is sorely lacking.

Not until the twentieth century were real attempts made to complete studies on Tennessee's African-American history. Caleb P. Patterson published his thesis, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1780-1865* (1922), and Chase C. Mooney of Vanderbilt University published his master's thesis and Ph.D. dissertation into a book entitled, *Slavery in Tennessee* (1957). Although these studies by white graduate students contributed greatly to the study of Tennessee's black population, the books focused on blacks as mere workers and objects. Precisely because of this national problem, black historian Carter G. Woodson, the second black American to receive a Ph.D. in history, joined with other concerned black leaders in Washington, D. C., to form the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. (ASNLH), in 1915.

During the period from 1916 through 1941, the American black history movement began as African Americans increased their understanding of race, culture, and the idea of blackness. For instance, in 1916 the ASNLH began publication of its quarterly *Journal of Negro History*. In 1929, the graduate students and social-science professors at Fisk University and other black colleges began interviewing former slaves through a federal Works Progress Administration project. These interviews began the "Slave Narratives," which eventually were published in several volumes by Greenwood Press of Westport, Connecticut. The slave narratives (volume 19 for Tennessee) gave different (black) perspectives of slavery. The former slaves saw themselves differently than the white historians, who previously presented a sterilized story. They especially would make no judgments about fellow white men and women who perpetuated the evil institution of human bondage. The Fisk slave narratives were entitled, *God Struck Me Dead: Unwritten History of Slavery* (1941). Despite the existence of the black narratives on the slave states, including Tennessee, still there was no scholarly study of African Americans in Tennessee history by blacks.

Between 1929 and 1941, however, a Tennessee study from the black perspective was researched and published by Fisk University's dean and historian, Alrutheus Ambush Taylor. He and other local black historians came under the influence of Carter G. Woodson, who spoke in Nashville on several occasions. Taylor titled his study, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880* (1941). Taylor's book not only complemented the one by Patterson, but the study went beyond slavery and covered Reconstruction history and various aspects of black life, including business and politics. Taylor's classic was published and distributed by The Associated Publishers, an affiliate of the ASNLH. Also as a result of ASNLH's influence, Professor Merle R. Eppse of Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College published his book, *The Negro, Too, in American History* (1938).

With the introduction of graduate studies to Fisk University and Tennessee A. and I. State College (Tennessee State University), many master's theses appeared. These small studies (which are available at the institutions' libraries) encouraged more writing about Tennessee's black history, including theses and dissertations at white colleges and universities. The civil rights movement of the 1960s produced a demand for scholarly studies and books on black Americans, causing white historians to enter the market for such books. After a black professor of history at Tennessee State University, Mingo Scott, published his *Blacks in Tennessee Government and Politics* (1975), two white professors published their doctoral dissertations: *The Triumph of Jim Crow: Tennessee Race Relations in the 1880s* (1976) by Joseph H. Cartwright and *Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930* (1977) by Lester C. Lamon. Both authors attempted to take Tennessee's black story a few chapters beyond A. A. Taylor's 1880 stopping point.

In 1978, Bobby L. Lovett's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1866: A Socio-Military History of the Civil War Era," appeared as a paperback and a hardback by University Microfilm International of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and addressed the neglected history of black Tennesseans during the Civil War period. Lovett, a Tennessee State University history professor, concentrated on the Civil War period because it was a chapter of Tennessee's history that had been purposely distorted by white southern historians. Lovett's dissertation was preceded by his scholarly article, "The Negro's Civil War in Tennessee, 1861-1865," which was published in the ASNLH's *Journal of Negro History* (1976).

Then in 1981, under the auspices of the Tennessee Historical Commission, Lester C. Lamon attempted to bring synthesis to the black story in Tennessee by publishing a small book entitled, *Blacks in Tennessee, 1791-1970*. In 1985, John Cimprich published his doctoral dissertation, *Slavery's End in Tennessee, 1861-1865*. Other books and scholarly articles by blacks and whites followed, until an extensive picture of African-American history in Tennessee was generally clear by 1995.

More than 100 years passed after the neo-Confederate writers took control of the state's history, causing black history to become "lost, stolen, or strayed" (to quote actor Bill Cosby) from Tennessee's history books. In their zeal to cleanse the evil chapter of the Confederacy and redeem their Confederate ancestors, many white writers contributed consciously and unconsciously to deficits and distortions in Tennessee's history. They painted

a colored canvas, using one color (white) to sterilize slavery and glorify the Confederacy. Reading their books and articles, including works from the public sector (*i.e.*, the state *Tennessee Blue Book*), children in particular could conclude erroneously that all blacks were slaves, all whites were slave owners, the Confederates won the Civil War, and freedmen contributed nothing to the intellectual, the cultural, and the economic society of Tennessee. So the writing of articles and books (like this one) exclusively devoted to black history became necessary to provide researchers and writers the information needed to write a more complete history of Tennessee. And the movement started by Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History that was spread to Tennessee under the tutelage of such persons as Fisk University's Alrutheus Ambush Taylor and Tennessee A. and I. State College's Merle Eppse during the 1920s and 1930s surely continues today.

The African-American history of Tennessee generally begins with the settlement of North Carolina and proceeds with the transformation of that state's western territory into the state of Tennessee in 1795-96. Historical documentation, including Ivan Sertima's *They Came Before Columbus* (1976), indicates clearly that blacks entered the future Tennessee territory with the earliest of European explorers and probably before Europeans arrived in America. When the results of the American Revolution ended British control of the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains in 1783 (and a few years before that date), white settlers from the Carolinas and Virginia rushed into the rich Tennessee Valley, many bringing slaves with them. By 1791, the Tennessee territory, now under the auspices of the new United States Congress, held 35,691 people, including 3,417 (9.6 percent) blacks. By 1860, African Americans constituted over twenty-five percent of Tennessee's population.

Yet the early history of Tennessee was not wholly about the story of slaveholding whites and black slaves. Fort Nashborough (Nashville), which was settled in 1780, had approximately twenty percent black population, mostly slaves but also several free blacks, among the original settlers. A black man was among the small party of men who explored and selected the Fort Nashborough site in the winter of 1779. Knoxville and East Tennessee, which were settled before Nashville, had as many free blacks as slaves. Whereas some 5,000 blacks served in the various armies of the Revolutionary War, some free blacks, too, came into the Tennessee territory just as white veterans also sought land grants and economic opportunity in the Old West. Tennessee was populated mostly by free and slave African Americans and non-slaveholding European-American yeomen and free farmers.

Although Tennessee was a slave state, it was not a large one. However, its small slaveholding population was a powerful slavocracy. Neighboring Arkansas (a younger state by far) had a median slaveholding of 23.4 slaves compared to Tennessee's median of 15.1 slaves in 1860. Less than twenty percent of the families in Tennessee ever could afford to own slaves, some worth more than \$855 dollars each in 1846 and then \$1,350 each by 1860. Even in a wealthy area like Davidson County, most white male Tennesseans owned no slaves and many had no land. Among the powerful Tennessee slavocracy some ninety-two percent of slaveholders owned land. Slavery hurt most white Tennesseans because cheap slave labor and the domination of the state's best lands by the slavocracy impoverished many white families, leaving some of them in an economic existence barely above that of slaves.

Yet conservative writers often glossed two important Tennessee stories: (1) since the 1790s Tennessee had supported a large anti-slavery element, and (2) most Tennesseans were not slaveholders. For more than a generation after the American Revolution, Tennessee was a notable manumission state. The early Tennessee General Assembly facilitated voluntary manumission of slaves by their owners. By 1819 Elihu Embree, a white Quaker (member of the Society of Friends), published *The Manumission Intelligencer* and then *The Emancipator* (1820) in Jonesborough, Tennessee. Quaker Charles Osborn and other religious leaders, including some Presbyterian ministers, also began a movement to rid the state of the evil institution of human bondage (slavery). Anti-slavery societies existed in most regions of the state, and the American Colonization Society (an effort to colonize freed slaves in Liberia, Africa) operated openly in Tennessee after 1821, later receiving some support from the General Assembly.

After the 1831 slave rebellion in Virginia caused Negrophobia to sweep the region and Tennessee, slaveholders and aspiring-slaveholders found reason enough to tighten the controls on slavery. They forced many outspoken anti-slavery men to flee Tennessee. Negrophobia and the movement against domestic and northern abolitionists engulfed Tennessee's society between 1834 and 1861. Suspected white abolitionists, like Amos Dresser (a member of an Ohio abolitionist group), were tarred, feathered, and forced to flee Tennessee in 1835. Also in the preceding year, the Tennessee Constitution was changed to exclude free blacks from voting rights.

It is likely that the blacks' support of the Whig party and Negro opposition to Andrew Jackson's Democratic party gained few political friends for free black Tennesseans. Moreover, antebellum politics soon focused on the issue of slavery. In the South, the debates about slavery involved mainly the Whig and the Democratic parties, particularly in Tennessee. The Democratic party attracted many persons who were aspiring entrepreneurs and future slaveholders, men who desired one day to exploit Tennessee's rich natural resources. Therefore, the Democratic party became fanatical about protecting slavery to the point of treason and rebellion, even though the Whig party really had more slaveholding members. Yet the Whigs were ready to compromise with the North to keep the institution of slavery in some milder form.

The poorer whites, who felt altogether excluded from the American dream and economically depressed in the Age of Jacksonian Democracy, hated the blacks ("the neggars") and resented the economic dominance of slavery. Many non-slaveholding whites (indeed, poor European immigrants who began to arrive in Tennessee's cities during the 1840s and 1850s) feared any social and economic advantages for free blacks. After the 1830s, white workers in the cities persuaded the governments to pass municipal codes to protect their jobs against slave and free black competitors. Some white workers attacked prosperous free blacks and quasi-independent (self-hired) slaves during Nashville's race riot in December of 1856. In Memphis in 1860, the city's 4,339 poor Irish immigrants disliked black competitors.

Neither free Negroes nor slaves had any respect for landless, poor whites ("po' white trash"). Slave children frequently made fun of their poor, malnourished white playmates. In Nashville, some slave and free black youngsters angered poor white children by name-

calling and reminding the white youngsters that "yo daddy is too po' to even have a servant." The gulf between poor white Tennesseans and blacks persisted through postbellum times and made it difficult to develop a winning black-white political coalition against the elite whites, even during the Populist party movements in Tennessee (1880s-1890s).

Because it was controlled by the slavocracy and dominated by the presence of the institution of slavery, antebellum Tennessee likewise was an autocratic, undemocratic, oppressive republic. By 1860, when slaves numbered 275,719 persons and slaveowners constituted 36,844 of the state's 826,722 white citizens, the slaves represented 24.8 percent of Tennessee's population, not including over 7,300 free blacks. Although small in numbers, the slaveholders comprised some 58 percent of Tennessee's landowners and held the state's real economic, political, and social power in their hands.

After slavery spread rapidly across Tennessee between 1820 and 1860, the oppressive slave society became worse for most Tennesseans. After 1818, when Andrew Jackson and other speculators concluded treaties with the Native Americans and forced them to move westward, white entrepreneurs and planters rushed into West Tennessee. Although the area really was not opened until 1820, the fertile lands of West Tennessee became home to over 70 percent of Tennessee's black inhabitants, followed by Middle Tennessee and then East Tennessee. With its rocky and less fertile plateaus, East Tennessee held few slaves, but Middle Tennessee's counties (particularly in the basin area) held many slaves because the soil could sustain crops of cotton and tobacco, mining, shipping, and commercial activities that fully utilized black workers. Middle Tennessee, the state's wealthiest area, had many large plantations, including Belmont, Overton Place, the Hermitage, Belle Meade, and Wessington. Businessman Montgomery Bell also maintained huge holdings of slaves, and some 300 slaves worked Bell's iron industries in Davidson and Dickson counties. John W. Jones of Fayette County held over 250 slaves, growing cotton and other products. The plantations often involved attempts by their owners to experiment with improved social organization of the slave community.

Tennessee's slaves experienced a harsh existence, living mostly on small farms instead of large plantations. There was no such thing as a "good master." Members of the slavocracy enslaved other human beings and confiscated the fruits of their labor for the selfish enrichment of the elite class. Organized slave patrols were authorized by the General Assembly to keep the slaves under constant observation and in perpetual fear. Farms were few and far between each other, creating isolation. It was difficult for the slaves to communicate with one another. Still, many slaves rebelled by purchasing their freedom, running away, breaking tools, making mules go lame, being disobedient, and even attacking and killing some masters. Between 1844 and 1859, public hangings of slaves for either murder or conspiracy to commit murder of their masters were not uncommon. Many slaves escaped via the Underground Railroad through Middle Tennessee, then across Kentucky, and into Ohio.

Tennessee became an active slave-trading state, with Memphis second only to Louisville, Kentucky, as a slave market in the Upper South. In Nashville, slave brokerage houses were plentiful near Cherry Street (present Fourth Avenue, North) and Cedar (now

Charlotte) Street. There one also could borrow the money at six percent per annum to buy slaves. In Middle Tennessee, John Overton, John Armfield, and Isaac Franklin made fortunes buying and selling black human beings as slaves. In Memphis, Nathan Bedford Forrest and other white men made fortunes selling, buying, and renting slaves. From Tennessee, the slaves were sold into notorious frontier lands like Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Florida. The hiring of slaves became big business, resulting in a quarter of the slaves being hired out in many towns, bringing the owners as much as \$150 a year. The first of January was a dreadful day for blacks because it was the time each year when Negroes were sold and rented to other masters, breaking up the slave families. Even free blacks feared for their lives and freedom when "Negro stealers" (poor whites) made their living kidnapping blacks and selling them into the Deep South.

When the whites tightened the controls on slavery, while fighting their wars of propaganda against northern abolitionists and antislavery literature, more white hatred was generated against free blacks. In Nashville, the city council passed laws that excluded free blacks from engaging in the meat industry (increasingly controlled by German immigrants), operating lucrative freight wagons, and owning stalls in the Market Street (now Second Avenue, North) commercial district. The latter jobs were preferred by Irish and Jewish immigrants. To stop the rapid increase in the free black population, owners could not manumit their slaves without permission of the county courts and manumitted blacks could not remain in Tennessee without approval of the courts. Any free blacks remaining in Tennessee had to carry papers (proof of freedom) on them at all times. The Tennessee General assembly passed legislation to help transport manumitted-slave volunteers to Liberia, Africa, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. No more than 2,000 freed blacks left Tennessee, voluntarily and involuntarily for the Liberia colony. Further legislation unsuccessfully attempted to force free blacks to assume white masters or leave Tennessee by 1859--such legislation actually passed in Arkansas.

Although white society was oppressive for free Negroes in heavily black West Tennessee, blacks enjoyed a free environment in East Tennessee. By 1860, most of the 457 black residents were free persons in Knoxville. There the free blacks lived peaceably but not prosperously. When several free blacks migrated from neighboring North Carolina to Tennessee after the Nat Turner rebellion, whites in Friendsville (a Quaker community) welcomed them to Tennessee.

Middle Tennessee enjoyed moderate race relations, at least until the 1840s when there was a heavy influx of immigrants and non-slaveholders. More than half the free blacks were mulattoes (of half-white and half-black ancestry), who were related by blood to members of the white slavocracy. Because of this relationship and their small numbers, free blacks enjoyed a benevolent and paternalistic alliance with the wealthy, elite whites who protected them, often employed them, and allowed free Negroes privileges that violated antebellum race rules. In Nashville, over 719 free blacks comprised nearly twenty percent of the town's black population and another 25 percent of the local blacks were quasi-independent slave persons, whose masters allowed them to hire out their time and even live in their own rented quarters and houses.

Between 1833 and 1857, Nashville's free blacks operated their own schools, because they were excluded from the city's public schools, which opened in 1853. Free black teachers like Alphonso Sumner, Daniel Wadkins, Sarah Porter, Joseph Manly, and Rufus Conrad became Tennessee's pioneers in providing education for black people. There were no free black schools in Memphis, but there the blacks enjoyed simple lessons taught in the Sabbath schools until 1856, when reactionary whites demanded an end to teaching Negroes to read.

The free blacks owned businesses, including monopoly of the barbering trade (giving whites baths, shaves, and teeth-pulling services). Mulatto Frank Parrish (a quasi-independent slave) was so popular as a barber that Nashville's newspapers allowed him to place advertisements for his business. Free blacks controlled the hack (taxi) service in large Tennessee towns like Nashville. By 1860, some thirty-eight free black women, for example, owned \$249,400 in total real property holdings in Tennessee. Sarah Estell of Nashville owned and operated the town's most famous ice-cream parlor before the Civil War. And Nashville's Joseph Manly operated a popular bakery in the same city. Postbellum racial segregation eventually destroyed the black entrepreneur's white customer base.

Some of Nashville's free blacks became nationally prominent leaders after slavery. James T. Rapier attended the free black schools in Nashville and became Alabama's first black U. S. Congressman after the Civil War. James's grandmother, Sally Thomas, was a quasi-independent slave, who operated a boarding house and laundry in downtown Nashville. Her son, Rapier's father, was purchased and freed by his white employer's will before moving to Alabama to become a wealthy barber and owner of real estate. Rapier's uncle, free black James P. Thomas, also became a prosperous barber and owner of real estate in Nashville before moving to Saint Louis in 1856 and later writing his autobiography, *From Tennessee Slave to St. Louis Entrepreneur*. The book manuscript was discovered at Howard University (Washington, D. C.) and edited and published in 1984 by historian Loren Schweninger, who also wrote *James T. Rapier and Reconstruction* (1978).

James C. Napier (1845-1940), born a free mulatto in Davidson County, also attended the clandestine free black schools in Nashville, recalling that Daniel Wadkins' classes could not meet many days because whites were watching the place. Napier attended Oberlin College in Ohio and became Nashville's first formally-educated black lawyer, being graduated from Howard University in 1872 along with a black classmate from Memphis. In 1878, Napier married the daughter of Reconstruction leader John Mercer Langston. Napier was elected to Nashville's city council for five terms (1878-1885). He served as Register of the United States Treasury (1911-1913) under Republican President William Howard Taft. Napier also served on the state executive committee for the Republican party of Tennessee and was a delegate to several National Republican Party Conventions. When he died in 1940, Napier was still serving as a member of the Nashville Housing Authority and as cashier (manager) of Nashville's Citizens Savings and Trust Company Bank.

Samuel Lowery, also born free in Davidson County, was a product of Nashville's free black schools and a local college (Franklin Institute) where the liberal white proprietor allowed a few free blacks to work and study their lessons apart from the white students. After the Nashville race riot of 1856, Lowery became a minister in Cincinnati, Ohio, and

Canada, before returning to Union-occupied Nashville as a missionary teacher of black Union army soldiers, and then a lawyer and notable inventor of silkworm culture and manufacturing. He and his father, Samuel Lowery (a wealthy free black), and others founded the Tennessee Manual Labor University, modeled after the Franklin Institute, on December 10, 1867.

No doubt Tennessee's urban slaves had advantages over the rural slaves, who toiled on isolated, small farms and large plantations. Free blacks and urban slaves attended the attractions of the age, including circuses, theater shows, dances, cock fights, and horse races. Black musicians (slave and free), including Jordan McGowan and James ("Jim") Hill, catered music for the finest white balls and dances. James P. Thomas recalled that he and other blacks attended the rare performances in Nashville by the famous singer Jenny Lind, a Swedish operatic diva. Blacks danced the "Rubin Rede, the Juba, and Jumping Jim Crow," said Thomas. Even the slaves visited the towns during the Christmas season. In his autobiography, James P. Thomas wrote:

In Nashville before Christmas would be posted in conspicuous places ordinance for the regulation of "slaves," "free Negroes" and "Mulattoes." Nevertheless all were expected to have a good time in the city and country. Feasting and dancing were indulged in freely. I was at the Hermitage [Andrew Jackson's plantation] during the Christmas week and they (the Genls men and women of all work) commenced dancing in the morning. Some played cards, while others would seek some secluded spot for Cock fighting around the city.

Whereas about ten percent of the slaves lived in towns and cities, another ten percent or so helped build businesses and industries in Tennessee. Slave artisans were Tennessee's craftsmen, building fine mansions for whites, making shoes, crafting wagons, and doing the jobs of blacksmiths, stonemasons, coopers, and boatmen. Over 10,000 slaves served as principal workers in Tennessee's iron and mining industries, centered in Nashville and stretching into the Rim counties of Dickson, Hickman, Lawrence, Montgomery, Stewart, Wayne, and even some parts of Cheatham, Maury, and Williamson, which held less-concentrated deposits of iron ore. Near Patterson (or Pattison) Forge in Davidson County--now part of Cheatham County--a village housed the hundreds of slave iron workers, according to the Tennessee Department of Conservation's Division of Archaeology publication, *A Cultural Resource Survey of Tennessee's Western Highland Rim Iron Industry, 1790's--1930's* (1988). Nashville held many of the iron region's foundries, furnaces, and machine shops that produced a variety of iron products. James C. Napier's white grandfather, Elias Napier, was one of the largest employers of slaves in Tennessee's iron industry. Slaves also worked the riverboats and waterways and helped build Tennessee's first railroads.

Antebellum blacks also maintained churches. These institutions were controlled by white congregations, mostly in towns and cities (*i.e.*, Columbia, Knoxville, Memphis, and

Nashville). Slave Christians existed throughout slavery and enjoyed the privileges of baptism, official membership, and the Lord's Supper with the white members. They also experienced excommunication.

And then there was the "invisible" black church. Services were operated by slave preachers, like Dick Ham, in clandestine places, like Nashville's Buck's Alley. To gather their flocks and watch for slave patrols, the members of the invisible black churches used singing codes such as lyrics of *Steal Away to Jesus*; announcements of *Weevils in the Wheat* warned against white knowledge of any impending meeting; and "Raid Foxes" were designated among swift young runners to decoy white patrollers away from the sacred "brush arbors."

Slave religion became formalized during the 1830s, when the southern churches began an evangelical movement to Christianize more slaves and their owners. This was an effort to counter the northern abolitionists' arguments that slavery was evil, unChristian, and should be abolished immediately. Most slaveholders were not church members, and generally they were crude and uncultured men who forbade the slaves to gather for any meetings, including church services. More than a few slaveholders fornicated with their enslaved workers, committed adultery against their white wives, raped and abused black women and slave children, reared their white children with their illegitimate black siblings, and sold their own mulatto children and grandchildren. As a result of the southern evangelical movement, by the 1840s some Baptist and Methodist churches included many slaveholders and had more black members (slaves) than white ones.

To relieve overcrowding and to respect the desire of some non-slaveholding whites to remain socially above black people, many integrated Tennessee churches began to separate their black Christians into separate (evening) services and some into quasi-independent congregations led either by white ministers or white-supervised black preachers. Nashville had several quasi-independent black church congregations: Capers Colored Methodist (1832), First Colored Baptist Mission (1848), First Colored Christian (Disciples of Christ) Church (1855), and Central Baptist Church's African Mission (1861). Columbia had the oldest black church building, Mount Lebanon Baptist Church (1843), which was turned over to the blacks after the whites built a new one. In Memphis, where 109 free blacks and 2,362 slaves lived by 1850, a white man named Silas T. Toncray operated a church for blacks. The black congregation ran the church after Toncray's death around 1847, but whites forced the church to close in late 1856. That was the year that a race riot hit Nashville and fear of a regional slave rebellion swept from the iron districts of Middle Tennessee and southern Kentucky into West Tennessee. Yet, in Memphis the whites of Wesley Chapel allowed a Negro preacher to instruct the congregation's black members.

In many antebellum churches in West Tennessee, the whites feared the great numbers of slaves. Most masters preferred to keep the blacks in integrated congregations, often seating the blacks in newly constructed balconies and rear pews. Many slave masters began to encourage preachers to "speak" to their slaves, often to make the blacks more obedient. Both slave and free black preachers, including Daniel H. Jones, Pompeii, Edmund Kelly, and Nelson G. Merry, became notable speakers among Tennessee's antebellum black Christians.

Nelson G. Merry, a slave who was freed in 1845, became the first black to be ordained (November of 1853) and placed over a black congregation as "moderator" (pastor of the First Colored Baptist Mission). After gaining a taste of religious freedom, the black Christians tired of the white ministers' devilish sermons: "If a man is a slaveowner when he becomes a Christian, let him remain a slaveowner; if a man is a slave when he becomes a Christian, let him remain an obedient slave." Blacks also tired of the quasi-independent churches, which were controlled by white congregations. In 1859, some blacks in Memphis began Collins Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Civil War brought an end to spiritual enslavement of black Christians by white Christians who worshipped a degenerate southern religion: New Testament theology, southern nationalism (regionalism), and racism. The black churches gained their independence during and after the war and took various names (even charters), including First Colored Baptist Church of Nashville, Capers Memorial Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of Nashville, First Colored Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) of Nashville, First Baptist Church of Chattanooga, Mount Lebanon Baptist Church of Columbia, Collins Chapel Methodist Church and Beale Street Baptist Church of Memphis, and the Colored Methodist Church of Knoxville. One of Memphis' most famous black preachers, former-slave Morris Henderson (1802-1877), founded and built the Beale Street Baptist Church (now listed in the National Register of Historic Places). Memphis' Avery Chapel A.M.E. Church was founded by a black Union soldier. In 1866, Nashville had eight black churches, Memphis had as many, Knoxville had at least two, and Chattanooga had one.

The Civil War era became an important but also the most convoluted period of African-American history in Tennessee. Because of the protracted effort by so many white writers to cleanse Confederate history and redeem the "Lost Cause," this period (1861-1865) also became the most distorted chapter in Tennessee's history. Almost all Tennessee history books treat the Civil War blacks as non-participants, non-combatants, and docile onlookers--*something* to be studied, but not respected as men and makers of history. From these books, a reader could form the impression that the Confederates won the Civil War and the evil Confederacy was good and glorious, but these were falsifications of Tennessee's history. The historical *truth* is:

- (1) Tennessee Confederate military forces were easily defeated by a powerful Union army;
- (2) Black Tennesseans played a pivotal role in the Union army's victories and its control of Tennessee;
- (3) Men and women who supported the rebellion against the United States of America constituted a numerical minority of Tennessee's black and white inhabitants.

Among some 1,140,000 Tennesseans, nearly 700,000 of them did not give support to the Confederate rebellion against America. In 1861, almost all 290,000 black Tennesseans naturally supported the Union cause. Despite slavery and racial discrimination, African

Americans remained notoriously loyal to the country, from Revolutionary War times through modern times. Tennessee's pro-Confederates were outnumbered by the whites who opposed the rebellion, the whites who refused to become involved, plus the hardcore Unionist whites of East Tennessee and some in Middle Tennessee, and, of course, over a quarter of a million blacks. Among nearly 850,000 white Tennesseans, a high estimate is that 115,000 men served in the Confederate armies, and half of the white Tennesseans--which included soldiers' families--gave at least spiritual support to the Confederate cause. But spiritual support was not enough for the Confederacy to win either the war in Tennessee or the regional war in the South.

Most Tennesseans (white male voters) opposed attempts to secede Tennessee from the Union of American states. This opposition persisted even after the November 1860 election of Republican Abraham Lincoln caused South Carolina to lead a campaign to establish a southern nation. Slaves outnumbered whites in South Carolina, and the white minority there was notorious for its black codes, brutality against humanity, and racism. In Tennessee, a moderate white leader in Nashville, William F. Cooper, rightly said that unless the North moved decisively before Lincoln's inauguration (March 4, 1861), "the secession feeling is on the increase." Surely Governor Isham G. Harris had no reservation about committing treason against America, and he--like his counterpart in neighboring Arkansas--persisted in maneuvering Tennessee toward an alliance with the Confederate States of America. On January 1, 1861, Harris played the race card and said that "the President-Elect [Lincoln] asserted the equality of the black with the white race." Despite the opposition from a majority of free Tennesseans, Harris issued an "executive order" to withdraw Tennessee from the Union. On February 9, 1861, the voters (white males) rejected the governor's action. After fighting broke out in South Carolina, however, in April of 1861, the Tennessee General Assembly voted to secede. The participating voters ratified secession on June 8, 1861, but in the face of great opposition.

Instead of staying home and assuming (like most voters) that Governor Harris' Confederate movement would win any way, nearly 50,000 Tennesseans voted against secession and treason. The East Tennesseans even held a Union Convention and started a movement to secede from Tennessee, with the intention of establishing a separate state that would remain loyal to the American Union as the West Virginians successfully did. But Harris' administration sent troops and scattered the East Tennessee leaders. Most non-slaveholders dared not voice too much opposition to the powerful minority Confederates in West and Middle Tennessee. Although they hated Lincoln and the abolitionists, not all slaveowners were disloyal to the Union; and some slaveholders refused to support the Confederacy. One owner, John Trimble of Davidson County, not only opposed the southern nationalists' war, but near the end of the war he voluntarily freed his slaves, became a leader in the local Republican party, and sold much of his land to Nelson Walker, a black barber and businessman. Walker used the land to begin Nashville's oldest surviving black neighborhood: Trimble Bottom. Meanwhile, the Confederates raised their Rebel flag over the State Capitol in Nashville on June 16, and the Confederate States of America included Tennessee by June 22, 1861.

Although the Tennessee Confederates were outnumbered by the combination of pro-Union whites, black Tennesseans, and rebellious whites in East Tennessee, they continued to take effective measures to protect slavery and maintain illegal control of the state. Slave patrols were greatly increased to restrict the usual movement of slaves and free blacks. Around Christmas time, when slaves traveled into the towns in great numbers to shop and visit relatives and friends, the 1861 slave patrols became heavy, abusive, and notorious. To control the pro-Union whites, the Tennessee Confederates imposed conscription acts, loyalty tests, and domestic terror.

Despite its coercive and intolerable acts against pro-Union whites and blacks, the Tennessee Confederate government had too little popular support to fight an effective war against a powerful Union army and a wealthy American nation. Tennessee's capable Confederate General Sidney S. Johnston struggled heroically, but he failed to build an effective Confederate Army of Tennessee. In heavily Unionist northwest Tennessee, the citizens refused to sell provisions and forage to the Confederate government. In East Tennessee, Confederate troops went hungry because supplies did not reach them in a timely way. The Confederate army's quartermaster (in charge of supplies) and engineering departments offered to hire slaves at fifty cents per day or twenty-five dollars per month plus rations, clothing, and quarters, but most slaveowners refused to lend their valuable slaves for military work. The Confederate military was forced to confiscate slave laborers and draft free blacks.

Several military commanders petitioned the General Assembly to recruit free blacks "to do such menial service as they are competent to perform." On June 28, 1861, the legislature authorized a draft of free black men. This order affected some 2,000 blacks, but most free black men evaded the Confederate draft and the local sheriffs who tried to capture them. The draft yielded few results because free black males of military age (eighteen to forty-five years) were so few in numbers. Some free blacks (like J. C. Napier and his family) left Tennessee. Others fled to antislavery Quaker and German settlements and Union territories. William Scott, a free black migrant from North Carolina to Knoxville, later fled to Friendsville, near Knoxville, and then to Union-occupied Nashville to prevent Confederate impressment of his son. In 1865, Scott started the state's first black newspaper in Nashville, *The Colored Tennessean*.

By February 16, 1862, the Tennessee Confederates--despite their pretending to be all-powerful--were easily defeated at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. Confederates from neighboring states answered Harris' call for more soldiers; nevertheless, a large Union army emerged from the Ohio Valley under General Ulysses S. Grant and compelled the Confederates to abandon the gateways to the Mid-South. The Confederates' calls for "loyal southerners" to rise against America's loyal soldiers did no good: most Tennessee citizens stood outside the doors of their cabins and houses and watched in silence (sometimes the women waved their handkerchiefs) when the beaten Confederate soldiers and their tattered battle flags made their humiliating retreat toward Nashville. After all his proclamations and promises, Governor Harris himself caused unnecessary public panic when he went galloping foolishly through Nashville's streets shouting, "The Yankees are coming!"

Once General Johnston, his army, and engineers retreated southward and arrived at Nashville, they decided to abandon the "indefensible" city and flee east to Murfreesboro. Nashville citizens panicked and cursed General Johnston, but he had no real support and no acts. Governor Harris beat the main army out of town and followed Johnston's army, often serving as the General's courier to take desperate messages from one brigade to another. Then some elder men, who had attached military stripes to their trousers and pranced about Nashville with spiteful announcements against the United States, quickly changed clothes and hid their empathy for the Confederates. Confederate casualties were rushed to military hospitals in Chattanooga, and Rebel stragglers looted Nashville's warehouses. Many pro-Confederate citizens loaded wagons and trains to head south to safety.

A week later, when the advance Union army regiments camped on the opposite bank of the Cumberland River, Nashville's officials rowed across and surrendered the city, rather than have it destroyed by the Union gunboats. Only seven months had passed since Harris and his minority Confederate party had forced the Tennessee government to join the rebellion against America. On February 23, 1862, the Union gunboats arrived, displaying bold armor; belching steam, smoke, and ashes; and generally showing America's economic and military might. It was a proud sight to loyal blacks and Union whites. A regimental band disembarked and proudly marched up Broad Street, playing *Hail Columbia!* amidst a crowd of jubilant white and black Unionists dancing in the streets. Black children ran ahead, shouting, "The blue man's coming!" At the Capitol, William Driver, a Unionist citizen and former sea captain, tearfully asked that his American flag (which he named "Old Glory") be hoisted in place of "that damned Rebel flag." The Confederate flag (a symbol of slavery, treason, and racism) was lowered from the state Capitol--the Rebel emblem never again would be the official flag of Tennessee.

After some early victories against poorly organized Union armies in the eastern theater, the Confederate war effort took a turn for the worse in mid-1862. Although his Confederate state government was in exile and incapable of giving adequate resources to the Confederate army, Governor Harris continued to tag along when the Confederate Army of Tennessee lost the infamous Battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862. Although they fought gallantly, General Johnston's hurriedly trained soldiers were forced to retreat into neighboring Corinth, Mississippi. Johnston's junior officers were no more competent (contrary to postwar myths fabricated by southern historians) to lead brigades than President Jefferson Davis and his ineffective cabinet were capable of administering a regional "defensive war" (as they and other southern nationalists called it). Then Grant's forces took Corinth, Mississippi, and secured the rail lines into Memphis and West Tennessee. Union gunboats forced Memphis to surrender on June 6, 1862, forcing Governor Harris' state government and the notoriously racist *Commercial Appeal* newspaper staff to flee to Mississippi. Then black Memphians also danced in the streets.

Meanwhile, the Confederacy lost control of the southern railroads, roads, and the important river systems. In the eastern theater of the war, the Confederate South's most able general (Robert E. Lee) began his famous retreat from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, enabling President Lincoln to later present his famous "Gettysburg Address." By early winter, the

Confederate Army of Tennessee was forced to retreat from Kentucky to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where it lost the Battle of Stones River in early January. The Tennessee Confederate soldiers then retreated east to Chattanooga, where they lost successive battles; they were forced to flee to northern Georgia (above Atlanta) for refuge. In quick succession the Confederates lost Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Helena and Little Rock, Arkansas, by September 10, 1863.

Many slaves realized that the Civil War meant the collapse of the slavocracy's power. It also meant a revolutionary change in race relations and the *de facto* end of slavery in Tennessee.

Like hundreds of other teenage black males, Wilson County slave George Knox was taken by his Confederate master to serve as a military laborer. When he and his fellow black Confederate servants heard that the Union army was winning the Battle of Stones River, Knox recalled, "I put on a long [sad but false] face as possible. . .but I was secretly rejoicing at the success of the Union army." After reluctantly kissing his girl friend goodbye, Knox escaped into Union lines near Murfreesboro. There he became a federal teamster. Knox later followed some Union soldiers on furlough to Indiana, where he settled and became a barber and an operator of an Indianapolis newspaper. Knox's autobiography (printed in various issues of his newspaper) was edited by Williard B. Gatewood, Jr., and published under the title, *Slave and Freeman* (1979).

Like Knox, many slave laborers shed their "Sambo" personalities, abandoned the Confederate camps and farms, and headed for Union army camps. At first most Union commanders allowed "loyal" slaveowners in Tennessee to retrieve their slaves from Union camps, but many black bondsmen heard via the black "grapevine" that they could qualify for freedom under the federal Contraband Act (August 6, 1861), which forbade the use of slaves and other contraband goods for making war against America. When the black refugees came into the Union camps, they quickly learned to say, "My master is a damned Rebel and fighting in the Confederate army." Then President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation (a psychological weapon) on September 22, 1862, which declared slaves free in territories still in rebellion against the United States by January 1, 1863. Although the Proclamation did not apply to Union-held Tennessee, the state's slaves were practically free any way. Nashville's black leaders celebrated their first Emancipation Day anniversary a year later.

Comparatively, in Texas (Tennessee's sister state), where the Civil War battles never reached the vast interior, the slaves did not receive word of Emancipation until June 19, 1865 ("Juneteenth"). In many southern states, including parts of Tennessee, some slaves remained on the farms either because of total isolation, ignorance, and loyalty to the master's family or fear of military activities and the outside world. In order to act like a free person, one needed to experience "living free."

Throughout the war, Tennessee's slaves continued to arrive by the thousands at Union camps. They frequently arrived with the master's wagon, mules, tools, and even bales of cotton to sell for the support of their slave families. Runaway slaves ignored the white mistress's empty threats and pleas to stay and help her with the farm. When pursuing the

defeated Confederates in August of 1862 and traveling through West Tennessee, so many destitute fugitive slaves surrounded General Grant's federal army that he ordered Chaplain John Eaton to establish a contraband-camp system throughout the Mississippi Valley to house and feed the contrabands and put them to work on abandoned lands. Eaton established the first contraband camp at Grand Junction. By 1864, there were large contraband camps at Clarksville, Pulaski, Brentwood, Hendersonville, Edgefield, Nashville (two camps), Knoxville, Chattanooga, Memphis (three camps), Somerville, Brownsville, and throughout the Mississippi Valley. The "Shiloh" Contraband Camp in Memphis alone had over 300 log cabins and 2,000 inhabitants. Memphis' "New Africa" and "Camp Dixie" contraband camps held just as many black refugees. So many black faces surrounded the federal armies that it seemed a flood was about to drown the white man's fragile existence in the South. Unlike whites in West Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina, and many other parts of the South, the white Yankees had never before seen this phenomenon.

The contraband camps became military processing stations where fugitive slaves were transformed into freedmen, wage earners, and precious labor for the Union army. There they received shelter (tents, log cabins, and plank houses), army rations (pork, corn meal, flour, beans, sugar, coffee, vinegar, salt, star candles, and potatoes), clothing, medicines, military or agricultural jobs, and wages. The army employed the contrabands as laborers at ten dollars per month for women and ten to thirty dollars a month for boys and men. More than 2,700 Union black laborers worked on Fort Negley (the largest Union fort west of Washington, D. C.) and twenty-three other redoubts and forts to protect Nashville. In the Memphis area alone, thousands of black laborers (including 800 at Fort Pickering) built Union forts and river fortifications. By March of 1864, thousands of black laborers and free blacks completed the Northwestern Military Railroad, a strategic line running seventy-five miles from Nashville to the Tennessee River, where northern steamers deposited huge quantities of military supplies in preparation for the Union army's attack on Atlanta, Georgia.

By summer of 1863, the flood of fugitive slaves overwhelmed the Union army, causing the federal commanders to invite help from northern churches and missionary societies, including the American Missionary Association. More than a dozen organizations, including the African Methodist Episcopal Church, answered the call to "toil in the vineyards" of Tennessee. The black and white northern missionaries helped to establish freedmen's institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, and benevolent societies. These social welfare functions were assumed by the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau) in March of 1865. Also, the Freedmen's Bureau began the process of legalizing the blacks' marriages and recording them in the county records by 1865 (see *Freedmen's Marriages, 1865-1866*, in various county records).

Although the Union army tried to prevent it, the black tide flowed from Tennessee's farms and plantations, as well as from northern Georgia, northern Alabama, northern and central Mississippi, eastern Arkansas, and southern Kentucky. Even free blacks from the North came to Tennessee to fill non-commissioned officers' positions in black regiments and to seek economic and political opportunities in Reconstruction Tennessee. By 1864,

thousands of blacks jammed Tennessee's Union camps and the cities; the Clarksville camp held over 3,000 contrabands and several missionary schools. In late 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau began a program to relocate "idle freedmen" from the urban areas back to the farms. The approximate number of relocated freedmen included 6,000 from Memphis and 4,000 from Nashville, with hundreds from Knoxville and Chattanooga.

Approximate Black Population Increases, 1860-1865		
City	1860	1865
Nashville	4,000	12,000
Memphis	4,000	17,000
Knoxville	752	2,609
Chattanooga	457	2,776

Black migration into Tennessee's towns and cities continued at a steady pace. Although by 1890 most black Tennesseans still lived in the rural areas, the state's black citizens soon became urbanized because of the Civil War. The sites of former contraband camps became black neighborhoods like Edgehill and Edgefield in Nashville and South Memphis ("Fort Pickering") in Memphis. In Knoxville and Chattanooga, too, former contraband sites became the foundation of urban black neighborhoods.

Despite the presence of the Freedmen's Bureau, little economic opportunity developed for rural blacks during and immediately after the war. Almost all 355,731 acres of land confiscated from Tennessee's Confederates were returned to whites after 1866. Slaves were transformed into landed serfs, working white farms for shares (sharecrops) and wages barely enough for the necessities of human existence. In Giles County, 20,500 blacks engaged in sharecropping in 1866. In Wilson County, the blacks owned less than thirty of the 10,997 acres. In Fayette and Haywood counties in West Tennessee, the white minority allowed little land to fall into black hands. No more than 400 black Tennessee farmers owned their land by the end of 1866. By 1910, compared to most white Tennessee farmers, only 25.7 percent of Tennessee's black farmers owned their own land.

A positive effect, however, of the Civil War was the Union army's transformation of blacks into Union army soldiers. Tennessee had over 55,000 black males of military age. On September 10, 1863, the Bureau of U. S. Colored Troops opened at 38 Cedar Street in Nashville. Soon recruiting stations existed throughout Tennessee. Among America's 179,000 USCT, some 20,133 USCT were raised in Tennessee. Thousands more of Tennessee's blacks served on Union naval ships on the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi River

systems. Black Tennesseans also served as military laborers and spies in white Union regiments, and some 3,737 black men served in Tennessee's "Home Guards" militia units. By comparison, some 31,092 white Tennesseans served in the Union Army of Tennessee, and an estimated 115,000 Tennessee men served in Confederate military units.

Tennessee's USCT Units, 1863-1866			
Infantry Regiments	Heavy Artillery	Light Artillery	Cavalry
11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 40th, 42nd, 44th, 55th, 59th, 61st, 63rd, 68th, 88th, 100th, 110th, and 111th.	1st USCHA 4th USCHA 6th USCHA 9th USCHA	2nd USCLA, Batt A 2nd USCLA, Batt F 2nd USCLA, Batt I	3rd USCC

Free blacks helped with the formation of USCT units. Nelson Walker and other black Nashvillians organized a company of the 17th USCT Infantry Regiment, complete with an outstanding musical band. Samuel Lowery returned from the North and served as army chaplain and teacher for the 2nd U.S. Colored Light Artillery, Battery A, in Nashville. The 3rd USC Cavalry was organized in Memphis, but served mostly in Mississippi and Arkansas.

Tennessee's 20,133 USCT served in every major skirmish, battle, engagement, and town within and around Tennessee during 1863-1866. Not only did Tennessee USCT units accompany Union General William T. Sherman to his Chattanooga staging base and then on to the famous and successful "March through Georgia," they also engaged enemy troops at Moscow (December of 1863), Fort Pillow (April of 1864), Brice's Crossroads (June of 1864), Tupelo (July of 1864), and Nashville (December of 1864).

At Fort Pillow in West Tennessee, a black detachment from Memphis' Fort Pickering suffered a massacre at the hands of recalcitrant Confederate troops under General Nathan B. Forrest. General Forrest and some southern historians denied the massacre, but Forrest admitted that he enforced Confederate government policy to give black soldiers "no quarter" and treat all USCT as escaped, traitorous slaves. It was hypocrisy, however, that Confederate soldiers charged former slaves in the Union army with "treason," but denied after the war that service in the Confederate army was an act of treason against the United States of America. After the Fort Pillow massacre, the USCT in Memphis (whom native whites considered to be an arrogant bunch of black men) proudly pranced about town with medal badges that read, *Remember Fort Pillow*.

However, the USCT regiments in Middle Tennessee were the ones who avenged Fort Pillow. The USCT (stationed in Chattanooga) who accompanied General Sherman saw the Confederate Army of Tennessee driven out of Atlanta, Georgia, in September of 1864. The Confederates and their General John Bell Hood headed west for an attack on Nashville, hoping to draw Sherman's 100,000-man army out of Georgia. That was not to be the case. On the bitterly cold days of December 15-19, 1864, about 13,000 USCT and 29,000 white Union troops under General George H. Thomas defeated Hood's Army of Tennessee (approximately 36,000 men) in the decisive Battle of Nashville. Thomas' two USCT brigades suffered 575 dead and hundreds wounded. In one place, at the bottom of icy Overton (Peach Orchard) Hill, the USCT's dead and wounded were piled "five deep."

The Confederates lost their last major army in the Upper South. They suffered some 6,000 casualties and the loss of six generals at the preceding Battle of Franklin (about thirty miles south of Nashville) on November 30, 1864. Then some 10,000 casualties (dead, wounded, and prisoners) were suffered on the Nashville battlefield just two weeks later. Some barefooted and shivering Confederate soldiers were glad to be captured by black soldiers. General Hood headed the remnants of his confused army south across the Tennessee River, then through Alabama into Oxford, Mississippi, where he resigned in humiliation by January 15, 1865.

The commanding Union general at Nashville, George H. Thomas, said: "The blood of white and black [Union] men has flowed freely together for the great [American] cause, which is to give freedom. Colonel Charles H. Thompson of the 12th USCT Regiment and his brigade of Colored Troops exhibited courage and steadiness that challenged the admiration of all who witnessed the charge." The Nashville *True Union* reported, "The hills of Nashville will forever attest to how desperately the despised slave will fight when he strikes for freedom." When the USCT marched from the battlefield, the men sang a moving rendition of *John Brown's Body* ("Glory, Glory, Hallelujah! His soul is marching on!"), leaving few spectators without tears.

John Brown, a fanatical white abolitionist, and his black and white vigilantes attacked Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, 1859, and fired the first shots of the coming Civil War in a futile effort to free and arm the local slaves. Brown, his son, and the black and white vigilantes lost their lives either in the battle or by hanging. Brown's memory and heroic efforts were preserved in the melodious songs of black people.

Before the last black regiments were mustered out of service in 1866, about 5,107 USCT casualties were suffered from capture, disease, wounds, and death in Tennessee. The graves of the USCT still can be found in various national cemeteries: Nashville (1,909); Memphis (4,208--including the "Fort Pillow" section); Chattanooga (103); Knoxville (663); Cumberland River (12); and Stones River (186). After the war, some blacks made annual pilgrimages (even as late as 1979-1995 in Nashville) to the local national cemeteries to honor the black Union soldiers and view their tombstones marked distinctively *USCT*.

There was a category of "black Confederates." Nearly 2,000 blacks (some voluntarily, but most involuntarily) served the Confederate Army of Tennessee in various capacities, including impressed servants, cooks, laborers, herders, and teamsters. When the Tennessee

General Assembly amended the 1906 Confederate Pension Law in 1921 to include former ("loyal") black Confederate workers, there were several black applicants. Recorded in the file of Caesar Hays are his words: "I stayed with my master until we were captured, and that was all I could do." Richard Lester of Wilson County could get no pension because he escaped when his master was captured at Fort Donelson. Monroe Stephenson of Maury County remained with Company B, 9th Tennessee Cavalry, until the last surrender.

The Confederates in Richmond tried to organize black regiments. After receiving written support from General Lee, the Confederate Congress passed a law to organize slave soldiers in March of 1865. On the same day that President Lincoln made an impressive review of 25,000 black Union army soldiers on the James River, the Confederates precipitously paraded a slave regiment in Richmond, where they hoped that "our loyal slaves" would fight as effectively for the Rebels as the USCT then performed for the Yankees. But it was too late for a dying and desperate Confederacy.

Blacks were of no real use to the Confederate war effort. There were too many barriers for the Confederates to overcome: their deep racial hatred for blacks; the slaveowners' opposition to the military use of valuable slaves; and the blacks' loyalty to the Union. All these factors negated any real gains the Confederates could realize through forced black participation in a white southern rebellion. In his book, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* (1938), southern historian Bell I. Wiley wrote, "It hardly seems likely that slaves who greeted the Yankees and grasped freedom with such alacrity under ordinary circumstances would by the donning of Confederate uniforms have been transformed into loyal and enthusiastic fighters for the establishment of the institution of slavery." (p. 162.) The slavocracy moaned that the "slaves trusted most" were often the first to flee to the Yankee side.

After four years of running around in circles, mostly in his home state, General Lee suffered the humiliation of surrendering the major Confederate army in Virginia on April 9, 1865. To make Confederate humiliation worse, President Lincoln and General Grant gave the USCT regiments the honor of being the first Union troops to occupy Richmond, the Confederate capital. Warned in advance by Lee, President Jefferson Davis and his officers commenced their desperate escape toward Mexico. Near Memphis, the 3rd USC Cavalry boarded Union gunboats and sped south on the Mississippi River to cut off Davis' escape. A jury of black and white men was set to try Davis for treason, but he later was released. After the Civil War, a white commander of the 14th USCT (which served in Gallatin, Chattanooga, and Pulaski, Tennessee), Colonel Thomas Jefferson Morgan, said:

If the records of their [USCT] achievements could be put into such shape that they could be accessible to the thousands of colored youth in the South, they would kindle in their young minds an enthusiastic devotion to liberty and manhood.

The black soldiers were not mean toward Confederate sympathizers, and black leaders sought no revenge against the slavocracy. When the USCT arrived in Richmond, the soldiers faithfully guarded the house of Davis' ailing wife, who had been left behind. Over in

Tennessee, to mark the end of the Civil War, the Reverend Nelson G. Merry and other black Nashvillians held a mass meeting in the First Colored Baptist Church to pray for peace and to "forgive and forget the past." Throughout Tennessee, blacks prayed for peace, cheered for the Union victory, and took no revenge against their former masters. As late as July 5, 1875, black preacher Hezekiah Henley held a racial unity celebration in Memphis and invited some former Confederate generals, including the notorious Nathan B. Forrest. General Forrest, "the devil himself," said that he had been maligned and misunderstood by black people: "I assure you that every man who was in the Confederate army is your friend. . .; and why should we not be brothers and sisters?" Forrest's words were ones of heartless and hollow utterances.

The period of Reconstruction became the most arduous one in the African-American history of postbellum Tennessee. Reconstruction in Tennessee began in March of 1862 when Tennessee's loyal U. S. Senator, Andrew Johnson of East Tennessee, was appointed military governor and arrived in Nashville to assume control of the government. A black leader, Elias Polk--a former servant to President James K. Polk--was among the local Unionist delegation which traveled to Murfreesboro to meet Johnson's train as it approached Nashville. When he spoke at the dedication of the Northwestern Military Railroad at Johnsonville on the Tennessee River in March of 1864, Governor Johnson urged Unionists to "go to the ballot box" and vote slavery dead in Tennessee. In the fall of 1864, black leaders organized a torchlight parade to honor Governor Johnson and petition for application of the Emancipation Proclamation to Tennessee. Johnson proclaimed himself "your Moses" and declared slavery dead in Tennessee. Blacks not only supported Johnson and Lincoln's policy, they held mock elections in November of 1864 for the reelection of Lincoln, with Johnson as vice presidential candidate.

On January 2, 1865, nationally known black leader John Mercer Langston gave the address for Nashville's Second Annual Emancipation Day Celebration program. Three days earlier, Langston had visited thousands of triumphant USCT regiments that had returned to the city after pursuing the remnants of the Confederate army into Alabama after the Battle of Nashville. Later in January of 1865, the Tennessee General Assembly amended the state's constitution to prohibit slavery; voters ratified the amendment in February. In March, black Tennesseans held parades to celebrate the official end of slavery, and on April 5, 1865, the General Assembly ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. The amendment abolished slavery throughout the country by December 13, 1865.

To effectively organize themselves to participate in the Reconstruction of Tennessee, on May 27, 1865, black leaders issued the call for their first State Colored Men's Convention. They met for several days in the early fall at Nashville's Saint John's African Methodist Episcopal Church. Some black leaders from Nashville and Memphis had been delegates to the National Colored Men's Convention in Syracuse, New York, during the summer of 1864, where they learned to articulate black issues and organize the freedmen. According to Scott's Nashville-based *The Colored Tennessean* of August 12, 1865, the first Tennessee State Colored Men's Convention called for final ratification of "the 13th National Amendment, as well as citizenship and black suffrage." A militant delegate, Sergeant Henry J. Maxwell

(representing the Memphis 3rd U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, Company B), said:

We shall be heard before the Congress and before the legislature. For rights we labor; for them we will die. We have gained one -- the [Union army] uniform is its badge. We want two more boxes besides the cartridge box -- the ballot and the jury box. We shall gain them.

In vain the black leaders petitioned the all-white Tennessee General Assembly, but conservative whites controlled the legislature, even though most of them were Republicans. Nightriders terrorized loyal East Tennessee and rural black communities throughout the state. White terror and anarchy caused General George H. Thomas to bring more Union soldiers into Tennessee. The legislature passed an "act to define the term 'person of color'," but not to give blacks full citizenship rights. Black leaders successfully petitioned the Congress to deny Tennessee's return to the Union.

On May 26, 1866, the General Assembly did give persons of color the rights to make contracts, sue, inherit property, and have equal benefits with the whites under the laws and for protection of life and property. But this measure was passed only after the Memphis race riot of May 6, 1866, left forty-eight blacks and two whites dead. The Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 and overrode President Andrew Johnson's veto on July 16, granting citizenship to the blacks. About the same time that the Congress acted, the Tennessee General Assembly ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which eventually (1868) provided constitutional guarantees for (1) full citizenship; (2) equal protection under the laws; and (3) due process for former slaves. As a result of state ratification, Tennessee was readmitted on July 24, 1866, into the united American states.

Yet, blacks still could not vote. On June 13, 1866, black leaders issued the call for the second Tennessee State Colored Men's Convention, to meet on August 6, 1866, in Nashville's Saint John's African Methodist Episcopal Church. Delegates arrived from Bedford, Blount, Davidson, Dekalb, Giles, Hamilton, Knox, Marshall, McMinn, Montgomery, Robertson, Rutherford, Shelby, Sumner, Williamson, and Wilson counties. Among the black leaders were Sampson W. Keeble, Daniel Wadkins, Nelson G. Merry, Nelson Walker, Nelson McGavock, Berber Alexander, George King, Edward Merriweather, Adolphus Smith, Alfred E. Anderson, Samuel and Peter Lowery, William Sumner, Benjamin Holmes, Charles Mullins, and E. D. Livingston. These black men were mostly educated, articulate, and brave in their campaign to assure voting rights for black Tennesseans.

In pursuit of black suffrage, the State Colored Men's Convention delegates organized a Tennessee chapter of the National Equal Rights League. Then Tennessee's black leaders organized crowds to daily demonstrate at the General Assembly's chambers "until a black suffrage bill is passed." The Knoxville *Whig* of February 6, 1867, reported that so many blacks sat in the legislature's gallery that it looked like "The gathering clouds of dusky humanity. . . ." On February 25, 1867, the Tennessee legislature granted blacks the right to vote (and hold office), and the governor signed the bill the following day. In March of 1867,

the blacks held their first political meetings to organize the black vote. Black Nashvillians first voted in the city's election of September, 1867, and elected two black councilmen, of whom one--Daniel Wadkins--was not seated. For reasons unknown, a white man was appointed to fill Wadkins' seat. Black Tennesseans voted in their first presidential election (since 1832) during the November 1868 election and cast almost all their votes for General Ulysses S. Grant for President of the United States.

As a result of their newfound political power, black Tennesseans gained several public offices and enjoyed a marriage with the Republican party for more than three generations after Emancipation. In September of 1868, Nashville elected five blacks to the city council. Through the 1880s, blacks not only occupied city council seats in Nashville and other towns, but held city and county positions, including magistrate and justice of the peace. Due to the political skills of black leader Edward Shaw, Memphis had as many as six black councilmen during the 1870s. Edward Shaw obtained the lucrative job of wharfmaster. In 1876, Knoxville's William F. Yardley became the first black man to campaign for governor of Tennessee.

The rising political power of the blacks and the Republicans caused a violent reaction from native whites, who believed that the Radical Republicans were taking racial equality too far. The Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacy organization headed by former Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest, began a campaign of terrorism in 1866. The KKK murdered white Unionists, lynched outspoken black leaders, and burned many freedmen's schoolhouses and churches. Despite the terrorism, black voters continued to turn out in huge numbers all over the state, and federal troops and state militiamen launched effective police action against organized white violence. Finally, in 1869, Forrest personally dissolved the Klan after a highly publicized "KKK Convention" in Nashville. However, white supremacists, Democrats, and Conservatives soon returned to political power.

As early as the September 1869 elections, the triad of white supremacists, Democrats, and Conservatives regained power in Nashville. The black voters divided themselves into three political factions: (1) Elias Polk and former-slave house servants, who supported the native elite white Democrats (Conservatives); (2) Randal Brown and black street-crew bosses and others, who supported the Radical Republicans (carpetbaggers) in Davidson County; and (3) Nelson Walker, Henry Harding, and other elite black entrepreneurs, who backed the native (moderate) Republicans. In 1870, the Democrats and Conservatives won the state elections because of more divisions in Tennessee's Republican party and because white Conservatives controlled the county registrar positions. From Memphis to Knoxville, the Conservatives employed white hoodlums and tactics of intimidation and violence against the freedmen at the polls to "redeem" state government. Several Former Confederates also won public office; even former Confederate Governor Isham G. Harris eventually won election as a U. S. senator from Tennessee. The new Tennessee General Assembly quickly repealed the State Militia Act and the anti-terrorist acts, thereby removing obstacles to the white Radicals' violent anti-black attacks and lynching activities.

Still, by the mid-1880s some thirteen blacks won election to the Tennessee General Assembly. Nine of these men came from five heavily black counties in West Tennessee. In

East Tennessee, Hamilton County sent two blacks to the legislature, although that county's black population was only thirty percent of the total citizenry. Among the early black legislators were Sampson W. Keeble and Thomas A. Sykes of Davidson County; Thomas F. Cassels, Isham F. Norris, Leonard Howard, Greene E. Evans, and William A. Fields of Shelby County; John W. Boyd of Tipton County; Samuel A. McElwee of Haywood County; David F. Rivers and Monroe W. Gooden of Fayette County; and William C. Hodge and Styles L. Hutchins of Hamilton County. Another black man, J. M. H. Graham of Clarksville, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1896, but the white members refused to seat him. Six decades would pass before any other blacks were elected to the Tennessee General Assembly.

Once they regained control of the state, the white Conservatives imposed poll taxes and other electoral laws that gradually disenfranchised most black voters in Tennessee; the disenfranchisement of black Tennesseans was nearly complete in the rural areas by the early 1900s. Even the Tennessee Republican party began a "lily-white" movement (as black leaders called it) to exclude blacks and attract more whites to the party. Black leaders resisted the "lily-white" movement and continued to support "good Republicans" on the state and national levels, but they voted for fusionist and moderate Democratic candidates on the city and county levels. A few blacks continued to run for public office, and some of them were elected to minor offices. A black attorney, Solomon Parker Harris, won a Nashville city council seat in 1911--the first since 1885.

After the Civil War, blacks feverishly engaged in efforts to build a black political economy. Black Nashville had its first black-owned drugstore by 1886, as well as six blocks of black businesses housed on the town's Cedar Street by the 1950s. Between 1865 and 1874, four Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Bank branches operated in the state in Chattanooga, Columbia, Memphis, and Nashville. The Freedman's Bank at Nashville was the largest and most prosperous one in Tennessee, and in 1872 it built its own building, Liberty Hall, at 44 Cedar Street. The economic depressions of the 1870s and fraud by white managers of the main branch in Washington, D. C., caused all Freedman's banks to collapse in March of 1874. Between 1870 and 1884, blacks like William Sumner and Henry Harding operated their own hotels in downtown Nashville. In South Memphis ("Fort Pickering"), too, black businesses dotted the black neighborhoods.

In spite of hard-won advancement after the Civil War, thousands of blacks joined the Black Exodus out of Tennessee because of poor economic conditions and campaigns of terrorism by radical whites. Only seventy-nine percent of the blacks remained in Tennessee after the war, compared to ninety-five percent in Arkansas and eighty-eight percent in Texas. After 1890, black migration (caused by economic, political, and racial oppression) was directed toward the industrial towns of the North. Tennessee's black population declined from twenty-six percent to only sixteen percent by 1995.

Because of economic oppression and the white Conservatives' rapid return to political power, by 1869 some of Nashville's black leaders encouraged the former slaves to join the Black Exodus to Kansas and western homestead lands. Black Nashvillians held a meeting on September 11, 1869, where black city councilman Randal Brown urged black people: "let

us go where we can grow lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other things; where we can be as good as anyone in society." Brown and four other black councilmen had just suffered defeat by the white Conservatives in the September elections. But some black leaders, notably the conservative Reverend Daniel Wadkins, feared a black exodus from Tennessee "when the [white] people are trying to procure [Chinese] laborers. . . ." to replace black workers.

Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, a fifty-two-year-old mulatto and former Davidson County slave, forged ahead with plans to take black settlers to the West (*i.e.*, Kansas). Singleton noted that even though blacks comprised one-third of Middle Tennessee's population, only six percent of black families owned any land by 1870. Although by 1886 black Tennesseans owned taxable property worth \$211,768,438, as late as 1910 only twenty-five percent of black farmers owned their lands. In West Tennessee, where blacks comprised nearly forty percent of the population, they were mostly sharecroppers and laborers.

Around 1870, Singleton joined forces with the Reverend Columbus M. Johnson of Sumner County and Abram Smith of Nashville to form the Edgefield Real Estate and Homestead Association. Johnson, Smith, and Singleton had been skilled slave artisans. They sent a committee to study settlement in Kansas in 1872 and petitioned the 1873 Tennessee State Colored Men's Convention for support. The 1875 Tennessee State Colored Men's Convention discussed the issue of black migration to the West and formed the Colored Emigration Society of Tennessee. The convention's delegates blamed the freedmen's misfortunes on "the. . . white people of Tennessee. . . [where]. . . the color line is so closely drawn as. . . to prevent us from sitting on juries. . . ."

By holding dances, parties, and fairs, Singleton and the Association raised money to help transport thousands of blacks to Kansas. Singleton personally directed nearly 8,000 blacks via steamboat and train to Kansas. By June of 1879, he had founded the Dunlap colony in Morris County, Kansas. Although the exodus stopped around 1881, from Nashville alone the out-migration of blacks during the Black Exodus period numbered 2,407 persons. In addition, thousands of blacks migrated from West Tennessee into Arkansas to seek homestead lands and higher farm wages. The Black Exodus from Tennessee was but one strategy by blacks to achieve equality and economic rights. Most black Tennesseans chose to stay and fight racism at home, as Frederick Douglass so eloquently advised them when he spoke in Nashville in September of 1873.

Between 1881 and 1921, black Tennesseans led their *second* civil rights movement: one that sought equal rights under the new Jim Crow (so named for an early nineteenth-century minstrel show character) system. As if to provoke the blacks toward this second movement, in 1881 Tennessee passed the nation's first Jim Crow (racial segregation) law. The law segregated railroad trains and caused black Nashvillians to lead their first freedom-ride demonstration by buying first-class tickets and attempting to board the cars. Jim Crow legislation flowed from the southern legislatures until the crescendo reached a climax in the 1890s. The U. S. Supreme Court sanctioned the Jim Crow system in 1896, when it ruled in the case of *Plessy versus Ferguson* that "separate but equal" public facilities did not violate black citizens' rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. By 1900, most black Tennesseans tolerated the southern Jim Crow system. Many elite black leaders embraced Booker T.

Washington's philosophy, which compromised and accommodated the whites' racial feelings in exchange for separate black schools, institutions, and economic concessions.

However, some black leaders continued to protest against Jim Crow's unfair practices. The leaders of this civil rights movement were elite blacks, who ironically supported Booker T. Washington's accommodationist philosophy yet opposed Jim Crow laws which denied *equal* (first-class) accommodations to upper-class blacks. The whites, however, did not recognize classes among Negroes, although some blacks were educated and wealthy. When the General Assembly passed a Jim Crow streetcar law in March of 1905, elite blacks launched public protests and even operated the Union Transportation Company in Nashville (1905-1907) and a streetcar company in Chattanooga, rather than ride in segregated cars. The early streetcar boycotts died because the elite blacks could not evoke the participation of the black masses, as grassroots civil rights leaders later would do successfully during the third civil rights movement in the post-World War Two era. Still, the second civil rights movement continued with intensity through the 1920s.

By 1911, a branch of the National Urban League was operating in Tennessee, in an effort to improve the social conditions of urban blacks. Soon there were active branches of the Colored Young Men's Christian Association in some Tennessee cities. In the North in 1910, former Tennesseans Mary Church Terrell and Ida B. Wells-Barnett were founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1918, Robert Church, Jr., and other blacks formed the Memphis chapter of the NAACP; a Nashville chapter followed in January of 1919; and soon Nashville's James C. Napier led a large public march to present the governor with a petition against racial lynchings. William J. Hale, head of the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes, and other black leaders helped moderate whites form the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. By 1921, Chattanooga had a branch of Marcus Garvey's more militant Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Racial oppression, however, continued in Tennessee, and more Jim Crow legislation flowed from the Tennessee General Assembly after 1921: the elite whites approved it, and the middle- and professional-class whites passed the laws to enforce it. It was the radical whites who used violence to keep blacks behind the Jim Crow line. The elite whites enjoyed a return to power and a sense of royalty. Then, just as in the days of slavery, neither the poor and middle-class whites nor the blacks (even the elite ones) could threaten elite white society.

Between 1890 and 1950, racial lynchings plagued Tennessee. Approximately 235 black Americans lost their lives to lynch mobs in 1892, and 204 blacks suffered lynchings in Tennessee between 1890 and 1950. Frederick Douglass came to Nashville on May 20, 1892, to speak at First Colored Baptist Church just after the brutal lynching of a black in Goodlettsville and another one on Nashville's Woodland Street Bridge. A Memphis black school teacher, Ida B. Wells, wrote a stinging article in her newspaper, the *Memphis Free Speech*, against a recent lynching. The result was that the whites burned the newspaper office in March of 1892 and forced Wells to flee to the North to live in exile. Wells and Douglass became America's most able speakers and international crusaders against lynching.

Thousands of black Tennesseans began the Black Northern Migration around 1890, when they headed to industrial centers like Indianapolis, Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Detroit. Because of the Black Northern Migration and the in-migration of whites to Nashville, the city's black population decreased from forty percent in 1890 to only twenty-two percent by the 1970s. In Memphis, the blacks lost their majority and did not regain it until the 1980s. Just as early twentieth-century black southerners fled to the North to seek justice and jobs, some four million poor white southerners joined them in the North. Then race riots soon became modern phenomena in northern cities. From 1870 to 1930, Tennessee's black population declined from 25.6 percent to 18.3 percent.

Despite the out-migration of many capable and ambitious blacks from Tennessee, the state's black communities continued to make social and cultural progress. Most large black communities had newspapers, including Nashville's *Colored Tennessean* (1865-66), *Tennessee Star* (1880s), and *Globe* (1905-60); Memphis' *Free Speech* (1880s-92), *Moon Illustrated Weekly* (1905), and Ed Shaw's *The Memphis Planet*; and Chattanooga's *Blade* (early 1900s) and the *Observer*. In Nashville, there were three large black religious publishing houses: AME Sunday School Union (1882-), National Baptist Publishing Board (1896-), and Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated (1915-).

In addition to being the founder of the NBPB, the Reverend Richard H. Boyd helped other black leaders push a progressive business movement in Tennessee, urging blacks to "buy black," to vote for "good Republicans," to start businesses, and to purchase homes. Several chapters of Booker T. Washington's Negro Business League operated in Tennessee after 1902, and Nashville's J. C. Napier became president of the National Negro Business League. By 1910, there were black owned-and-operated banks, insurance branches, real estate agencies, and recreational parks in Tennessee. Memphis' Bert Roddy organized the Negro Southern Baseball League. Robert R. Church, Sr., built a recreational park for blacks on Beale Street in 1899. By 1905, Nashville's Preston Taylor had opened his huge Greenwood Park on Lebanon Road. In July of 1912, Nashville opened the nation's first public park for blacks (Hadley Park) and a Negro Carnegie Library.

Black Tennesseans also enjoyed a cultural renaissance. Between 1898 and 1915, several black printing companies published many books and treatises to advance the black man's cause. The Baptist minister Sutton E. Griggs wrote and published thirty-three books while living in Nashville and later Memphis. In 1915, black companies in Tennessee had published dozens of books, and Fisk University started its own university press. (This renaissance spirit was revived in 1976, with publication of Alex Haley's highly popular, Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Roots*.)

Postbellum Tennessee had several major black colleges: Roger Williams University--formerly Nashville Normal and Theological Institute (1866-1929); Fisk University (1866-); Walden University--formerly Central Tennessee College (1868-1922); Tennessee Manual Labor University (1868-1874); LeMoyne College--now LeMoyne-Owen College (1869-); Knoxville College (1876-); Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College--now Tennessee State University (1912-); Meharry Medical College--formerly part of Walden

University (1915-); National Baptist Training School and Theological Seminary (1918-1934); American Baptist Theological Seminary--now American Baptist College (1924-).

In 1920, Tennessee took the center stage in the women's suffrage movement, as women across the nation sought the thirty-sixth state needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, granting women the right of "full franchise." In Nashville, black women such as J. Frankie Pierce and Mattie E. Coleman formed coalitions with white women to secure female suffrage. Dr. Coleman, a Meharry Medical School graduate and community leader during the First World War, was the impetus behind the September 3, 1918, formation of the Women's Missionary Council of the Christian Episcopal Church. Coleman became the new organization's first president. Frankie Pierce was among Nashville's first black public school teachers in the 1880s, founder of the City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and a founder of the Tennessee Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. On May 18, 1920, Pierce addressed the first meeting of the Tennessee League of Women Voters in the chambers of the Tennessee House of Representatives, saying:

Yes, we will stand by the white woman. . . .We are interested in the same moral uplift of the community in which we live as you are. We are asking only one thing -- a square deal. It remained for the [First World] war to show what the [N]egroes could do. We bought bonds, we gave money, we made comfort kits, we prayed. . . .We want recognition in all forms of this government. . . .We want a state vocational school and a child welfare department of the state, and more room in state schools.

After Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Amendment on August 18, 1920, and removed the immediate poll tax for female voters, black women voted in their first election in Nashville during the fall of 1920. According to newspaper accounts, black women voters turned out in greater numbers than did black male voters. Among the black female leaders who cheered the result was Nettie Langston Napier, who had worked the Republican polls on the black side of town (as many black women did, with badges pinned to their dresses) since the 1870s. Like the male members of their families, the black suffragists remained Republicans, but they voted Democratic on the local level. As a result of women's new political influence and Frankie Pierce's tireless efforts, the General Assembly passed a bill creating the Tennessee Vocational School for Colored Girls (to be located on Nashville's Heiman Street) on April 7, 1921.

Economic depression plus white racism (Jim Crowism) left most black Tennesseans and their offspring unable to compete in a post-World War One society dominated by white Conservatives. Memphis' one black bank collapsed in 1927. Nashville's Peoples Savings and Trust Company Bank closed in 1930; the city's Citizens Bank was bailed out of financial trouble by the New Deal's Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Black barber shops, beauty shops, and funeral homes seemed immune to the economic depression. Certainly, black death rates (*i.e.*, infant mortality) far exceeded white death rates, and black prison and

jail rates, as well as health statistics, were shameful in Tennessee. After slavery (1866), blacks had lower arrest and jail rates than whites, but by the 1880s black arrests and imprisonment exceeded those for white Tennesseans, partly due to racially unfair police and court systems.

Indeed, a combination of economic and social Jim Crowism, plus political impotency, left black Tennesseans too weak to be competitive with whites in the twentieth century. Only twenty-five percent of black Tennesseans were skilled or professional workers by 1930, and during the 1930s only some 900 black Tennesseans were graduated annually from high school. Although Memphis had twenty-three teachers and five black schools in 1885, there was no black high school until the 1920s. Nashville's blacks gained a high school (Meigs) by the late 1880s, but only after public protest. Many Tennessee counties had no public schools for blacks beyond the middle grades until the Julius Rosenwald Fund provided money to build them. In a city as progressive as Nashville, the all-white school board allocated only seven dollars per black pupil, compared to more than thirteen dollars for the education of each white student.

As early as 1940, half of black Tennesseans performed domestic and menial service jobs. Rural blacks mostly sharecropped or picked cotton for two to three dollars per hundred, earning less than four hundred dollars per year as late as the 1950s. In Memphis until the 1950s, crowds of blacks stood on street corners before daybreak, waiting for buses to transport them to cotton fields in rural West Tennessee, northern Mississippi, and eastern Arkansas to earn two-to-three dollars a day picking cotton. Entire urban black families made their seasonal earnings this way. Therefore, after successful military service in World War Two (repetitive of military achievements during the First World War), black Tennesseans began a *third* phase of their civil rights movement.

Black Tennesseans first launched an attack on educational Jim Crow during the 1940s. They used the federal courts to sue for desegregation of the graduate school at the University of Tennessee, equal pay for black and white public school teachers, and equal curricula in black schools. Blacks in Clinton successfully filed a federal court suit to desegregate the town's schools in 1951, causing white Radicals to bomb the school in 1958. After the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in the 1954 *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case that separate but equal was unconstitutional, Nashville's A. Z. Kelly (a barber and parent) and black attorneys Z. A. Looby and Avon N. Williams, Jr., successfully sued the Nashville Board of Education after black children were denied admission to a white public school in the fall of 1955. This success also caused white Radicals to bomb an integrated school. In Memphis ("the capital of Mississippi," as militant young blacks often expressed their cynicism) the public schools did not desegregate until 1961, although Memphis State University began "gradual desegregation" during 1955-1959. Rather than attend the public schools with black people, white Memphians (many of whom, indeed, had their roots in Mississippi) created one of America's largest private school systems, leaving Memphis' public schools almost all black by 1995.

Black Tennesseans also took aim at social Jim Crow. In 1959, the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith (pastor of Nashville's historic First Colored Baptist Church), the Reverend James Lawson (divinity student), and local college students began training for sit-in

demonstrations. They intended to bring civil disobedience to bear as a weapon to dismantle Jim Crow in public places. Smith, a friend to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., believed in the *social activism* of the black church. Beginning in February of 1960, the students and the Nashville Southern Christian Leadership Conference continued months of public demonstrations until Mayor Ben West and the city's leaders voluntarily desegregated downtown public facilities, making Nashville the first southern city to voluntarily end segregation.

The attack on political Jim Crowism was already in progress by 1948. Nashville blacks formed the "Solid Block" and published the *Solid Block* newspaper in 1949, in an effort to force the General Assembly to repeal the poll tax. After extensive debate and having received many petitions, the legislature repealed the tax, and as a result, in 1950, two black men (Robert E. Lillard and Z. Alexander Looby) were elected to Nashville's city council. In rural Fayette County during 1959-1965, John and Viola McFerrin led blacks in revolt against the Jim crow voting system, causing whites to evict thousands of black sharecroppers from their homes. In 1965, the rural blacks regained the right to register, vote, and hold local public offices. In Memphis, black leaders Russell Sugarmon, Benjamin Hooks, A. W. Willis, Jr., and others led a renewal of black politics under a new banner: the Democratic party. Although they lost their first elections, the experience left the black leaders with political acumen and organizations that eventually would gain black political power. In 1965, Memphis sent a black man, Archie W. Willis, Jr., to the state House of Representatives--he was the first black elected to the General Assembly since Fayette County Democrat Monroe Gooden (1887-89). Between 1966 and 1971, the General Assembly included ten other blacks: Senator J. O. Patterson and representatives Dorothy Brown, Russell B. Sugarmon, Jr., M. G. Blakemore, Harold Love, Alvin King, Avon N. Williams, Jr., Ira Murphy, Robert Booker, and James I. Taylor. Representative Love served faithfully for more than a quarter of a century. The black civil rights movement (which included demands for economic justice) continued to sweep across Tennessee, ostensibly to culminate in 1968 with the murder of national civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., during the black sanitation workers' strike in Memphis. In 1969-70, however, black Memphians led their successful "Black Mondays" to boycott the public schools and force the city to change its at-large school board seats to districts, so that blacks also could serve on that governing body.

Yet Tennessee remained a state where descendants of Confederates and slaveholders and their supporters waved the bloody flag of Civil War. For example, over the objections of black citizens led by Leo Lillard and others, conservative whites and neo-Confederates placed a bust of the former head of the Ku Klux Klan, Nathan B. Forrest, in the Capitol rotunda. They also supported monuments and state pensions for participants in the "Lost Cause," daring others to speak against such historical foolishness. Because of their political allies in the General Assembly, their operative heritage organizations, and their aggressive intimidation of "pro-Union" writers and speakers, the neo-Confederates of Tennessee managed to postpone the placement of a statue of President Andrew Johnson until one was erected at last on the State Capitol grounds on October 18, 1995. Ironically (for the sake of

accurate history), a Republican governor presided over the ceremonies. The correct revision of Tennessee's history remains underway.

Through the 1970s, black Tennesseans continued to redeem their rights and bring equity and justice into an unfair Tennessee society, where citizens of color were assigned positions on the bottom. After the federal court ordered the reapportionment of Tennessee's political districts, Memphis' Harold Ford, former state representative and graduate of Tennessee State University, became in 1974 the first black to represent Tennessee in the U. S. Congress, where he has served twenty years. To advance desegregation efforts, Tennessee State University (formerly Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial) and the University of Tennessee's Nashville branch campus were merged in July of 1979 under the name Tennessee State University. Ten years of court cases (*Geier versus Tennessee*) by a group of black and white plaintiffs and attorney Avon N. Williams, Jr., had resulted in this historic pairing. An ironical outcome of the *Geier versus Tennessee* case was that it initiated in the 1980s and 1990s a movement by middle-class whites and white Conservatives to dismantle "racially identifiable" public colleges (i.e., Tennessee State University) and oppose "special privileges" (affirmative action programs) for any racial group.

All the aforementioned changes helped transform Tennessee's black communities for better and worse by 1995. African Americans earned less than half the average income for local white families in 1960. White businessmen and governmental officials continued to shut African Americans out of the state's economic prosperity, except as cheap laborers. In 1967, only one hundred and sixty-eight blacks were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the Knoxville area, whereas poor and less-educated whites received TVA employment in much greater numbers. By 1970, some thirty-eight percent of Tennessee black families lived below the poverty level. The percentage of black high-school graduates ranged from fifty-four percent in Davidson County (a percentage higher than that for whites in many Tennessee counties) to only 16.6 percent in Cheatham County by 1980. By 1986, however, approximately 27,514 blacks attended the state's colleges and universities.

Through the mid-1990s, black Tennesseans continued to make slow progress. In the *State of the Black Economy*, a report to the Twenty-first Annual Legislative Retreat (November 16-19, 1995), it was shown that Tennessee's black population increased by 1990 to sixteen percent (778,000), with forty-six percent of the total (360,000) living in Shelby County and the next largest percentage (119,000) residing in Davidson County. (Pp. 1-7.) Fayette County (44.19%) and Haywood County (49.65%) also had large black population percentages. In 1995, blacks comprised over fifteen percent of the students in Tennessee's colleges and universities. Yet only fifty-nine percent of blacks twenty-five and older were high-school graduates and some ten percent had completed college, compared to sixty-eight percent and seventeen percent, respectively, for white Tennesseans. In further comparison, some sixty-three percent of America's black adults completed high school, and eleven percent were college graduates by 1990. As in the nineteenth century, over half of black Tennesseans remained in lower-skilled jobs, and black households earned only sixty-three percent of the income earned by white Tennessee households by 1989 (some 32.4% of blacks and only 12.5% of whites in Tennessee lived in poverty by 1989).

In the 1990s, however, black Tennesseans moved toward the twenty-first century without hesitation. A black man, W. W. Herenton, became mayor of Memphis, Tennessee's largest city. Other blacks held the mayor's job in other towns, including Jonesborough in East Tennessee. A black man, James Walker, became president of the white Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro, and several of Tennessee's state commissioners were black men and women. Otis Floyd, former president of Tennessee State University, became chancellor of the Tennessee Board of Regents. Across the state, black men and women engaged more than 10,000 small and large businesses in the fields of technology, manufacturing, communications, health care, finance, and other services and products. By 1993, black business people annually added about \$6,000,000,000 to Tennessee's economy.

To sustain this progress and overcome persistent obstacles, an active and influential caucus of black state legislators provided leadership in identifying problems and solutions for gaining economic equality for Tennessee's black citizens. At the Annual Black Caucus Retreat each November, citizens from across Tennessee met to discuss problems and develop legislation and solutions. The meetings' serious tone was reminiscent of the old State Colored Men's Conventions of 1865-1885: perhaps African-American history had come full circle in Tennessee.

Thus, by 1995 African Americans in Tennessee--whose legacy is a long story of triumph over human slavery, tragedy, Jim Crow, and racism--stand poised on the threshold of the twenty-first century to continue to make significant contributions to Tennessee history.

Bobby L. Lovett

ERNEST RAYMOND ALEXANDER (1892-)



Ernest Raymond Alexander was a prominent contributor to the Nashville Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a member of the Fisk University board of trustees. He was born in Dixon Springs, Tennessee, on June 21, 1892. After his family moved to Nashville, young Ernest attended Meigs School in 1910. He completed Fisk University in 1914.

Alexander attended the University of Minnesota's medical school but completed his medical degree at the University of Vermont (1919). While at Vermont he was awarded "Honor Man in Medicine," the first prize for "Special Merit in Medicine," and the Woodbury prize for "Clinical Proficiency in

Medicine." He worked in the fields of dermatology and syphilology.

Dr. Alexander opened his medical practice in Harlem during the summer of 1920 and he joined the staffs at Bellevue Hospital and Harlem Hospital. He completed post-graduate studies at Columbia University and additional work at New York University and the Bellevue Hospital Medical College by 1925. He was a member of many professional organizations and author of several medical articles.

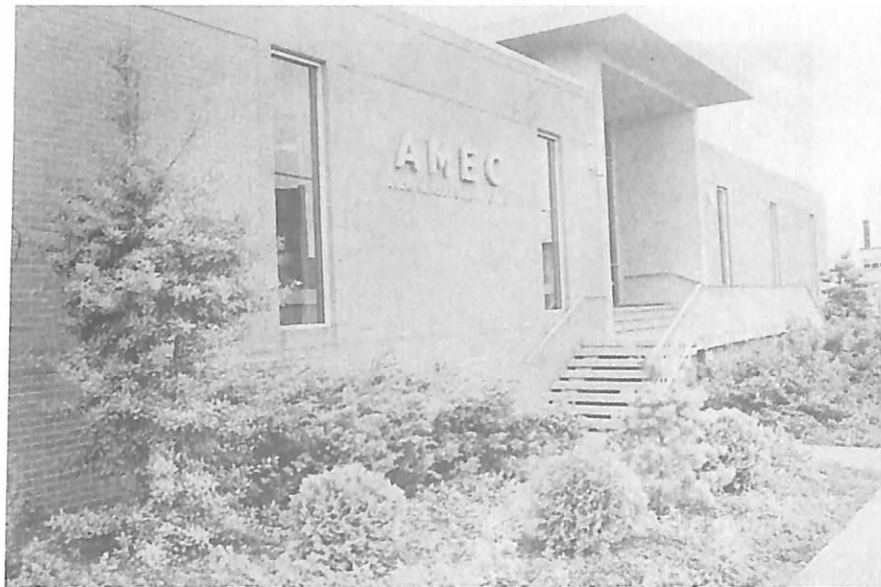
Dr. Alexander became involved in the advancement of black people. He was an active member of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and a contributing member to the YMCA, the National Urban League, and the NAACP. He was one of the first life members of the NAACP. He also was an advisor to the Boy Scouts of America and received the Silver Beaver Award (1949) and the Silver Antelope Award (1954).

Dr. Alexander's wife, Lillian, donated the E. R. Alexander Collection of Negroana to the Fisk University Library and gave a matching endowment of five thousand dollars to support it. Mrs. Alexander was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Minnesota. When visiting Nashville, the Alexanders attended First Baptist Church of East Nashville. Dr. Alexander had great influence on developments in black Nashville, especially through his Negroana collection at Fisk University, where black achievement and culture are displayed through the Alexanders' efforts.

H. Henryne D. White

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION (1882-)

In 1787 in the city of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, Alexander Hamilton, and others gathered to frame the Constitution of these United States. At the same time and in the same city, Richard Allen, Daniel Coker, and others were meeting to organize what has become the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It was not established because of any



theological differences with the Methodist Church, of which the founders were a part. Rather, it was established as a protest against segregation and discrimination which these founders had experienced in St. George's Methodist Church. With the increase in numbers of these black churches in the Philadelphia and Baltimore areas, the first General Conference was held in 1816 and the African Methodist Episcopal Church became the first black denomination in the United States.

Two years later in 1818 Richard Allen, the founder and first consecrated bishop, realized that it was necessary to initiate a method of disseminating information if there were to be growth of this embryonic church. The first department, therefore, to be established was Publications, with its Book Concern becoming the "oldest publishing house of any importance owned by Negroes." It was designed to print the discipline, hymnals, church supplies, study courses for young ministers, and church materials such as books, newspapers, and magazines.

In 1847 the AME Church, which had become interested in the development of Sunday schools, considered several proposals for a Sunday School Union to organize and develop Sunday schools. It was not until 1882 that the Reverend Charles S. Smith of Bloomington, Indiana, projected a plan that brought into existence the Sunday School Union, at which the first Sunday school literature by African Americans was published. The department, first located at Bloomington, moved to Nashville in 1886, where the Reverend Smith, the first secretary-treasurer, purchased a five-story brick and stone building at 206 Public Square. Upon the election of Smith to the bishopric in 1900, the Reverend William D. Bhappelle became the second secretary-treasurer, serving until 1908.

Ira T. Bryant, the first layman to hold the position of secretary-treasurer, was elected in 1908 and served until 1936. During his twenty-eight year tenure a larger building at 404

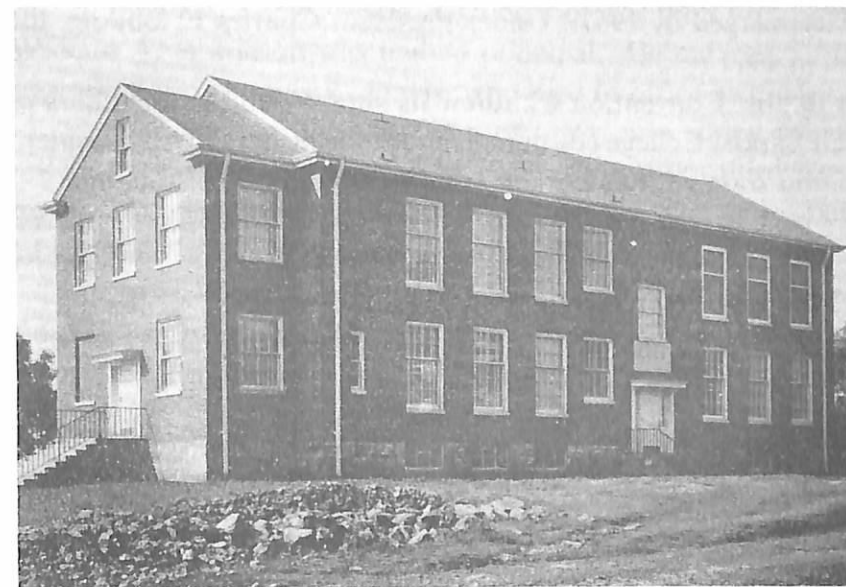
Eighth Avenue, South, was purchased; a modern printing plant installed; and additional property acquired. When he was defeated for office by E. A. Selby in 1936, Bryant contested the election and was able to retain the connection's property for five years, until the case was decided by a federal court. It was not until eight years later that the Church was awarded several pieces of contested property and given a monetary settlement. During Selby's twenty-eight-year tenure, the Department of Publications and the Book Concern, which was in reality a book agency, merged with the Sunday School Union.

Elected in 1964, the Reverend Charles S. Spivey, Sr., served until he retired in 1972. Reverend Henry A. Belin, Jr., who became the secretary-treasurer in 1972, was responsible for the building of a much-needed publishing house at 500 Eighth Avenue, South, which was dedicated in November of 1977.

When Belin became a bishop in 1984, the Reverend A. Lee Henderson was elected. Henderson, who had a successful publishing background, added brilliant color and creative graphics to give the Sunday school literature and other publications a new look. The AME Sunday School Union continues its mission of publishing for the purpose of disseminating information to churches and the general public.

Jamye C. Williams

AMERICAN BAPTIST COLLEGE (1924-)



American Baptist College is located at 1800 Whites Creek Pike in Nashville. The institution offers the B. A. and the Th.B. degrees in humanities, biblical and theological studies, and church vocations. The idea for such an institution began as early as September of 1895 when the National Baptist Convention (NBC) and its Educational Board were founded. However, not

until 1913 did the National Baptist Convention form a seminary committee and secure support from the white Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). In 1915, the plans were further delayed when the National Baptist Convention split into opposing factions: National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (UNBCA), and National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated (NBCI).

The opposing black National Baptist Convention factions proceeded to open separate seminaries. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated, opened the National Baptist Theological Seminary and Bible Training School in Howe Institute in Memphis in 1916, and the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated, founded the National Baptist Seminary and Missionary Training School (1918-1931) in Nashville's former white Boscobel College campus. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated, moved its school from Memphis in 1918 and located the classes in the Roger Williams University facilities on Whites Creek Pike.

With help from the Southern Baptist Convention, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated, purchased land next door in 1921 and constructed facilities by 1923. On September 14, 1924, the American Baptist Theological Seminary opened its doors.

The school struggled under presidents William T. Amiger (1924-25) and Sutton E. Griggs (1925-26). After the adjacent Roger Williams University closed in 1929, the seminary moved to quarters rented on Meharry Medical College's First Avenue South campus, where it remained during 1931-1934. Meanwhile, white Trevecca College occupied the former campus on Whites Creek Pike. In September, 1934, the Seminary moved back to the Whites Creek property, and Trevecca relocated to the former campus of Walden College (a black school operated during 1868-1922) near Murfreesboro Road.

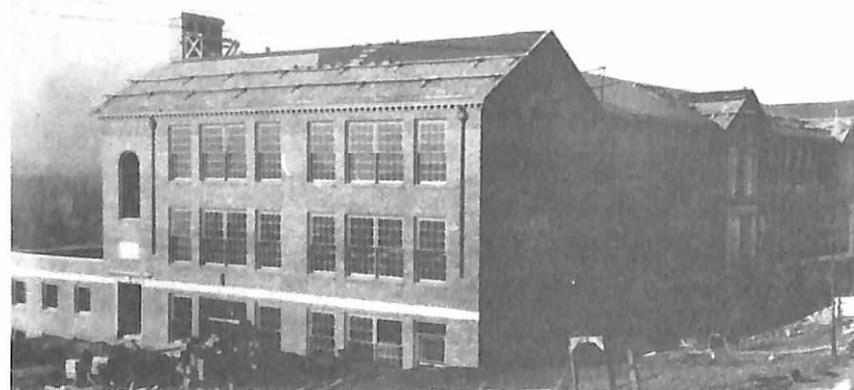
In 1936, the Convention placed a Missionary Training School for Women next door, in the old Roger Williams University buildings. The co-ed classes, as well as night and summer classes, were begun. The Southern Baptist Convention agreed in 1937 to help finance the budget. Thirty-eight students--the largest class ever--were graduated in 1948. The training school and the seminary merged by 1957. Under President Charles E. Boddie, the institution gained accreditation in 1971.

By 1995, the Southern Baptist Convention withdrew its support and its members of the board of trustees. American Baptist College continued, under the leadership of President Bernard Lafayette, to educate and train church workers, ministers, and other students.

Bobby L. Lovett

AUSTIN HIGH SCHOOL (1879-1968)

On July 3, 1994, Knoxville's Austin High School Alumni celebrated the 115th anniversary of the school. Founded in 1879, it was the first public high school to educate the city's black youngsters and was the great-great-grandmother of the present Austin East High school.



When Miss Emily Austin, a white woman of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, came to Knoxville in 1870, there were various classrooms for black children in church basements and lodge halls, as well as one-room school houses scattered here and there. With her connections in the North, she was determined that black children would be offered a decent education.

After teaching these children in grade school for eight years, she felt the time had come to open a black high school. She returned to the North, raised \$6,500 among her friends, and asked the Knoxville Board of Education to contribute another \$2,000 to make the school a reality. Austin High School opened during the fall of 1879.

The first black principal of the school, John W. Manning, arrived in the fall of 1881. A native of Edenton, North Carolina, he had been graduated from Yale University earlier that year. He structured the school's curriculum and graduated its first tenth-grade class in 1888. He retired as principal in 1912.

Charles Warner Cansler, known as a "mathematical wizard" and a teacher at the school since 1900, became its principal in 1912. He had read law and had been admitted to the Knoxville Bar in 1892. He was a Republican candidate for the state legislature in 1894, but he decided to give up politics and law for a career in education.

Austin High was originally established on Central Street in an area which, by the turn of the century, was called one of the city's worst vice districts. After much clamoring by local blacks, the school was moved to Payne Avenue in 1916 and renamed Knoxville Colored High School. In just twelve short years this building, too, was overcrowded and outdated for the city's growing black population.

In 1928 a new Austin High School was built just a few blocks away on Vine Street. William A. Robinson was named principal. He moved to Atlanta two years later and was succeeded by Thomas R. Davis, who died in office in 1948.

Fannie C. Clay, the Dean of Girls, was acting principal until Otis T. Hogue was appointed principal in the fall of 1949. By 1952, a third Austin High School building was under construction just a block away. It would offer more space and programs for a modern education. It officially opened in the fall of 1952.

In an effort to bring about full racial integration in Knoxville's high schools, the city Board of Education in 1968 decided to combine Austin High with all-white East High, some eight or ten blocks away. Austin students moved to the East High building in the fall of 1968. The school was renamed Austin East High School.

Robert J. Booker

DEFORD BAILEY (1899-1982)



DeFord Bailey was born in 1899 at Carthage, Smith County, Tennessee. His mother died when he was a little more than a year old, and his father's sister and her husband reared DeFord. Stricken with infantile paralysis at the age of three years, the bedridden child was given a harmonica as a means of amusement. Bailey overcame polio, although he had a deformed back and never grew taller than four feet, ten inches. However, his skill with the harmonica and his musical talent gained Bailey renown in the field of country music.

Bailey's impressionable years were spent around the rural communities of Newsom's and Thompson's stations, located near the railroad, where Bailey composed many of his tunes on the harmonica. He had to go under a train trestle on the way to school, and Bailey said he would wait for the train to go over; then "I would get under it, put my hands over my eyes, listen to the sound, and then play that sound all the way to school." Bailey became famous for recreating the sounds of rushing locomotives.

During his teenage years, Bailey worked for a white storekeeper in Thompson's Station and played the harmonica, to the delight of the customers and the proprietor. He remained with the storekeeper for some time before joining his family in Nashville, where he held several jobs. He continued to play the harmonica.

On December 6, 1925, DeFord won second place with his rendition of "It Ain't Gonna Rain No More" in a French harp contest on radio station WDAD. Soon after, Bailey made his first appearance on WSM Radio, after overcoming some racial opposition from the station's director. The young black performer was given the title "Harmonica Wizard."

Bailey played a role in the naming of the "Grand Ole Opry." In 1926, the WSM Barn Dance followed an hour of symphonic music, and one evening its programming concluded with a selection by a young composer from Iowa reproducing the sound of a train. Bailey opened the country music program with his rendition of "Pan American Blues." The difference in the musical genres caused the director, George D. "Judge" Hay, to observe, "For the past hour we have been listening to music taken largely from grand opera; from now on we will present 'The Grand Ole Opry.'"

Bailey toured with other stars of the Opry, including Roy Acuff, Uncle Dave Macon, Bill Monroe, and others. During his travels throughout the South in the 1930s, he was well

received by the country music public, although racial segregation laws caused Bailey problems in hotels and restaurants. To get a hotel room, on some occasions either he posed as a baggage boy for the white performers or pretended to be Uncle Dave Macon's valet.

In April of 1927, Bailey teamed with the black Golden Echo Quartet to make his first recordings of "Pan American Express" and "Hesitation" for Columbia Records in Atlanta. The Columbia recordings were never released. Two weeks later he recorded eight titles for Brunswick label in New York. On October 2, 1928, DeFord recorded for Victor records during a Nashville session. "Ice Water Blues/Davidson County Blues" became so popular that the Victor label released it three times.

Bailey's popularity peaked and waned within fifteen years. During the height of his popularity, he was allowed a twenty-five-minute performance on the three-hour Opry show. By 1941, he was off the Opry and beginning a thirty-year career of shining shoes at his shop on Twelfth Avenue, South. Apparently, WSM dropped Bailey because of his limited repertoire and his failure to convert to new tunes and written music. Bailey denied that he refused to learn new tunes; he claimed that the audience and the director insisted on hearing the old tunes.

During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, Bailey's career was remembered. He made an appearance on a local syndicated blues television show, "Night Train," and in 1965 he made a rare concert appearance at Vanderbilt University. He appeared on the Opry's oldtimers show in 1974 at the Ryman Auditorium. On December 14, 1974, Bailey celebrated his 75th birthday by appearing in the new Grand Ole Opry House and playing several of his old tunes. He played for the homecoming show on April 3, 1982.

DeFord Bailey died at the age of 82 on July 2, 1982. On June 23, 1983, the country music industry celebrated DeFord Bailey as the first African-American star of the Grand Ole Opry. The mayor unveiled a plaque in Bailey's honor, and a monument was placed at his grave site in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery. Bailey's memorabilia was presented to the Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum.

Linda T. Wynn

JAMES GARFIELD BECK (1881-1969)

ETHEL BENSON BECK (1896-1970)

James Garfield Beck and **Ethel** Benson Beck were two of the most glamorous and influential members of Knoxville's black community during the 1920s, '30s, and '40s. They were in the forefront of most civic, church, and social activities. They were extremely attractive, had money, and were athletic.



Beck was an intellectual, while his wife had a business mind. He came to Knoxville in 1898 from Camden, Alabama, to attend the Knoxville College Normal School, which he finished in 1902. He was graduated from Knoxville College in 1906. In college, Beck distinguished himself in several sports, and he was particularly good in baseball. After graduation, he taught at several schools, including Austin High in 1910. He also served as the first athletic director at Knoxville College.

Mrs. Beck was a native of Morristown, Tennessee, and received her early training at Morristown College. It is possible that the Becks first met when he played baseball against the Morristown team. They were married in 1913, the same year he became the first black postal clerk in Tennessee when he was hired by the Knoxville Post Office. Over the years, they amassed a fortune in real estate.

The Becks were involved in the establishment of the Knoxville Colored Orphanage in 1919. That summer a group of citizens saw the need to care for and protect unfortunate black children and formed a board of management to organize an orphanage. A popular subscription raised about \$7,500 and property near Knoxville College was purchased for the project. After several months, the project seemed doomed to failure, until Ethel Beck was elected to head the board. Within two years, she had wiped out all debts and announced that she intended to build a first-class brick building to cost approximately \$10,000. She made good on that promise, and by 1941 the name of the orphanage was changed to the Ethel Beck Home For Children.

James Beck was a life-long Republican, who served as a sergeant-at-arms at the 1940 National Republican Convention. He was one of the chief organizers of the Knoxville Branch NAACP in 1919. He was a candidate for city council in 1951.

Ethel Beck was active with the Order of Eastern Star and served as Honored Grand Conductress for eight years. She was president of the Tennessee State Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. Being a sports enthusiast, she played in a national tennis meet in Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1928. She was the superintendent of the playground at the popular Cal Johnson Park for four years.

The Beck Cultural Exchange Center in Knoxville is named for the Becks.

Robert J. Booker

BETHLEHEM CENTERS OF NASHVILLE (1894-)

Beginning in 1894, a group of Nashville women associated with the Methodist Church assisted many immigrating families, and two years later they established the Door of Hope Mission which offered early child-care services and a rescue mission for girls. The Methodists in Nashville had been immersed in the "social gospel" since the 1870s.

In 1901, they led the way when the City Mission Board established the first full-fledged settlement home on Claiborne and Fillmore streets in South Nashville. Two years



later it was named Wesley Community House, and its programming was modeled after Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago, Illinois. Its programs for the disadvantaged ranged from educational to recreational services. In 1913, after numerous moves, the Wesley Community House moved into new facilities on Wharf Avenue, where it remained until 1957. Officials of Wesley House developed the J. C.

Napier Center in 1956 to serve the African-American community.

In 1908, the Warioto Settlement House began for mill workers at the Morgan and Hamilton Bag Company's Warioto Cotton Mill. These were white, predominantly rural migrant workers, who lived in Kalb Hollow in North Nashville. Young Methodist women from the Methodist Training School of Nashville canvassed the community and invited mill workers to the new settlement. Warioto settlement services ranged from activities for pre-school children to sewing and cooking groups, to mothers learning the newest techniques of child care, diet, and the prevention of disease. From funds raised through the Methodist Centenary Drive, the Warioto Settlement House moved to Monroe Street in 1919. Two years later, a new building was erected and Warioto was given the name Centenary Methodist Institute.

Another Methodist settlement was encouraged by Sallie Hill Sawyer, an African American, who in 1907 approached the Methodists at the Training School and urged them to extend services to Nashville's indigent African Americans. A graduate of Fisk University, Sawyer was a former school teacher and a member of Capers Memorial Colored Methodist Church. In 1913, Estelle Haskins, of the Missionary Training School, and Sallie Sawyer began a kindergarten, well-baby clinic, sewing circle, and recreation programs for African Americans in the basement of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church. In 1914, with funds from the Tennessee Conference Woman's Missionary Society, a building for Bethlehem Center was built at Tenth and Cedar streets for African Americans. A year later, the center, with an interracial staff, moved to Eighth and Cedar streets. During the First World War, Nashville's African-American women were organized for Red Cross work on August 31, 1917, under the name of the Unit Auxiliary. The Bethlehem Center served as the headquarters for all "colored workers" of the Red Cross.

In 1929, six years after Bethlehem Center moved to its present location (1417 Charlotte Avenue), forty-eight acres of land were purchased in Cheatham County and given to the center. Camp Dogwood was built and became the first location in Middle Tennessee

for African-American youngsters to attend camp. Bethlehem Center conducted a comprehensive program of individual and group services, including out-reach programs to residents of Andrew Jackson and John Henry Hale public housing communities. Bethlehem Center, like other settlements, was an early training center for college students.

In 1969, Bethlehem Center was admitted to the United Givers Fund (now United Way). The following year, the organizational structure changed, and the three settlement houses were consolidated under the name of the United Methodist Neighborhood Centers, with Bethlehem Center serving as the administrative agency. In 1992, the board of directors changed the name of the agency from United Neighborhood Centers to Bethlehem Centers of Nashville.

The Tennessee Historical Commission recognized the significance of Bethlehem Centers of Nashville to the state's social history when on February 19, 1994, it approved the placement of a historical marker commemorating the centers' 100 years of service to the Nashville community.

Linda T. Wynn

BLACKS IN THE UNION ARMY OF TENNESSEE (1861-1866)



Black Tennesseans were active participants in the American Civil War. They contributed immeasurably to the Union victory. In 1860, Tennessee had 275,719 slaves, who represented twenty-five percent of the population. Tennessee also had 7,300 free blacks in 1860, but they suffered racial discrimination and second-class citizenship without the right to vote. The slaves were owned by 36,894 persons, less than twenty percent of Tennessee's white families. The majority non-slaveholding whites belonged to the yeoman class (farmers and the poor, landless white class). Many white (*i.e.*, East) Tennesseans opposed slavery and wanted it stopped.

After the Civil War hostilities began at Fort Sumter, South Carolina (in April, 1861), Tennessee's radical Democrats, slaveowners, and southern

nationalists led a campaign for secession. The voters defeated the first secession ordinance. But in May, 1861, emotions and pressure by the pro-Confederates ran high after Fort Sumter, causing the secession ordinance to pass. Still the Confederates were no more than a vocal minority because white Unionists (thirty-five percent) and blacks (twenty-six percent) outnumbered them. However, the Confederate minority used conscription acts, loyalty requirements, intimidation, racist propaganda, outright oppression, and occupation of East Tennessee to control most Tennessee inhabitants.

The illegal control of Tennessee by the minority Confederates was short-lived. They never had real support among the people in the countryside and could not command the state's resources to effectively prosecute the war. In great paradox, even the slaveowners generally refused to furnish slave labor for the Confederate army. The Confederate General Assembly passed a law to draft free blacks as military laborers in June of 1861.

However, a large Union army arrived in February of 1862, when General U. S. Grant's Union army easily defeated the Confederates at Fort Donelson. Nashville was surrendered quickly on February 23. Then the powerful Union army pushed the Confederates from Shiloh into Mississippi and occupied all Tennessee regions by late 1863. The state Confederate government and the secessionist leader, Governor Isham G. Harris, fled into exile.

The slaves no longer feared slave patrols, empty threats from the plantation mistresses, and movements of Confederate armies. By the fall of 1862, a flood of fugitive slaves caused the federal government to begin a contraband camp system at Grand Junction. Throughout Tennessee, tens of thousands of contraband camp dwellers became an essential labor force for the Union army. They helped to build huge forts, like Nashville's Fort Negley and Memphis' Fort Pickering. From Memphis to Nashville, to Chattanooga, to Knoxville, and even to Bristol, black men and women laborers repaired roads, bridges, and railroads, and served as teamsters, common laborers, military hospital workers, servants to officers, cooks, laundresses, cattle herders, assistant surgeons, blacksmiths, and military spies.

In the spring of 1863, the Union began to recruit and organize black soldiers. By war's end, some 20,133 black Union army soldiers served in Tennessee within the following United States Colored Troops units:

Infantry -- 11th USCT, 12th USCT, 13th USCT, 14th USCT, 15th USCT, 16th USCT, 17th USCT, 18th USCT, 40th USCT, 42th USCT, 44th USCT, 55th USCT, 59th USCT, 61th USCT, 63th USCT, 68th USCT, 88th USCT, 100th USCT, 101st USCT, 110th USCT, and 111th USCT;

Heavy and light artillery -- 1st USCHA, 2nd USCHA, 3rd USCHA, 6th USCHA, 9th USCHA, 2nd USCLA (Battery A), 2nd USCLA (Battery H), 2nd USCHLA (Battery F), and 2nd USCLA (Battery I);

Cavalry -- 3rd USCC.

Another 3,000 blacks served in Tennessee's Home Guards militia units. Tennessee's USCT units fought in every major skirmish, engagement, and battle in the area. Some

Tennessee USCT units assisted General William T. Sherman with his successful "March through Georgia" (in the summer of 1864), and they fought in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. In the West Tennessee area, the USCT fought in the battles of Moscow, Brice's Crossroads, Memphis, Tupelo, and the Fort Pillow Massacre. At Fort Pillow (April of 1864), Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest and his larger army massacred black soldiers and black families who sought to escape or surrender. Forrest's racially motivated Confederate troops yelled and waved their pro-slavery symbol (the Confederate battle flag) and swore to give "no quarter" to former slaves who joined the Union army. After Fort Pillow, the Memphis USCT wore medal badges defiantly inscribed with the words, *Remember Fort Pillow*. Eight months later, revenge came in the decisive Battle of Nashville (December 15-19, 1864), when nearly 13,000 USCT soldiers participated in the humiliating defeat of the Confederate army of Tennessee (including Forrest's unit). The war ended with a Union victory just four months later. Memphis' 3rd U. S. Colored Cavalry joined the pursuit of CSA President Jefferson Davis, when he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Mexico.

One can find the graves of many of Tennessee's USCT at the national cemeteries in Tennessee: Nashville (1,909), Memphis (4,208) -- which includes the "Fort Pillow Section" -- Chattanooga (103), Knoxville (663), Cumberland River (12), and Stones River (186). Their gravestones are marked distinctively with *USCT*. These men and women constitute some of Tennessee's real heroes who defied evil Confederate principles: racism, treason, and rebellion against the United States.

Bobby L. Lovett

BLUE TRIANGLE YWCA (1919-1974)



The Blue Triangle League of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) opened its doors to black girls and women in Nashville on June 1, 1919, in the Napier Court Building at 411 Fourth Avenue, North. The nucleus of the Blue Triangle League came from black women who were members of the Fireside School, a group that meet regularly for

Bible Study and to make items needed by the black soldiers of World War I. Mrs. Arch Trawick of the Central (white) YWCA and director of the Southeastern Region of the War Work Council, a national organization for women during the war under the direction of the National YWCA, secured \$2,000 for the League's operation. Negro women raised \$1,000 through Blue Triangle memberships, block parties, and other entertainment to establish the program to assist young women employed in war industries and conduct recreational activities near soldiers' camps. The committee on management became a permanent organization, with Marian Hadley as paid secretary and J. F. Pierce as committee chairperson. Classes and recreational programs were held at local colleges, Bethlehem House, Hadley Park, and on private lawns.

In November of 1920, a three-story residence at 436 Fifth Avenue, North (where the Municipal Auditorium now stands), was purchased. The first floor had one large room for meetings, special affairs, offices, kitchen, and restrooms. The other floors included living space for newly arrived working women. Within seven years, the mortgage was paid on this property. The Blue Triangle Branch's programs included residence for young single women, full Girl Reserve (later called Y-Teens), camping, USO activities, employment services, religious vespers, business and professional clubs, forums, BHW clubs, industrial clubs, interracial committees, leadership training classes, typing, and shorthand classes.

In 1953, a new building was constructed at 1708 Pearl Street, following a successful capital fund drive. Mrs. Maxey Jarman chaired the Central YWCA, and Mrs. D. H. Turpin headed the Blue Triangle. The goal was \$65,000 to be raised by the Central YWCA and \$25,000 by the Blue Triangle Branch. Dedication ceremonies were held on October 25, 1953, when Ceceila N. Adkins chaired the Triangle. All the rooms were furnished by local sororities, clubs, and Blue Triangle Branch committees. The new building became an active center, where women and girls taxed the facility's capacity. A register of approved homes was kept on hand because white hotels, motels, and even the Central YWCA practiced racial segregation.

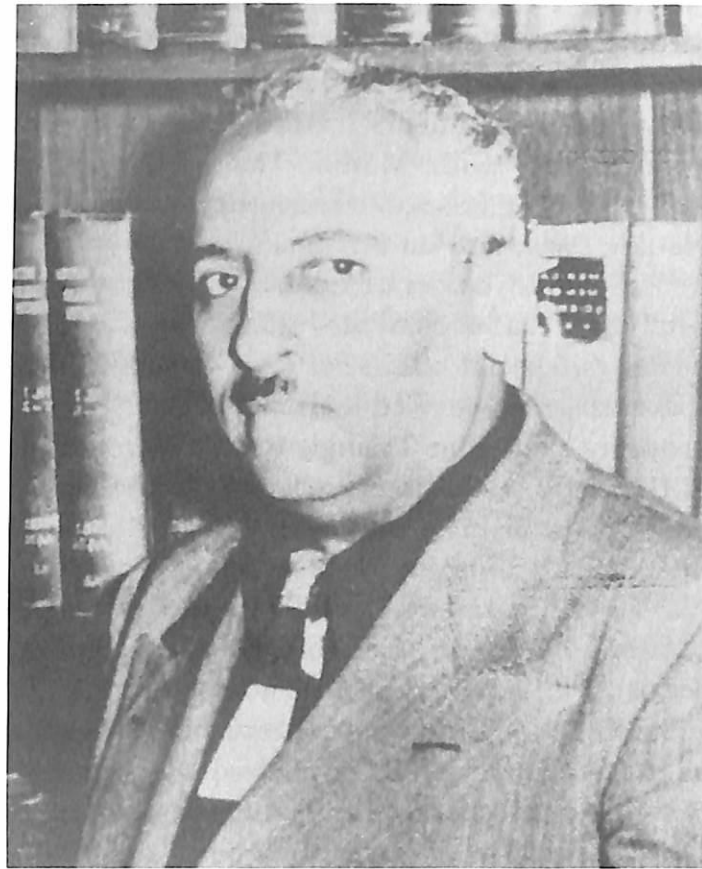
Some of the popular classes at the Blue Triangle Branch included drapery and upholstery, sewing, tailoring, typing, slimnastics, culinary art, hat-making, flower-arrangement, bridge, adult literacy, and special forums. Additionally, the Blue Triangle's Y-Teen program enriched the lives of many black girls at local schools. The faculty of these schools cooperated and served as advisors to help give the girls leadership skills, moral values, camping experiences, and the opportunity to travel and attend YWCA conferences.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the branch facilities were available to the total community. Then, in the midst of the civil rights struggle, the YWCA experienced difficulties in race relations when black applicants for housing were refused admittance. Consequently, the Nashville YWCA's board of directors voted in 1963 to add selected black members of the Blue Triangle to its membership. These first local YWCA board members included Mary D. Shane, Anna G. Sasser, and Carrie R. Hull. The Blue Triangle became known as the Pearl Street Center in 1969. This center closed in 1974, and the facility was sold to the Grace M. Eaton Day Home.

Carrie R. Hull and Linda T. Wynn

ARNAUD WENDELL BONTEMPS (1902-1973)

Arnaud ("Arna") W. Bontemps was born to Paul Bismarck and Maria Carolina (Pembroke) Bontemps on October 13, 1902, in Alexandria, Louisiana. Three years after Bontemps' birth, as a result of several racial incidents, his father moved the family to Los Angeles, California. Reared in California, Bontemps received his primary and secondary education in both the public and private schools of the state. In 1923, he was graduated from Pacific Union College with an A. B. degree. On August 26, 1916, Bontemps was married to the former Alberta Johnson, and they became the parents of six children (Joan Maria, Paul Bismarck, Poppy Alberta, Camille Ruby, Constance Rebecca, and Arna Alexander).



In 1943, he earned the M.L.S. degree from the Graduate School of Library Science, University of Chicago. The year following his graduation from Pacific Union College, Bontemps' literary career began when his poem "Hope" was published in *Crisis* magazine, a periodical of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1924, Bontemps moved to New York and began teaching at the Harlem Academy. Two years after his move to the epicenter of the "Harlem or Negro Renaissance," Bontemps' poem, "Golgotha Is A Mountain," which was later set to music by John W. Work, III, won the *Opportunity* (publication of the National Urban League) Alexander Pushkin Award for poetry. In 1927, he again was the recipient of the *Opportunity* award for poetry and was the first place winner of the NAACP's *Crisis* poetry contest for his poem, "Nocturne At Bethesda."

Arna Bontemps, who said that he "had watched the Harlem Renaissance from a grandstand seat," became one of its most prolific contributors. In the late 1920s, Bontemps focused his literary attention on the writing of prose. His first work of fictional prose, *God Sends Sunday*, was published in 1931. This novel was later adapted by Bontemps and Countee Cullen as the stage play, *St. Louis Woman*. In 1931, Bontemps left the Harlem Academy to take a teaching position at Oakwood Junior College in Huntsville, Alabama.

He continued his writing, and in 1932 successfully competed for and won the *Opportunity* prize for his short story, "A Summer Tragedy." During the decade of the 1930s, in addition to his first novel, Bontemps published five books, including historical novels *Black Thunder* (1936) and *Drums at Dusk* (1939) and a children's work entitled *Sad Face Boy* (1937). A master at his craft, Bontemps became one of the most successful writers of children's books. In 1938, he received a Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowship for a study tour in the Caribbean. Three years later, he edited W. C. Handy's book, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography*.

In 1943, Arna Bontemps became the head librarian of Fisk University. He procured early materials and resources on the African-American experience. Bontemps' friendship with Langston Hughes made it possible for him to inaugurate a Langston Hughes Renaissance Collection featuring personalities Jean Toomer, James Weldon Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, and Countee Cullen into the university's library holdings. Also a friend of Carl Van Vechten, the New York music critic, author, photographer, and collector, Bontemps convinced Van Vechten to donate his music collection to Fisk. Among others who made donations to the library collections of Fisk University was W. C. Handy. One of the librarian's peerless attainments was the collection commemorating George Gershwin.

Bontemps continued to be a productive writer. Having turned his attention to the writing of biographical works, in 1945 he published a series of biographical sketches of talented young African-Americans under the title, *We Have Tomorrow*. During the same year, in collaboration with Jack Conroy, he wrote a compelling study of black migration and urbanization entitled, *They Seek A City*. This work was revised and expanded in 1966 as *Any Place But Here*. During the 1950s, Bontemps' biographical works, *George Washington Carver* (1950), *The Story of George Washington Carver* (1954), and *Frederick Douglass: Slave, Fighter, and Freeman* (1959), were published. Later, his biography, *Young Booker T. Washington's Early Days* (1972) was published. In 1956, the two-time recipient of the Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowship for writing and a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow, Arna Bontemps was awarded the Jane Addams Award for his *The Story of the Negro*. In 1958, with Langston Hughes, he edited *The Book of Negro Folklore*, as well as *The Poetry of the Negro* (1949).

In 1965, Arna W. Bontemps retired from Fisk University. For approximately one year, he served as director of university relations and as acting librarian. In 1966, Bontemps became a professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago and his *Great Slave Narratives* was published. Three years later, he went to Yale University as lecturer and curator of the James Weldon Johnson Collection. He returned to Nashville and Fisk University in 1971 as writer in residence and began penning his autobiography. Arna Bontemps edited *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered* (1972). He wrote and edited over twenty books, his poetry was collected in more than a dozen anthologies, and his periodical publications numbered more than twenty-five, including two fictional and more than fifteen non-fictional articles.

Arnaud Wendell Bontemps died suddenly on June 4, 1973, of a myocardial infarction and later was interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

LEMUEL ARTHUR BOWMAN (1887-1965)



Lemuel Arthur Bowman was born in Bowman, South Carolina, on July 24, 1887, to Vastine and Eliza (Richardson) Bowman. He received his early education in the public schools of Bowman. He came to Nashville and entered Walden University. In 1908, he entered Walden's Meharry Medical Department's School of Dentistry. In 1912, he was graduated from Meharry's School of Dentistry with the Doctorate of Dental Science degree. Subsequent to his graduation, Dr. Bowman pursued his career as a dentist.

By the late 1920s, Dr. Bowman had established seven business enterprises. Four of his business adventures failed. Later, he established other successful ventures in Nashville that provided employment opportunities for more than 150 persons. These businesses became very profitable and a source of pride for the prosperous entrepreneur.

Dr. Bowman applied his acquired knowledge of the financial business and made discerning, wise, and profitable investments in the East. Bowman retired from his dental practice with the intention to move into the private sphere, content to live on the income from his remunerative financial investments.

Soon after his retirement, Dr. Bowman was called upon by the secretary of the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Incorporated. A race-conscious man, Bowman rarely refused to assist his people in developing stronger business practices and economic growth. In the fall of 1932, Bowman accepted the position of treasurer of the Sunday School Publishing Board. He devoted himself to the task and to the goal of the publishing board's administrators to make the organization one of the largest and financially strongest African-American businesses in the world. In his position as treasurer, he skillfully supervised and mastered the economic management of the corporation. Through his contacts with business leaders throughout the country, he helped the Sunday School Publishing Board achieve sound financial footing. While guiding the Sunday School Publishing Board's fiscal affairs, Bowman managed the finances of approximately twelve other smaller African-American business establishments. A recognized expert in money matters among white bankers of Nashville and eastern capitalists, Bowman was known as the "Rockefeller" of the city's African-American community.

Dr. L. A. Bowman also served as treasurer of the denomination's Finance Commission. He was a member of the National Bath House Commission and a member of

the American Baptist Theological Seminary Board of Trustees. In addition to serving the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., in various capacities, Bowman rendered his time and service to Spruce Street Baptist Church, where he directed the church's business affairs as chairman of its board of trustees. He, along with Dr. A. M. Townsend, led the congregation as it made plans to relocate to its present site at the corner of Twentieth Avenue, North, and Pearl Street.

Dr. Bowman was a member of numerous professional, civic, and social organizations, including the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and the Nashville Chamber of Commerce. A life member of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., Bowman was one of the few lay persons ever honored for his work in the denomination's convention.

At age seventy-seven, the life of Dr. Lemuel Arthur Bowman, dentist, financier, and churchman came to a close on Friday, March 26, 1965. The service of triumph was held four days later at Spruce Street Baptist Church. The remains of the preeminent financier of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., and chairman of the Board of Trustees of Spruce Street Baptist Church, were interred in the Bowman Family Mausoleum in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery. He was survived by his third wife, Leora (Watkins) Bowman (now deceased), son L. A. Bowman, Jr., grandson Louis Alphonso Bowman, and two brothers and three sisters.

Linda T. Wynn

HENRY ALLEN BOYD (1876-1959)

Henry Allen Boyd was born in Grimes County, Texas, in 1876. He was the son of Richard Henry and Hattie Boyd. His father came to Nashville in November of 1896 and founded the National Baptist Publishing Board. Henry Allen later came to Nashville to help his father. Before moving from his native Texas, Henry Allen served as a postal clerk in San Antonio. He became an ordained minister in 1904. Boyd served with his father as the assistant secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board.

During the period of 1905-1910, Henry Allen Boyd became a local leader in his own right. Boyd became executive secretary of the Colored Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Boyd and other prominent black businessmen restored the Colored YMCA in 1914 and led a drive to raise funds to buy a permanent home for the organization. Before the end of World War One, Boyd and his group moved the Colored YMCA into a permanent home, the old Duncan Hotel on the southeast corner of Fourth Avenue, North, and Cedar (Charlotte) Street.



After 1912, Boyd edited the Nashville newspaper, *The Globe* (1905-1959) and presided over the Globe Publishing Company. The most powerful and consistent newspaper black Nashville had seen, *The Globe* began with the effort to publicize Nashville's 1905 black streetcar boycott. *The Globe* became the voice, conscience, and griot for the black community. Its pages documented the religious, social, cultural, political, and economic life of a thriving southern community. *The Globe's* editorials criticized those who oppressed black people, praised men and women who made good examples for the black race, opposed Jim Crowism and racism, promoted morality and religion, encouraged blacks to continue participating in politics, and pushed city authorities and black businessmen to improve local living conditions. In 1909 Henry Allen Boyd, Ben Carr, and others successfully helped to persuade the state to build the Negro State Normal School in Davidson County. During the Great World War, Boyd helped to lead the black community in patriotic endeavors. He headed bond drives, visit local black troops in northern training camps, increase the Colored YMCA's services to black soldiers, and carried government advertisements in *The Globe* for Liberty Bonds and military recruits.

Upon the death of his father in 1922, Henry Allen Boyd assumed the presidency of Citizens Bank and secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board. He became secretary of the National Baptist Sunday School Congress and a director *emeritus* of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company of Chicago. He held memberships in the National Negro Business League, the NAACP, and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. Boyd promoted black (Republican) politics. However, as a pragmatist, he supported local Democrats--especially Mayor Hilary Howse.

Dr. Henry Allen Boyd died on May 28, 1959. After his death, *The Globe* ceased publication. His funeral services--to accommodate the overflowing crowd--were moved from Mount Olive Baptist Church to the auditorium of Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College. Nashville Mayor Ben West and other dignitaries eulogized Boyd: a great mind, a lover of mankind, a Renaissance man, a business person, a philosopher, a preacher, a publisher, and a writer.

Bobby L. Lovett

RICHARD HENRY BOYD (1855-1912)

Richard Henry Boyd, preacher, missionary, entrepreneur, publisher, banker, educator, writer, and black nationalist, was born a slave to Indiana Dixon in Noxubee County, Mississippi, on March 15, 1843. Although he was christened Dick Gray by his slave master, he proudly changed his name to Richard Henry Boyd after the Civil War. He served as a Texas Confederate body servant near the Battle of Chattanooga during the war. After the battle, he returned with the Gray family to their home in Texas. Upon the death of the surviving head of the Gray family, Dick became a cowboy.

In 1869, Richard Boyd became a Baptist minister. During 1872, he helped organize the Negro Baptist Convention of Texas. During the 1880s, he attended Bishop College in

Marshall, Texas. Boyd strongly believed in the ideals of black initiative and self-help for the



former slaves. This ideology would later make him a life-long supporter of Booker T. Washington. In 1909, Boyd, Preston Taylor, James C. Napier, and other prominent black leaders would sponsor a state-wide tour for Booker Washington.

Boyd arrived in Nashville in November of 1896. He came to the city for the purpose of establishing a publishing house for Negro Baptists. He wanted blacks to publish their own literature, operate their own businesses, and guide the minds of their own children. Upon arriving in Nashville, Boyd solicited the aid of the pastor of Mount Olive Baptist Church and the white director of the Sunday school press of the Southern Baptist Convention. Boyd became a member of the Reverend C. H. Clark's Mount

Olive Baptist Church. The white Baptist Publishing Board loaned him printing plates to start the first publications for the National Baptist Publishing Board (in January of 1897). Until his death in August of 1922, R. H. Boyd was one of Nashville's five top black leaders and undoubtedly one of its most illustrious citizens.

Boyd's work was unending. He assisted in the work of the American Missionary Convention, the American Foreign Mission Convention, and the Education Convention. He contributed to the founding and growth of Bishop College, Guadalupe College, Boyd's Normal Institute, Central Texas College, Roger Williams University, and the National Baptist Theological and Missionary Training Seminary in Nashville (1918-1931). At the latter institution, he served on the faculty. He wrote more than fourteen denominational books, including *Plantation Melody Songs*, *Theological Kernals*, *An Outline of Negro Baptist History*, and *The Story of the Publishing Board*. He traveled to various parts of the world, including the World's Baptist Alliance Meeting in London. He was involved in organizing the One Cent Savings Bank, the Nashville *Globe* newspaper, the National Baptist Church Supply Company, the National Negro Doll Company, and the Baptist Sunday School Congress. He was a member of various fraternal, civic, and professional organizations; he also was a leader of black Nashville's 1905 streetcar boycott and purchasing agent of the Union Transportation Company.

Richard Henry Boyd was survived by his wife, Hattie Albertine Moore (whom he had married in 1871), and by five living children: Mattie B. Johnson, Annie L. Hall, Lula

B. Landers (all married), Henry Allen Boyd, and Theophilus Bartholomew Boyd. He was interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Lois C. McDougald

ROBERT FULTON BOYD (1855-1912)

Robert Fulton Boyd was born July 8, 1855, to Maria Cuffey and Edward Boyd on a farm in Giles County, Tennessee. In 1866 Maria brought Robert to Nashville to live with Paul Eve, a surgeon with an international reputation. During his stay with Dr. Eve, he enrolled in night classes at Fisk University and dreamed of becoming a physician. In 1872 he hired himself to General James H. Hickman, a real estate agent. Boyd worked half the day and attended school the other half, receiving no wages. He left in 1875 to enter the teaching profession.

Boyd began his teaching career at College Grove in Williamson County, Tennessee, returning to Giles County the following year. He soon became principal of the male school in Pulaski, and then acted as principal of the female department of Pulaski's public schools.

Robert Fulton Boyd entered the medical department of Central Tennessee College in 1880 and was graduated with honors in 1882. He practiced medicine and taught school in New Albany, Mississippi. He later returned to Meharry as adjunct professor of chemistry. While teaching, he entered the new dental department at Central Tennessee College, graduating with honors in 1886. In 1887, Boyd opened an office on North Cherry Street (Fourth Avenue) to practice his professions among the less fortunate. By the turn of the century, he was treating patients in all socio-economic classes. Doctor Boyd was particularly alarmed by the black mortality rate, and in his paper entitled, "What are the Causes of the Great Mortality Among Negroes in the Cities of the South, and How is That Mortality to be Lessened?", he made some of the earliest and most astute observations regarding the



physical condition of Afro-Americans. Doctor Boyd used public forums, including Nashville churches, to instruct the Negro populace in the causes, origins, and transmission of tuberculosis and taught them ways to combat this disease.

During the summer of 1890, Boyd attended the Postgraduate School of Medicine at the University of Chicago. In 1891 he received the Master of Arts degree from Central Tennessee College. Boyd ran for mayor and for a seat in the Tennessee General Assembly as a Republican by 1893. He returned to the Chicago school in 1892, specializing in the diseases of women and children. His experiences in a Chicago teaching hospital proved highly beneficial to Meharry, as Boyd became professor of gynecology and clinical medicine there in 1893.

Central Tennessee College had been unsuccessful in securing funds for a teaching hospital, but when the city opened a hospital close to the school, students gained privileges there. Negroes constituted almost half of the patient population. For a time, the wards and clinics were opened to Meharry students, then the city abruptly suspended the permission. This lost opportunity galvanized the resourcefulness of Dr. Boyd, and he opened Mercy Hospital in 1900, located at 811 South Cherry Street.

Ten Negro physicians and Dr. Boyd organized a national fraternity of black doctors, of which Boyd was elected president. This group was the Society of Colored Physicians and Surgeons, which later became the National Medical Association.

In the 1890s, he purchased a three-story brick house on Cedar Street for \$14,000, reportedly the largest transfer of real estate to a person of African descent in Tennessee up to that time. When Nashville's second Afro-American bank, People's Savings Bank and Trust Company, was organized in 1909, Boyd was elected its president.

Death came suddenly to Dr. Robert Fulton Boyd on July 20, 1912, following an "attack of acute indigestion." Funeral services were held in the Ryman Auditorium, and his body was interred in Nashville's Mt. Ararat Cemetery. He was survived by his mother, Maria Cuffey.

Linda T. Wynn

BRADLEY ACADEMY (1811-)

Bradley Academy, a two-story brick building located at 415 South Academy Street in Murfreesboro, is a dominant landmark, visible for some distance from its commanding position on the hill overlooking downtown Murfreesboro. The building sits on land donated in 1811 by the Murfree family for use as a school. The first school built on the site in 1811 was log and one of the first principals was Professor Bradley, for whom the school was named.

The early nineteenth-century institution's leading scholar was Dr. Henderson, who came to Murfreesboro and founded the First Presbyterian Church. Prior to coming to Murfreesboro, Henderson was pastor of a church in Maury County where he was tutor to



the children of Samuel Polk, among them James Knox Polk, who would become the eleventh President of the United States in 1844. When Henderson moved to Murfreesboro, James K. Polk followed his teacher and enrolled in Bradley Academy, delivering the commencement address in 1814. In the audience that night were Mr. and Mrs. Joel Childress of Murfreesboro and their daughter, Sarah, who later married Polk.

Bradley Academy was the first school in Murfreesboro, but it was soon followed by the Female Academy in 1825, Union University in 1834, and Soule College in 1851.

In 1884, Bradley Academy was designated the first school for students of African-American descent. The first enrollment was 150 students, taught by three faculty members. Bradley graduated its first graduates in 1893.

The present building was constructed in 1917 and opened the following year. After Holloway High School was opened for blacks in 1928, Bradley Academy continued as a first-through eighth-grade school. Although accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), when integration of Murfreesboro schools occurred during the 1960s Bradley was closed and converted to office and storage space.

In 1988, a committee of Bradley alumni and interested citizens formed a group to preserve and rehabilitate the 1917 building. The Bradley Academy Historical Association, formed in 1990, was dedicated to "reclaim the 1917 building for use as a multi-purpose community educational, cultural, and heritage facility." In 1990 the Bradley Academy building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. With leadership from the E. A. Davis Elk Lodge Number 1138, Bradley Academy Historical Association was formally established with its charter, by-laws, and non-profit status to rehabilitate the building as a community resource center. In 1991 the Tennessee Historical Commission erected a state historical marker at Bradley Academy. A federal grant, through the City of Murfreesboro, was secured to continue rehabilitation of the building through 1994.

Willie A. McGowan

ROBERT T. BURT (1873-1955)

Robert Tecumseh Burt was born in Attala County, Mississippi, on November 25, 1873. He was the third child of ex-slaves Robert and Sylvia (Sanders) Burt. Upon completion of his primary education at the county school, Burt walked eight miles to and from the high school in Kosciusko. Then he entered Jackson College in Jackson, Mississippi, and finished the normal course in three years. Later, he entered the teaching profession and taught in schools in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.



In the fall of 1889, Robert T. Burt entered Walden University in Nashville, Tennessee. Things were proceeding on course for Burt until he was stricken with typhoid fever and was forced to return home to Kosciusko. After recovering from his malady, he attended Central Mississippi College, finishing the course offered there. He later returned to Nashville and received his A. B. degree from Walden University. In 1893, Burt entered Meharry Medical College; he completed his four-year medical course with honors in 1897.

Dr. Burt opened his first office in McMinnville, Tennessee. To augment his earnings and pay his education debts, Burt taught classes and held the principalship of Bernard School. In 1902, he relocated to Clarksville, where he succeeded Dr. S. P. Livingston. Dr. Burt set up downtown offices at the rear of the Dickson-Sadler Building on Third Street. In 1904, he purchased the Current House on Front Street (now Riverside Drive) and converted it into a residence and an infirmary for African-American patients in the Clarksville area. Medical history was made when Dr. Burt opened the Home Infirmary to the public on March 6, 1906: it was the first and only hospital in Clarksville until 1916. Burt operated his hospital until the Clarksville Memorial Hospital opened its doors in August of 1954.

Robert Burt engaged in post-graduate work at Harvard University and at the E. A. Printy School of Surgical Technique; he observed new surgical procedures at Michael Reese

Hospital, studied at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York, and attended staff meetings at Bellevue Hospital and Boston City Hospital. He also observed at Mayo Clinic in Rochester and even visited a hospital in Cuba. He worked at his infirmary with a staff of five doctors and eight nurses, and the equipment in the building was comparable to that found in all but the largest hospitals in the South. Dr. Burt performed many surgical procedures. He served the African-American community in the north-central Tennessee and adjacent Kentucky border region. He contracted with the Black Diamond Mining Company to care for its African-American employees and treated the obstetric patients at Fort Campbell before a hospital was constructed at the army base.

Dr. Burt's Home Infirmary was recognized by the National Medical Hospital Association and the American Medical Association. When the Home Infirmary opened in 1906, it had three rooms, two beds, and one nurse. By 1923, the infirmary had thirty-two rooms with the modern conveniences of the time.

During his career, Dr. Burt held clinics at Woodmen's Hospital in Hot Springs, Arkansas, and for the Tri-City Medical Hospital Association in Hot Springs, where he served as president. He was a member of the Clarksville Chamber of Commerce and a stockholder in the Northern Bank of Tennessee and the Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis. He served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Meharry Medical College, was a member of the Examining Board during World War One, and served the Juvenile Court for many years, as well as serving on the Welfare Board of Clarksville. He was state chairman of the executive committee of the State Interracial Commission; he was appointed by Governor Gordon Browning to represent Tennessee at the Centennial in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, and at the Richard Wright Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He received the Rosenwald Award and was honored by the Clarksville community when Burt High School was named in his honor.

Dr. Robert Tecumseh Burt died on August 16, 1955, following an illness of eight years. Funeral services were conducted at St. Peter's A. M. E. Church, and he was interred in the Golden Hill Cemetery.

On July 2, 1993, at the location where Dr. Robert T. Burt established Clarksville's first hospital, a Tennessee historical marker was dedicated as a lasting memorial to this pioneering physician.

Linda T. Wynn

LUCIE E. CAMPBELL-WILLIAMS (1885-1963)

In 1855, Lucie Eddie Campbell, the youngest of nine children, was born to Burrell and Isabella (Wilkerson) Campbell in Duck Hill, Mississippi. Burrell Campbell worked for the Mississippi Central Railroad (later purchased by the Illinois Central Railroad), and Isabella worked as a cook. Shortly after Lucie's birth, Burrell Campbell was killed in a train



Lucie Campbell was educated in the public schools of Memphis. In 1899, she was graduated from Kortrecht High School (later Booker T. Washington) as valedictorian of her class and was awarded the highest prize for her Latin proficiency. After completing high school, Lucie passed the teachers' exam and began her teaching career at Carnes Avenue Grammar School. In 1911, she was transferred to Kortrecht High School, where she taught American history and English. Later, she earned the baccalaureate degree from Rust College in Holy Springs, Mississippi, and the master's degree from Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College.

At age nineteen, Campbell organized a group of Beale Street musicians into the Music Club. Other members later were added to form a thousand-voice choir that performed at the National Baptist Convention. At the organizational meeting of the National Sunday and Baptist Training Union Congress held in Memphis in 1915, "Miss Lucie" was elected as Music Director. She penned songs for the Congress and wrote musical pageants exhorting the young to give their lives to Christian service. In addition to writing religious music for the Congress, she also wrote the Congress' study lessons, as well as other instructional materials.

In 1919, Lucie E. Campbell published her first song, *Something Within*, which was followed by more than one hundred others, including *The Lord is My Shepherd*, *Heavenly Sunshine*, *The King's Highway*, *Touch Me Lord Jesus*, and *He Understands, He'll Say Well Done*. Campbell also introduced promising young musicians such as Marian Anderson and J. Robert Bradley to the world. "Miss Lucie" introduced Marian Anderson to the National Baptist Convention and served as her accompanist. In 1955, Miss Lucie's loyalty and dedication to the Baptist Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress was recognized when she was named as one of the principal lecturers during the 50th Anniversary Session held in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

In 1946, she was named to the National Policy Planning Commission of the National Education Association. She was elected vice president of the American Teachers Association and from 1941 to 1946 she served as president of the Tennessee Teachers Association.

accident. Being the sole provider for and caretaker of her nine children, Isabella moved to Memphis, Tennessee.

Isabella Campbell not only wanted her children to receive an education, she also wanted them exposed to the performing arts. She elected to give piano lessons to Lora, Lucie's older sister. While piano lessons were being given to Lora, Lucie listened attentively and practiced the lessons on her own.

Lucie E. Campbell was an activist for civil justice. She defied the "Jim Crow" streetcar laws when she refused to relinquish her seat in the section reserved for whites, and as president of the Negro Education Association she struggled with governmental officials to redress the inequities in the pay scale and other benefits for Negro teachers.

On January 14, 1960, Lucie Eddie Campbell married her life-long companion, the Reverend C. R. Williams. The marriage ceremony took place in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Zack Brown in Memphis. As an expression of her love and respect for her friend, business partner, and companion, Lucie Eddie Campbell-Williams dedicated her song, *They That Wait Upon the Lord*, to her husband.

The National Sunday School and the Baptist Training Union Congress of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., showed its appreciation to its "first lady of music" when it declared June 20, 1962, as Lucie E. Campbell Appreciation Day. While preparing to attend the celebration and banquet held in her honor, Campbell-Williams suddenly became gravely ill and was rushed to the hospital.

After a six-months' bout with illness, Lucie Eddie Campbell-Williams died on January 3, 1963, in Nashville. Her body was conveyed to Memphis and funeral services were held on January 7th at the Mount Nebo Baptist Church by pastor Dr. Roy Love. She was interred in the Mount Carmel Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

CHARLES WARNER CANSLER (1871-1953)

Charles Warner Cansler was born in Maryville, Tennessee, on May 15, 1871. His mother, Laura Scott Cansler, was Knoxville's first black school teacher in 1864, when she got permission from Union Army General Ambrose Burnside to open a school for free blacks during the occupation of Knoxville.



Young Cansler attended the Freedmen's Normal Institute in Maryville before enrolling in biracial Maryville College. Although he did not graduate, he taught school in several counties of East Tennessee before accepting a position in the city schools of Knoxville.

At the age of nineteen he took the civil service examination for railway mail clerk and was hired as a substitute a few months later. Although this position paid no salary, he hoped to be eligible after six months for regular employment. Since he was the first black to be hired by this railway line, the other men expressed a great deal of resentment.

"They did and said nothing to intimidate me, but instead of using me as a substitute to work for them when they had occasion to get off, if another substitute was not available, they would double, that is a clerk on his periodic day off would take the run of the man who was to be on duty," said Cansler. This effectively froze him out of making any money.

He became so disgusted with the situation that he decided to quit and become a school teacher. Ironically, during his summer vacations he worked as a railway clerk and as a bookkeeper in the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, Virginia.

Cansler also had a desire to become a lawyer. He read law with Judge W. C. Kain and at age twenty-one in 1892 passed the Knoxville Bar. He was a Republican candidate for the state legislature in 1894. He decided to give up his law practice and involvement in politics and devote himself to education. His influence would be felt for another half century.

He began teaching at Austin High School in 1900 and became principal in 1912. In 1912, he organized the East Tennessee Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. He was the leader in getting the Andrew Carnegie Foundation to establish a library for blacks in 1917. In 1919 he influenced the state legislature to pass an act enabling descendants of ex-slaves to inherit real estate.

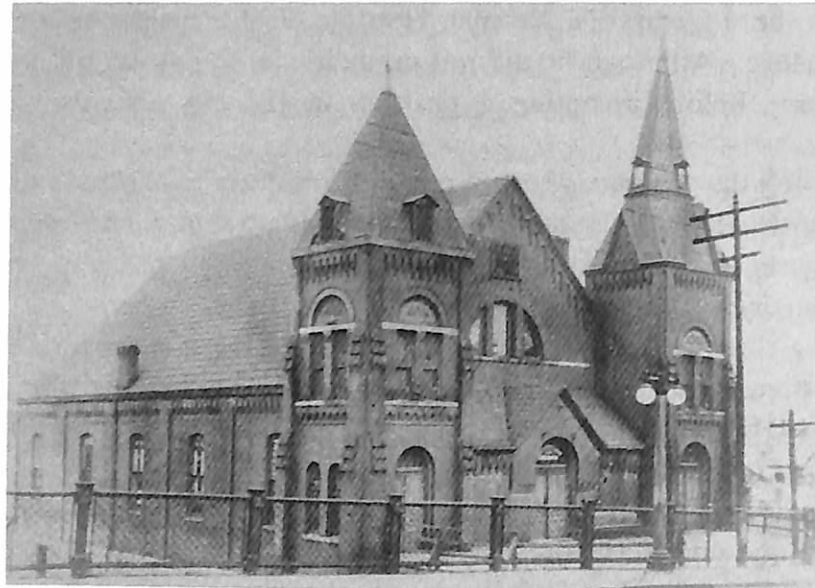
Known as a "mathematical wizard," Cansler traveled the country to give demonstrations of his skills in beating an adding machine by mentally adding tall numeric columns. He wrote two booklets describing his methods.

In 1914, it was he who introduced adult night school classes for working people who wanted to continue their education. Charles W. Cansler retired from the school system in 1939. He died on November 1, 1953.

Robert J. Booker

CAPERS MEMORIAL CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1832)

Capers Memorial Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church began as the "African Mission" of white McKendree Methodist Episcopal Church in Nashville. Although it was not clearly designated the African Mission until 1832, a commodious brick house was erected near the Sulphur Spring for the black members. A Methodist minister, James Gwin, started



preaching to local slaves around 1828-29. Under the Reverend Gwin's leadership, the African Mission continued to grow and flourish until the membership numbered 819 members in 1833. The Reverend John B. McFerrin's revivals also helped gain many black converts, and his preaching increased the white membership to 550 souls. Because of fear generated by Nat Turner's slave rebellion in Virginia and the spread of

northern abolitionist activity, the Sunday school and night meetings ceased temporarily in 1836. At least two black preachers actively participated in the mission. One named Simon, a slave of African origins, gained his freedom and preached at the mission until his death in 1847. The mission's membership stood at 810 persons in 1837. The dispute over slavery caused the southern churches to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1846. This new convention immediately approved the separation of the "African Mission" from the McKendree Church.

Nashville's black Methodists continued to worship at the Sulphur Springs location until 1851, when they purchased a lot to build a new church on Hynes Street and McCreary (Eleventh Avenue, North), near the Nashville-Chattanooga Railway Depot. Capers Church became the first local structure built exclusively for a black church. The new building was a large brick edifice paid for through the sale of the African Mission's old church, "the old camp grounds," and donations from citizens. On December 25, 1853, the dedicatory sermon was preached by Dr. John B. McFerrin, and the new building was officially named Capers Chapel in honor of Bishop William C. Capers. White ministers from the McKendree congregation continued to supervise the black mission.

The Civil War and the Union army's occupation of Nashville (in February of 1862) disrupted religious life. The Reverend Elisha Carr was pastor of the Capers congregation during these turbulent times when black preachers gradually assumed control of the Capers Church. In 1863, they permitted a United Presbyterian Church missionary from the North, the Reverend J. G. McKee, to establish a school in the building. The Union army confiscated the Capers building to use as a brass shop, because the structure lay in the midst of the railyard complex. After the Battle of Murfreesboro in late 1863, the army converted the Capers Church to a military hospital.

In December of 1863, Bishop Daniel A. Payne of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church arrived in Nashville to organize churches. On December 15, 1863, the Reverend Napoleon Merry and a committee of seven persons applied for membership in the

African Methodist Episcopal Church. The blacks' petition to Payne stated that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, acted disloyally to the United States. Payne accepted the petition and established St. John AME Church. However, when the war ended in 1865, most Capers Church members and the church's property remained with the white Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

After 1866, the independent Capers Church became part of the Memphis Colored Conference (founded in November of 1867). The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Jackson, Tennessee, on December 15, 1870. The Conference's first bishop, William Henry Miles, preached at Capers on January 1, 1871 -- Emancipation Day. Capers Church produced two elected bishops: the Reverend Elias Cottrell (1878-80) and the Reverend George Stewart (1885-87). In 1887, the congregation tore down the building on Lynes and McCreary and erected a new edifice at Twelfth and Church streets: "the church on the viaduct." The Reverend J. M. Mitchell completed the basement. Years later, the Reverend G. I. Jackson's congregation finished the structure and renamed the church "Jackson Temple." Eventually, the name was changed back to Capers Chapel.

In 1924, the city condemned the property to raise the viaduct. The congregation bought land at 319 Fifteenth Avenue, North, and completed a new building in 1925. McKissack and McKissack Architects designed and built the church building. Two more pastors were elevated to the bishopric: the Reverend P. Randolph Shy (1937-38) and the Reverend Joseph A. Johnson, Jr. (1954-59). The Reverend Dr. Charles E. Winfrey, Sr., directed the listing of the church building in the National Register of Historic Places in 1985.

Carmelia D. Gregory

SUSANNA MCGAVOCK CARTER: A BELLE MEADE SLAVE (1812-1892)



Susanna was born circa 1812 in Williamson County, Tennessee, of an Indian mother and an English father. Her grandmother was Jonah, a full-blooded Creek Indian, who was born circa 1780-90 and lived on Cedar Knob (Capitol Hill) in Nashville. Susanna's sisters were Ann, Jo Anna, Martha, and Fannie. Ann's father carried her to New Orleans, where they both contracted cholera and the father died. Ann returned to Nashville. (Ann was the author's paternal great-grandmother.) Ann's sisters were left in the custody of

Randal McGavock, a wealthy citizen and one-time mayor of Nashville. McGavock claimed the sisters as his slaves after their father died. He gave Susanna to his daughter, Elizabeth Irwin, on January 2, 1840, when she married William Giles Harding, owner of the Belle Meade plantation.

Susanna became Harding's trusted house servant. She married a Belle Meade slave, Isaac ("Big Ike") Carter, and had four children: "Little Ike," Joe, Porter, and Willie. Susanna was one of Harding's 140 slaves at the 3500-acre Belle Meade plantation, just west of Nashville.

Susanna sent two letters (June 3 and August 25, 1862) when her master, W. G. Harding, was in prison at Fort Mackinac Island, Michigan, for supporting the Confederate rebellion against the United States during the Civil War. The letters were remarkable, considering that slaves were not allowed to read or write or dictate letters. Her letters richly described plantation life near Nashville during the Union army occupation. The letters told her master about Belle Meade plantation, its slaves and crops, and the family's efforts to survive the war. Her letters have been quoted in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (1974) and in a number of books.

Susanna was viewed as a faithful slave. The slaves, especially house slaves and mulattoes, were mere extensions of the white families on most slave farms. Typical of a house slave, Susanna viewed herself as a member of the Harding family and was considered a member of the family by the white owners. During the Civil War, when Harding was imprisoned, she collected and hid the family silver to prevent its falling into Yankee hands. After the end of the war, she recovered the silver, polished it, and presented it to the white family members. Susanna claimed that no slaves "disgraced themselves" by fleeing to the Yankees.

However, most slaves and former slaves left Belle Meade between 1864 and 1877. Several Belle Meade slaves served in labor battalions and military regiments of the Union Army of the Cumberland. Dozens of Belle Meade slaves became fugitives in Nashville during the occupation. After the war, Harding, released from prison, opposed the establishment of a Freedmen's Bureau school on his land. During the 1870s, most of the former slaves abandoned Belle Meade plantation, where a wage system replaced slavery. Only five original slave families lived at Belle Meade by 1877.

William G. Harding died in 1886, leaving his plantation to his successors, but Susanna and her family remained attached to Belle Meade until her death, circa 1892. Susanna was noted for her famous syllabub, which consisted of whipping cream and other confectionery ingredients.

Belle Meade was sold in 1906, the year that Bob Green, the famous Belle Meade horse trainer, died.

Emma White Bragg

In 1899, the city of Memphis did not provide recreational facilities such as parks and playgrounds for its black citizens, nor were there any suitable places where black theatrical troupes could perform. It was to meet these needs that Robert R. Church bought a tract of land and built on it an auditorium with funds he had accumulated since the Civil War. The park was called "Church's Park and Auditorium" and was located on a site of over six acres on Beale Street near Fourth and Turley. The grounds were handsomely and generously landscaped, and the auditorium, equipped with the best and most modern accommodations of the time, could seat 2,200 people.

Church's Park and Auditorium was built by Church, owned by Church, and managed by Church. It was heralded as the only business venture of its kind in America and represented an unusual business feat for anyone at any time in history. An article in the September 15, 1906 *Planter's Journal* noted that the auditorium cost \$50,000 and that it was well equipped and had one of the largest stages in the South, completely furnished with all modern equipment, including a fire-proof curtain. The *Planter's Journal* also pointed out that the park and auditorium were without a doubt the most beautiful of its kind in the entire country.

Beneath the stage in the auditorium was a large banquet hall and bar, and a soda fountain was located near the entrance to provide refreshments for visitors. The fire-proof drop curtain on the stage of the auditorium was a copy of an oil painting of the burning steamer, *Bulletin No. 2*, which hung in the parlor of the Church residence. In addition to the auditorium, there was a large bandstand where evening band concerts were performed for the public during the summer months. Bands of fraternal organizations and other groups played for picnics and various events held in the park. Also contained in the park was a playground with recreational facilities, including slides and swings, for the entertainment and pleasure of children.

Among the popular theatrical troupes that toured the country prior to 1920 and performed at the Church Park Auditorium were the Black Patti Troubadours, with John Rucker (known as "The Alabama Blossom"), Madame Sissieretta Jones (the famous "Black Patti"), the Smart Set with S. H. Dudley (advertised as "The Greatest Colored Show On Earth"), and the Fisk Jubilee Singers.

President Theodore Roosevelt was a guest at a reception given by the black citizens of Memphis and addressed an estimated audience of over 10,000 citizens there on November 19, 1902. Booker T. Washington and party, who were touring Tennessee, also were guests there for breakfast in the banquet hall of the auditorium on November 24, 1909. James Shilliday, Herbert J. Seligmann, James Weldon Johnson, and Walter White, all officials of the national office of the NAACP, visited the location.

The Lincoln Republican League, founded and organized by Robert R. Church, Jr., held its meetings in the auditorium, as did the first Memphis Branch of the NAACP. The Church of God In Christ, founded by Bishop C. H. Mason, held its convocations in the

Church Park Auditorium before Mason Temple was built. William C. Handy, the world-famous "blues" composer and musician, was employed to play for dances in Church's Park and Auditorium. The Cotton Makers' Jubilee, the black arm of the spring Cotton Carnival festival, was held on the site. World-acclaimed musicians Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, and Cab Calloway all played jazz there. Numerous school activities, including LeMoyne-Owen College athletic games, dances, and other events were held there.

Much of Memphis' early black history took place on Beale Street in Church's Park and Auditorium. During the 1940s, a hostile City of Memphis administration changed the name of the park and auditorium to "Beale Avenue Auditorium." Some years later, structures on the site were demolished under the government's urban renewal program. The site was empty and barren until 1987, when the park was refurbished and landscaped into a tree-shaded grassy area.

In 1993, the park was listed in the National Register of Historic Places and was made a part of the Beale Street Historic District. In 1994, Roberta Church, the granddaughter of the founder, gave the park and city a large 22,000-pound white granite and bronze memorial monument, erected in memory of and dedicated to her father, Robert Church, Jr. The monument features a bronze bust of Robert R. Church, Sr., and is inscribed with historical information.

Ronald Walter

ROBERT REED CHURCH, JR. (1885-1952)



Robert R. Church, Jr., a political leader of color in Memphis and the nation, was born on October 26, 1885, at the family home, 384 South Lauderdale Street, in Memphis. He was one of the two children of Robert R. and Anna (Wright) Church. His sister was Annette E. Church. He was educated at Mrs. Julia Hooks's kindergarten, by private tutors, and at parochial schools in Memphis. Further education was obtained at Morgan Park Military Academy, Morgan Park,

Illinois, and Berlin and the Parkard School of Business, New York. He completed his education by spending two years learning banking on Wall Street.

Robert Church, Jr., returned to Memphis, where he became the manager of Church's Park and Auditorium. He later became cashier of the Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company, founded by his father, succeeding him as president after his death. Within a few years, he resigned this position to manage the family's extensive real estate holdings. On July 26, 1911, Robert Church, Jr., married Sara P. Johnson of Washington, D. C., in that city. They became the parents of one child, Sara Roberta.

In 1916, Robert Church, Jr., founded and financed the Lincoln League in Memphis, which was established to organize the masses of black citizens to register and vote. It was his conviction that the ballot was the medium through which citizens of color could obtain civil rights. The Lincoln League organized voter registration drives, voting schools, and paid poll taxes for voters. Within a few months, the League had registered 10,000 voters. A Lincoln League Ticket was entered in the 1916 election, which included a black candidate for the Congress. The ticket lost, but it established the Lincoln League as a viable and respected political force in Memphis; the League later expanded into a statewide and national organization.

In 1917, Church organized the Memphis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the first branch in Tennessee. In 1919, he was elected to the national board of directors for the NAACP, representing fourteen southern states.

There were two factions of the Republican party in Memphis during Church's lifetime: one labeled by the daily press as the "Lily-White" (all white) wing of the party, and the other led by Church and called by the daily newspaper the "Black and Tans" (Negro and white). Robert Church, Jr., was a delegate from Memphis to eight successive Republican National Conventions from 1912-1940, having to battle each time with the white faction opposed to black participation in the party. Since Church's organization supplied the votes which carried the Republicans to victory in Memphis and Shelby County, he, as leader, was consulted by national party officials about federal patronage. Because the political climate in the South during his lifetime had not reached the point where he could recommend qualified black candidates for U. S. Postmaster, federal judge, U. S. Attorney, etc., he very carefully selected and recommended for those positions white candidates whom he thought were qualified men and who would perform their duties fairly and justly in the best interests of all segments of the population. He was requested frequently to recommend individuals for federal jobs in other southern states. He was consulted about political strategy by Republican Presidents and other high party officials so often that *Time* magazine referred to Church as the "roving dictator of the Lincoln Belt."

In the 1920s, when Robert Church, Jr., was at the height of his political influence, E. H. Crump, the Memphis Democratic leader, had not reached his political zenith. Church and Crump had totally disparate political philosophies and maintained autonomous political organizations. When it became necessary to discuss political procedures with the city administration, such as primary or general elections, county conventions, etc., Church was

represented by attorneys from his group, usually Josiah T. Settle, Jr., a Negro, and George Klepper and Baily Walsh, both of whom were white. Since it was not possible for a Republican to be elected mayor of Memphis, Church occasionally supported Democratic candidates he thought would be fair to Negroes, such as Watkins Overton, a family friend.

In 1940, when it appeared that Wendell Wilkie, the Republican candidate for President, might defeat incumbent President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in order to prevent Church's return to power (should the Republicans win the election), the city administration moved to destroy Church's political base by seizing his real estate holdings, allegedly for back taxes. At the same time, the city administration moved against two prominent Church associates: Dr. J. B. Martin, owner of the South Memphis Drug Store on south Florida Street, and Elmer Atkinson, proprietor of a cafe on Beale Street. City policemen, stationed at the front entrances of the men's establishments, searched all customers who entered, causing Martin and Atkinson to sustain tremendous financial losses. Atkinson had to close his cafe. Martin and Atkinson moved to Chicago, and Church established himself in Washington, D. C. Church Park and Auditorium was renamed "Beale Avenue Auditorium," and the family home was burned, ostensibly to test some of the city's new fire-fighting equipment.

At the invitation of his friend, A. Philip Randolph, the distinguished Negro labor leader, Church accepted membership on the board of directors of the National Council For A Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (now known as Equal Employment Opportunity) and worked tirelessly for the enactment of such legislation. In 1944, he organized and was elected chairman of the Republican American Committee, a group of 200 Negro Republican leaders from thirty-two states, who united to pressure Republican senators and congressmen to enact fair employment and other civil rights' legislation.

Church visited Memphis in 1952, after attending the Republican State Convention in Nashville, to promote General Dwight D. Eisenhower as the Republican candidate for President. He was talking Republican politics when he died of a fatal heart attack on April 17, 1952.

Roberta Church and Ronald Walter

ROBERT REED CHURCH, SR. (1839-1912)

Robert Reed Church, Sr., was a business leader, a philanthropist, and a millionaire. Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, on June 18, 1839, he was the son of a white steamboat captain, Charles B. Church, and a slave seamstress, Emmeline, who died when Robert was twelve years old. Captain Church worked his mulatto son as a cabin boy and a steward before fateful events took Robert off the river forever.

When the luxury steamer, *Bulletin No. 2*, burned and sank in 1855, Robert and his father were among the few who survived. Then, soon after the American Civil War began,



Church operated his hotel in downtown Memphis, on the southwest corner of South Second and Gayoso streets. The hotel was advertised as the only first-class Colored hotel in the city. It had large airy rooms, a dining facility, and was furnished with the best equipment of that day.

Because the City of Memphis did not provide recreational facilities for its African-American citizens in 1899, Church opened "Church's Park and Auditorium" at a cost of \$50,000, with total property valued at \$100,000. With a seating capacity of 2,000, Church's Auditorium became the cultural center for the region's African-American community. Here Church and local black Republicans held huge rallies and meetings. Republican President Theodore Roosevelt spoke to a gathering of 10,000 persons in Church's Park and Auditorium. The notable musician and "Father of the Blues," William C. Handy, was employed as the orchestra leader. Among other notable speakers and performers at the auditorium were Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, and the Fisk Jubilee Singers. After years of neglect, the auditorium was torn down. In modern times, the city assumed the park property, which was added to the Beale Street Historic District (listed in the National Register of Historic Places) in 1993.

In 1908, Robert R. Church followed the lead of blacks in Nashville and members of Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League and founded the Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company, the first black bank in Memphis since the collapse of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Bank, Memphis Branch, in 1874. Church was elected president of the bank. Also in 1908, when the Beale Street Baptist Church (today's First Baptist Church of Beale Street) was facing foreclosure by creditors, Robert R. Church and the bank came to Beale Street Baptist Church's rescue and paid off its creditors with

federal forces captured Robert when he served as a steward on the steamer, *Victoria*. Now a fugitive slave and later a freedman, Robert settled in Memphis, where he embarked upon a career that would establish him as a successful businessman in the South.

Although real estate was Church's main interest, he engaged in other business enterprises, including a hotel, a restaurant, and a saloon. The knowledge he gained as a steamboat steward equipped him to meet the personal needs of customers in a luxurious fashion.

liberal repayment terms.

A self-made man and reputedly the South's first African-American millionaire, Church gave voluntarily to every worthy cause. Robert Church died in 1912. More than a half-century later, the Memphis Chamber of Commerce honored Robert Reed Church, Sr., in 1984 by naming him one of Memphis' pioneer businessmen.

Reavis L. Mitchell, Jr.

CITIZENS SAVINGS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY (1865-1874)

Several members of Nashville's Negro Business League and business community gathered on November 5, 1903, to consider the organization of a new bank. Present at that meeting were J. C. Napier, who was elected temporary chairman; R. H. Boyd; the Reverend Preston Taylor; J. B. Bosley; E. B. Jefferson; J. S. Ewing; J. A. Cullom; the Reverend William Haynes; and J. W. Grant. It was determined that charter members would include those who contributed at least \$100 to the capital stock. Each of the nine men in attendance pledged the \$100, with Napier expressing his willingness to raise his pledge to \$1,000 if occasion demanded. With that meeting, the One-Cent Savings Bank and Trust Company was born.

The first officers were the Reverend R. H. Boyd, president; attorney James Carroll Napier, cashier; and the Reverend Preston Taylor, treasurer and chairman of the board. The bank opened on January 16, 1904. Its first home was donated space in Napier's law office, located at 411 North Cherry Street (present Fourth Avenue, North). The proclaimed intention of the bank was to "encourage frugality and systematic savings among our people, to secure the safekeeping and proper investment of such savings, and to set in motion business enterprises. . . ." Trust in Negro institutions had deteriorated with the fall of the Freedman's Bank, so it was necessary to regain confidence to make the undertaking a success.

There were no state laws governing banking institutions when the bank obtained its charter, but the founders of the bank were very conservative in their policies. When the new banking enterprise exhibited slow growth, Boyd reminded investors that "the idea of 'getting rich quick' was never in the minds of the officers of this institution." He and other board members believed that growth was not as significant as stability and permanence. Napier maintained that it was more important to teach blacks that deposits not only earned interest but also assisted in the economic advancement of the race. Although the bank's name implied that an account could be opened with one cent, the minimum deposit accepted was ten cents. Stock could be purchased at the low price of five dollars per share, in the hope that it would be "within the reach of the common people." The day the bank opened, deposits totaled almost \$6,500; after six years of business, the deposit balance showed just under \$36,000.

The One Cent Bank insured new capital stock after World War One and was reorganized, changing its name to Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company in 1920. The capital raised from the new stock was invested in blue chip railroad stock and a few large real estate loans, in efforts to avoid failure at all costs.

In 1972, after fifty years of occupancy, Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company was forced from the Colored YMCA. This building had previously served as the Duncan Hotel, a leading hotel during the late 1890s and early 1900s. The bank relocated temporarily in the Morris Memorial Building. In 1979, the Citizens Bank opened its first branch office at Twenty - first Avenue, North, and Jefferson Street. Of the four Afro-American banking institutions in Tennessee before 1930, only the One Cent (Citizens) Savings Bank and Trust Company of Nashville, the second oldest minority bank in the country, survived.

Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company maintains the essence of the tenets of its founders: while it is "important to grow, it is also important to remain profitable and even more important to remain sound." Today this bank serves as a depository for many residents of the community and for some funds of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, the State of Tennessee, and the United States Government.

In 1985, the bank moved to its new skyscraper headquarters, Citizens Plaza, on the southwest corner of Fourth Avenue, North, and Charlotte Avenue, the same site it occupied when the Colored YMCA stood there.

Linda T. Wynn



MEREDITH WILLIAM DAY (1893-1981)



Meredith William (M. W.) Day, entrepreneur, editor/publisher, community/civic leader, churchman, and family man, was born in Franklin, Kentucky, on March 15, 1893. He received his early education in Franklin's public schools and later attended Roger Williams University. During World War One, Day served in the United States Army.

Day's career as an entrepreneur began when he attended Roger Williams University and became a receiver and a distributor for Zibart Brothers Wholesale Dealers of books and magazines. He continued this occupation for a number of years. He and Arthur Turner co-founded the National Motor Assurance Company in 1930. The company offered "AAA" - like services for black owners of automobiles in five southern states, including Tennessee. Also in 1930, Day established the

Brown Belle Bottling Company to manufacture and distribute cola, ginger ale, grape, orange, and peach soft drinks. He also distributed a drink called BoGo Chic, "A Great Straight Drink and a Good Mixer." The bottling company was located at 313 Jo Johnston Avenue, until destroyed by the city's urban renewal projects.

M. W. Day became an active leader in black Nashville. He served the NAACP in 1937 and chaired the Colored Division of the March of Dimes in 1940. He chaired the executive committee of the local NAACP for many years before becoming its president in 1950. He was executive secretary many years of the Colored YMCA. He was a charter member of the Frontier International Civic Club, whose members helped firmly establish the Urban League in Nashville, and was a leading proponent of the construction of the Bordeaux YMCA.

During World War Two, Day and attorney J. F. McClellan founded the *Nashville Independent* newspaper in 1942. This paper merged with the city's *Globe* in 1944, to become the *Globe-Independent*. Day continued to work with the *Globe-Independent* until the paper ceased publication in 1960.

Day became known as an activist leader, a renaissance man. He convinced Nashville's Big Brothers organization to allow blacks to help with its outstanding work with the needy. He served on the executive boards of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity (Eta Beta Sigma Chapter), American Red Cross, Family and Children's Service, Metropolitan Beautification Bureau, and Boy Scouts of America. He received honors from many organizations, including

the NAACP, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, and Mount Olive Baptist Church. Day was an honorary sergeant-at-arms for the Senate of the Tennessee General Assembly.

Meredith William Day died on May 22, 1981, at the Veterans Hospital in Nashville. He was funeralized at Mount Olive Missionary Baptist Church on May 25, 1981, and interred in Nashville's National Cemetery on May 26, 1981. His wife, Thelma Davidson Day, passed in 1973.

Lois C. McDougald

WILLIAM EDMONDSON (c. 1870-1951)

Born around 1870 in the Hillsboro Road section of Nashville to "foreparents [George and Jane] who were Edmondson and Compton slaves," William Edmondson was one of six children reared by his mother after the death of their father.

After many years of working for the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad and the Women's Hospital (Baptist Hospital), Edmondson entered the art world by divine command, according to an article in the *Nashville Tennessean*: "While he lay asleep, God appeared at the head of his bed and talked to him, 'like a natural man,' concerning the talent of cutting stone He was about to bestow. He talked so loud He woke me up. He told me He had something for me." Edmondson was instructed to make chisels and other sculpting tools.

This primitive artist, who began his career by working on tombstones, worked exclusively in limestone, usually from demolished city buildings and curbs from rebuilt streets. Wrecking companies often diverted their trucks to Edmondson's backyard to leave piles of stone at little or no cost. During fifteen years or more of sculpting, his backyard became filled with "miracles" that were not tombstones but preachers, women, doves, turtles, angels, rabbits, horses, and other "critters" and "miracles."

Five years after he began to sculpt in limestone, Edmondson's competence in art was acknowledged by the art world. Sidney Hirsch, Alfred and Elizabeth Starr, and Louise Dahl-



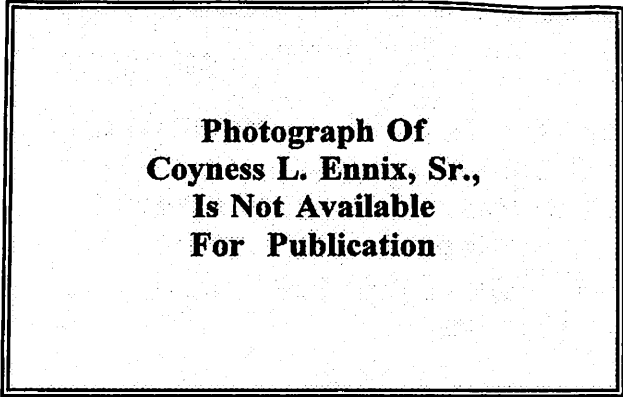
Wolfe were instrumental in uncovering Edmondson's gift of sculpting stone. Dahl-Wolfe, a photographer for *Harper's Bazaar* magazine, brought Edmondson to the attention of Alfred Barr, the director of the Museum of Modern Art. Barr and some of the trustees expressed interest in a type of painting and sculpture they classified as "modern primitive" and which they applied to Edmondson's art. Thus, Edmondson became the first black American to be accorded a one-man show at the Museum of Modern Art.

Edmondson soon was widely recognized and honored for his sculpture. In 1938, his sculpture was included in "Three Centuries of Art in the United States." On February 11, 1941, he was honored with a one-man show at the Nashville Art Gallery. In 1951, Edmondson was posthumously honored by the Nashville Artist Guild. Edmondson's pieces were included in other exhibitions: Nashville's Peabody College (1951); New York's Willard Gallery; Cheekwood (Tennessee Botanical Gardens and Fine Arts Center) and Lyzon Galleries in Nashville (1964); City College of New York and the LaJolla Museum of Contemporary Art (1967); Willard Gallery and Newark Museum (1971); and a one-man show at the Montclair Art Museum in 1975. The June, 1981, opening of the Tennessee State Museum featured an exhibition and illustrated catalogue of Edmondson's sculptures.

Poor health caused Edmondson to cease sculpting in the late 1940s. On February 7, 1951, he died and was buried at Mount Ararat Cemetery in Nashville. In June, 1979, a park at Seventeenth Avenue, North, and Charlotte Avenue was named in honor of Edmondson. On July 8, 1981, a marker of limestone, which came from the old Commerce Union Building, was unveiled. Sculptor Gregory Ridley carved a dove into the block, above the accompanying inscription: *This park is dedicated to the memory of the renowned Nashville sculptor, William Edmondson.*

Linda T. Wynn

COYNESS L. ENNIX, SR. (1898-1984)



Coyness Loyal Ennix, Sr., was an attorney and a political and civic leader in Nashville, Tennessee. He was born on September 21, 1901, in Hillsboro, Alabama, and was the son of Frank and Channie Ennix. He began attending the North Alabama Baptist Academy at the age of twelve. Coyness came to Nashville in 1918 and completed Roger Williams University on Whites Creek Pike. He wanted to be a pharmacist, but a few visits to

local courts convinced him to study law. Ennix entered Howard University's School of Law in 1928 and completed his studies in 1931, with the second-highest scholastic rank in the class.

In 1932, Ennix gained admission to the bar. For the benefit of area blacks, he founded Nashville's Kent College of Law, where he trained local attorneys like Robert Lillard and Mose Davies. During some fifty years of practice, Ennix specialized in criminal cases. He handled about 3,000 cases before retiring to matters that came before the Probate Court during the last four years of his career. Around the courtroom, Ennix appeared well-dressed, flamboyant in style with big cigars, and well-versed in the law. At a time when black Nashvillians were turning their attention from the old elite, black Republican leaders to more middle-class and college-educated black Democratic leaders, Coyness L. Ennix became a local civic and political leader.

Coyness L. Ennix advanced as a local political leader during the late 1940s, when he became president of The Solid Block, an organization designed to unify the black community in its opposition to political discrimination. The Solid Block held mass meetings at First Colored Baptist Church and other local black churches to petition effectively against the poll tax. The organization published *The Solid Block* newspaper to keep blacks informed and involved in the protest. After thousands of signatures and many petitions were delivered to the Tennessee General Assembly, the poll tax was ended. In 1950, two blacks won seats to the City Council for the first time since 1911. Ennix lost his bid for a seat.

Ennix continued to be a local civic and political leader. He was the first black member of the Nashville Housing Authority. He gained appointment to the Nashville Board of Education and served through the integration uproar that forced Nashville to integrate its schools. He was a member of the city's Auditorium Commission, which directed the building of Municipal Auditorium. He also served as a member of the board of directors of the American Baptist Theological Seminary (now American Baptist College) and on the board of directors for the Eighteenth Avenue Community Center. He was a member of the Pride of Tennessee Lodge Number 1102, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

In addition, Coyness Ennix was a religious leader. He served as superintendent of the Sunday school at First Colored Baptist Church (now First Baptist Capitol Hill) for more than 25 years and as a trustee and deacon of the church, as well as its unpaid legal adviser. Along with the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith and other First Colored Baptist Church leaders, Ennix helped guide the church through the black civil rights movement's turbulent years. First Colored Baptist Church gave courageous leadership to the sit-in demonstrations and the freedom rides.

Coyness L. Ennix, Sr., died on Wednesday, April 25, 1984. He was survived by his wife, Blanche Nivens Ennix, and three sons, Frank Martin, III, Coyness Loyal, and Russell Barbour.

Bobby L. Lovett

MEREDITH G. FERGUSON (1894-1978)



Meredith G. Ferguson was born on August 24, 1894, in Arlington, Texas. In 1912, he attended Tennessee State Agricultural and Industrial Normal School for Negroes (today's Tennessee State University) in Nashville. A reputable student, Ferguson became president of his senior class. In 1915, he was graduated from the Tennessee State A & I Normal School.

Meredith continued to live in Nashville and serve his alma mater. He served as the first president of the Athletic Association, business manager and president of the Alumni Association, and instructor of accounting at Tennessee State Agricultural and Industrial College.

After America's entry into the First World War, Ferguson entered the United States Army. He became one of fifteen blacks selected from the 368th Infantry to attend division Army War School in Washington, D. C. In 1918, Ferguson received an officer's commission in the United States Army. He was transferred to Central Officers' Training School at Camp Pike, Arkansas, where he served as an instructor for black troops. After completing his military service, Meredith G. Ferguson studied business administration at LaSalle College.

In 1924, Ferguson began his career at the Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company in Nashville, one of the oldest continuously operated African-American financial institutions in the United States. He held many supervisory responsibilities within the bank, rising quickly through the ranks. In 1959, after the death of the bank's president (Henry A. Boyd), Ferguson became president of Citizens Bank. The bank experienced a period of growth and moved from its old quarters to the Morris Memorial Building at Fourth Avenue, North, and Charlotte Street.

Meredith G. Ferguson's bank position and leadership made him a respected leader on local and national levels. He held many offices and positions: an auditor for the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.; chairman of the fraternity's audit committee for ten years; treasurer of the AGORA Assembly; and treasurer for the Tau Lambda Chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., among other positions of responsibility and honor. Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce University, said of Ferguson: "Meredith G. Ferguson was an individual whose financial recommendations and monetary proposals would have had a sobering affect on any organization."

On March 24, 1978, Meredith G. Ferguson, a notable black leader of African-American Nashville, died and was interred two days later in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Reavis L. Mitchell, Jr.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH EAST NASHVILLE (1866-)



First Baptist Church East Nashville was founded in 1866 by the Reverend Randall B. Vandavall (1832-98), a slave born on March 23 at Neely's Bend. He gained his freedom through self-purchase and Union Army occupation of Nashville in 1862.

Edgefield (East Nashville) slaves had a Baptist congregation as early as January of 1861, when Nashville's white First Baptist Church established a "Second Colored Baptist Mission" in Edgefield on Fatherland Street. The mission was jointly directed by a white committee and a free black preacher, George Dardis. Nelson G. Merry, the free black pastor of First Colored Baptist Mission (now First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill) assisted "Brother" Dardis. But Nashville's white First Baptist Church abruptly discontinued the East Nashville mission in June of 1861, when Tennessee decided to enter the Civil War.

In 1862, the white Spring Street Baptist Church (1858-) established an "African Mission" on North Cherry Street, under the leadership of George Dardis and "Randall

Vandavall." On January 8, this unusual congregation of all free blacks elected Vandavall, not Dardis, as their pastor. Vandavall, Dardis, and all but a few of these free blacks held letters of dismissal from Merry's congregation (organized in 1848), whose members were mostly slaves. But the African Mission was disrupted in February of 1862, when the Union Army occupied the city.

In 1864, Spring Street (Central) Baptist Church reopened under Daniel W. Phillips, a missionary for the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Vandavall became friendly with the Reverend Phillips and helped the Yankee pastor establish a "Baptist College" (Nashville Normal and Theological Institute; later Roger Williams University) for black preachers. In 1866, Vandavall started First Baptist Church in East Nashville.

Between 1864 and 1865, the Union Army established a contraband camp for over 2,000 fugitive slaves on the site. For a long time, the church was called "Vandavall's Baptist Church." The pastor became such an influential leader that the Vandavall Public School (1880s) on Wetmore and Spring streets was named in his honor. Roger Williams University awarded him an honorary doctor of divinity degree in 1886. He served on the Negro Committee of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897.

First Baptist Church East Nashville was officially chartered on November 13, 1882, by Vandavall, Henry Gasoway, Austin Roberts, Granville Batts, Hezekiah Harding, and George W. Newsom. The congregation first worshipped in Vandavall's home at Berry and Second streets, then in the old Union Army barracks on Mark and Steward streets, before being forced by fire to move to McClure's Hall on the south side of Woodland, between Second and Third streets. The present church structure was built in 1928 on a more centrally located site, the corner of Main and Sixth streets. It was expanded in 1931 and continuously improved, especially from 1934 through 1941. The front entrance of the church was restructured because of the widening of Main Street during the 1960s. Built in a Classical Revival design, this beautiful church building contains an education department, a sanctuary seating 600, a magnificent pipe organ, melodic chimes, a mural by Tennessee State University professor and artist Frances Thompson, and memorial windows.

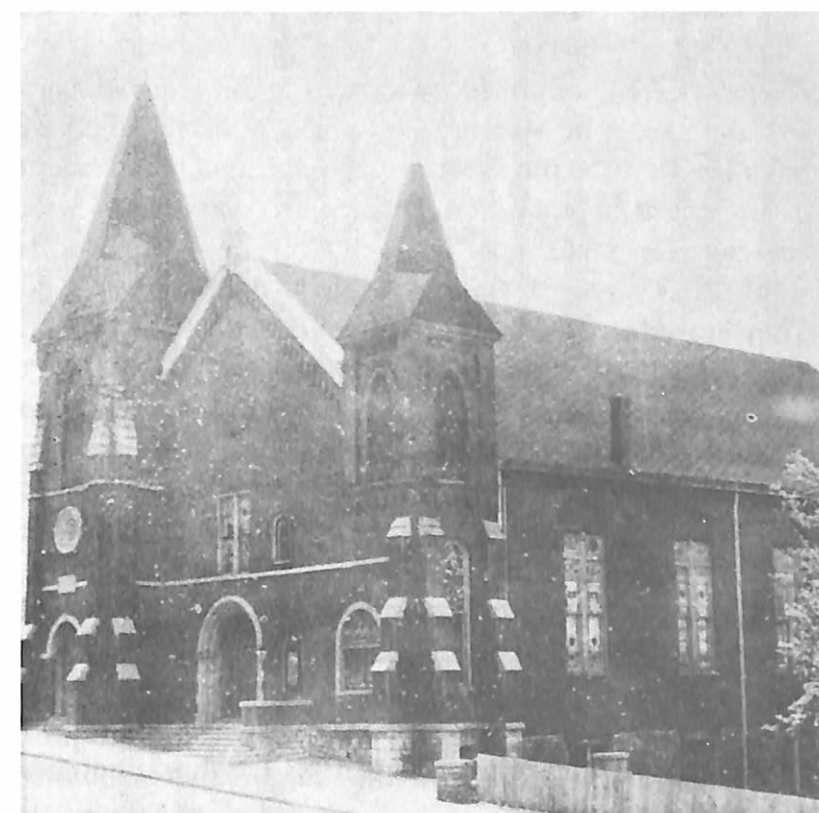
After Vandavall's death, the Reverend Sutton E. Griggs assumed the pastorage (1899-1908). A college-educated man and a native Texan, Griggs moved to Nashville to work for the National Baptist Convention. He wrote a number of novels: *Imperium in Impero* (1899), *Overshadowed* (1901), *Unfettered* (1902), *The Hindered Hand* (1905), *The One Great Question* (1907), and *Pointing the Way* (1908).

Other learned preachers who served the church included J.D. Bushnell (1908-13), E. W. D. Hawthorne (1913-15), W. S. Ellington (1915-49), Charles L. Dinkins (1950-56), Otis Pickett (interim--1956-59), J. N. Rucker (1959-70), and James A. Campbell (1970-1994).

Bobby L. Lovett

FIRST COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH (1848-1891)

Nashville's black Baptist community originated with the city's first Baptist congregation, which, when formally organized in the 1820s, included free and enslaved blacks. Negroes and whites were called "sister" and "brother," although the stations of blacks were denoted as "servant of. . .," "belonging to. . .," or "free man of colour."



With the formation of the new Christian (Disciples of Christ) Church, most members defected from the First Baptist Church. It was not until the calling of Reverend Peter S. Gayle in 1831 that the congregation began to grow. In 1934, he was replaced by the Reverend Robert Boyte Crawford Howell.

Howell, a Virginia slave owner and staunch segregationist, convinced the congregation that mixed church services should be discontinued, because blacks and whites "require different forms of religious instruction; they can never both prosper together."

In 1841, a special black meeting was given legitimacy by the attendance of the pastor, deacons, and clerk. This became an annual meeting to review the black rollbook and discuss disciplinary cases. Blacks made up thirty-nine percent of the membership.

On January 10, 1846, the "Colored" members introduced the issue of building a separate church. The congregation promptly acted to fulfill the petition, intending to have it be subject to white command. Seven whites were assigned to "contract and hold in trust" a building which would either be "a branch of this church or. . .an independent church. . ." In 1847, Samuel A. Davidson, a young white minister from the east, was assigned to the Negro mission. He secured the old schoolhouse at 21 North McLemore Street (Ninth Avenue) and in January of 1848 began holding regular Sunday morning services and afternoon Sunday school sessions. Once every three months, the Lord's Supper was carried to their church by Howell and the white deacons. Although the mission was allowed to act on all cases of discipline, discussion was deferred to the white church for approval. In 1848, First Colored Baptist Church moved to an old house on Pearl Street (Nelson Merry Street).

In 1848, Nelson Merry (a slave who became free in 1845) was allowed to preach regular sermons to the Negro mission. The whites had licensed several Negro preachers, including James Dickinson, Andrew Bentz, and George Bentz. By the end of 1849, some 250 Negroes were attending the mission, though only 102 were members. On March 9, 1853, by a "unanimous vote of the church, Nelson Merry was licensed to preach the Gospel."

In November of 1853, for the first time the black members selected their own deacons: Louis Butler, Daniel Walker, Aaron Jennings, Joseph Morsell, and Anderson Pritchett. Nelson G. Merry became "moderator" of the First Colored Baptist Mission. The First Colored Baptist Mission had 500 members in 1860.

During the Civil War, the Negro church continued its services and its membership grew, doubling its size between 1863 and 1865. In March of 1865, the black members of First Baptist Church requested that they be constituted as a "separate and independent church," and the whites agreed to the ecclesiastical separation rendered necessary by the war. First Colored Baptist Church was chartered in 1866.

By 1872, the membership of First Colored Baptist Church of Nashville had experienced tremendous growth. They moved to North Spruce Street (Eighth Avenue) and erected the largest brick and stone church edifice owned by blacks.

The Reverend Nelson Merry died on July 14, 1884. The Reverend Tom R. Huffman became pastor in 1885. The first "split" of the First Colored Baptist Church occurred in 1887, under the pastorate of the Reverend Huffman. Those who followed him organized the Mount Olive Baptist Church. The remaining members continued to worship with the Reverend M. W. Gilbert, who served the congregation from 1887 to 1890. The Reverend J. E. Purdy was called in 1891; during his pastorate, another division of the church occurred and resulted in the chartering of Spruce Street Baptist Church.

Today there are three churches which are descendants of the First Colored Baptist Church of Nashville: First (Colored) Baptist Church Capitol Hill, Mount Olive Missionary Baptist Church, and Spruce Street Baptist Church. Annually since 1983 the three churches jointly participated in their "Roots Celebration."

Linda T. Wynn

FISK JUBILEE SINGERS (1871-)

In 1871, hoping to raise funds for Fisk University, school treasurer and music teacher George L. White borrowed money and set out with nine student singers for a tour of the North--despite the disapproval of the university.

Withstanding hardships and indignities, this nameless and almost penniless group persevered against all odds to save their school from bankruptcy and closure. The singers ranged in age from fifteen to twenty-five years and all were former slaves or children of slaves.



Financially unsuccessful at first, the group abandoned its classical, popular repertoire for powerful, moving spirituals and slave songs. The group also adopted the name of Jubilee Singers, from the biblical reference to the time of jubilee and the freeing of all slaves.

The group's manager, George White, was without musical training himself, but he was a fine singer, was dedicated to music, and had the added talent of getting the utmost from his gifted singers. Soon the power and eloquence of their music was entrancing and inspiring audiences, which always cheered for encores.

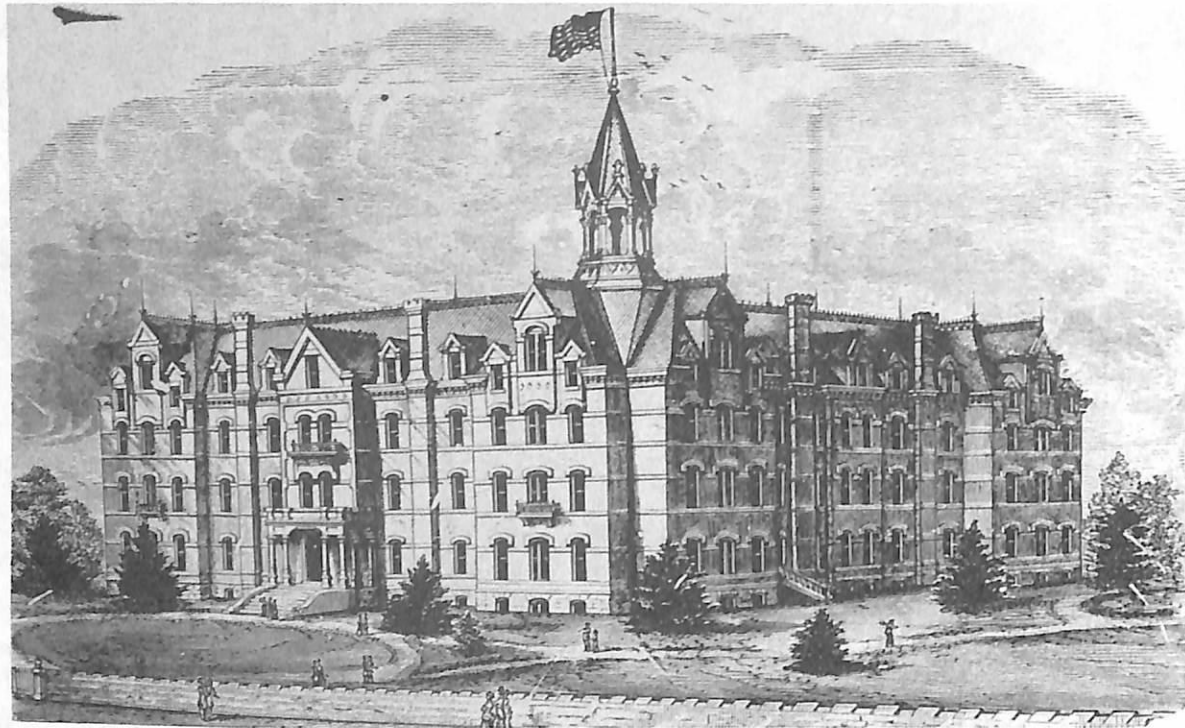
After several tours throughout the United States and Europe, the Jubilee Singers eventually raised \$150,000, securing the school's future. The funds purchased Fisk's present campus (old Union Fort Gillem) in North Nashville and built Jubilee Hall, the first permanent building in America for the education of blacks (now designated as a national historic landmark).

Begun as a free school providing primary through college education for newly freed slaves, Fisk was founded in 1866 by the Congregational Church's American Missionary Association, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and former Union Army General Clinton B. Fisk of the Freedmen's Bureau. Its only buildings at first were abandoned Union Army barracks.

Each October 6, Fisk celebrates Jubilee Day, commemorating the original Jubilee Singers, who sang before kings, queens, and heads of state; who captured the hearts of all who heard their music; who introduced to the world the beauty and tradition of the Negro spiritual; and who, with steadfastness and commitment, virtually saved their university.

Kay Beasley

FISK UNIVERSITY (1866-)



Fisk University began as Fisk Free Colored School, one of several schools founded for freedmen during the Union military occupation of Nashville. In October of 1865, the American Missionary Association, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the U. S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands opened the school to help fulfill the educational needs of freed slaves. In December of 1865, General Clinton Bowen Fisk, head of the Kentucky-Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau, secured housing for the school in several old Union army hospital buildings between Church and Cedar (Charlotte) streets near Shaftesbury Avenue and the Union army's contraband camp. On January 9, 1866, the school's founders and Governor William G. Brownlow participated in dedication ceremonies for the institution. The principal founders and organizers included John Ogden and Erastus Cravath and black businessmen Nelson Walker and Richard Harris. Like Ogden, Walker was a leading member of the local Republican party.

With the reopening of the Nashville public schools in the fall of 1867, the institution was chartered as Fisk University on August 22. As a college, Fisk needed new quarters. In 1871, the surplus Union Fort Gillem was purchased. A student choir under the leadership of Professor George L. White was organized (1867) and began touring the nation in 1871 to raise building funds. The Jubilee Singers raised over \$50,000 for the construction of Jubilee Hall at Salem (Eighteenth Avenue, North) and Jefferson streets. In January of 1876, Fisk University dedicated its new campus. Under its first president, Erastus Cravath, some 130 of Fisk's students and graduates became teachers in black schools. The physical plant continued to expand and by the 1890s Fisk's curriculum had expanded to include liberal arts, theology, teacher training, and a secondary school.

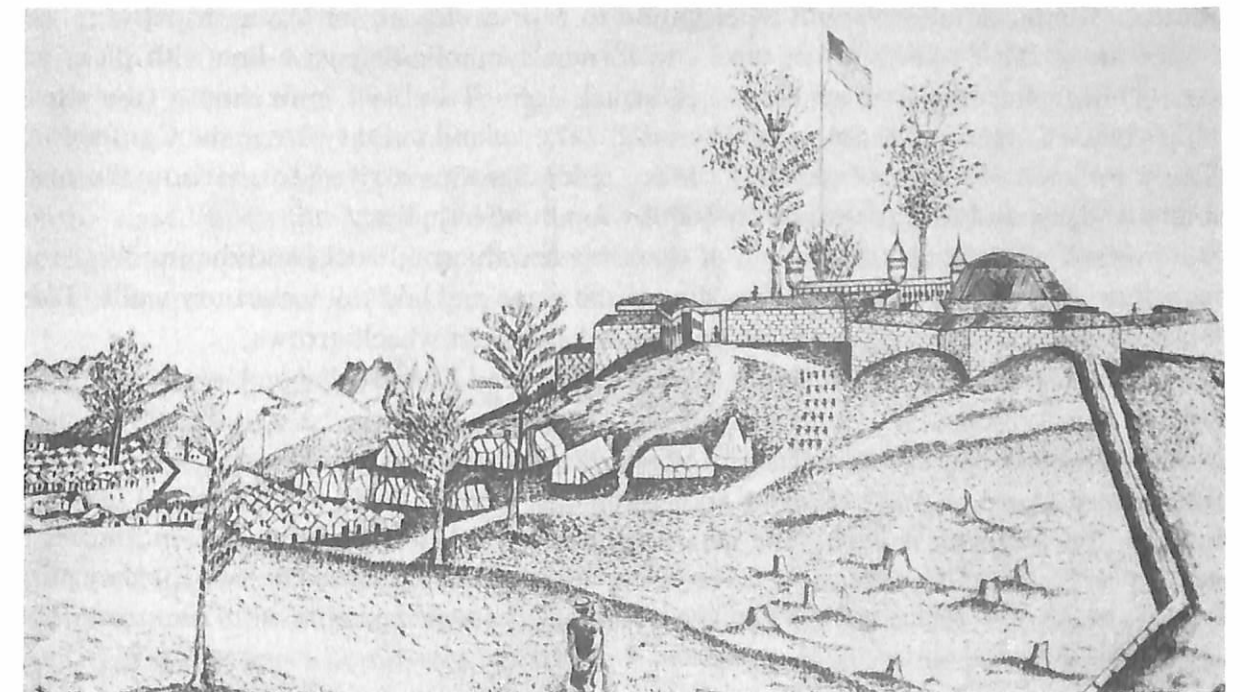
At the turn of the century, with the arrival of a second generation of freed blacks, the school began to undergo changes as black expectations began to rise. Demands were made for more blacks on the faculty and in administration. In June of 1911, there was a black protest because President George Gates dismissed six of twelve black teachers for financial reasons. In 1924-25, a student strike forced President Fayette A. McKenzie to resign under a cloud of charges of racism and oppression. In 1947, Charles S. Johnson became the first black to head Fisk University.

During the 1960s, the civil rights movement radicalized the student body, causing support from white donors to diminish. Facing increasing financial burdens, Fisk unwisely dipped into its \$15 million endowment. Nineteen eighty-three found the school with a greatly diminished endowment and serious debts, but also undergirded with determination to carry on.

Presidents and Acting Presidents of Fisk have been: Erastus Milo Cravath (1875-1900), James Merrill (1901-1908), George Augustus Gates (1909-1915), Fayette Avery McKenzie (1915-1925), Thomas Elsa Jones (1926-1946), Charles Spurgeon Johnson (1947-1956), Stephen Junius Wright (1957-1966), James Raymond Lawson (1967-1975), Rutherford Hamlet Adkins (Acting, 1975-1976), George W. Gore, Jr. (Acting, 1976-1977), Walter J. Leonard (1977-1984), and Henry Ponder (1984-).

Reavis L. Mitchell and Haywood Farrar

FORT NEGLEY IN NASHVILLE (1862-1867)



During the fall and winter of 1862, the Union army built Fort Negley to defend Nashville against Confederate army attacks.

On February 25, 1862, after the CSA Army of Tennessee retreated from the recent defeat at Fort Donelson, the Union army occupied Nashville. In March of 1862, President Abraham Lincoln appointed a Tennessean, U. S. Senator Andrew Johnson, to serve as military governor. Because of his nervousness about Confederate attacks on Nashville, Johnson begged federal officials to fortify the town. The commanding general ordered the post commander, General James S. Negley, to use the post's 6,000 soldiers and black laborers to construct fortifications for Nashville and around the capitol.

Negley employed Captain James S. Morton, an army engineer, to design and build a large fort to protect the south roads and railroad approaches to Nashville. Because the Confederate armies still roamed parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, Morton received orders to move with all deliberate speed. Morton wired Buell: "I lost 48 hours trying to get Negroes, teams, tools, cooking utensils, and provisions. Only 150 Negroes so far, no tools, teams, etc. I wanted to employ 825 Negroes by the 11th [of August, 1862]."

The Union army launched a campaign to recruit and impress (force) nearly 2,000 blacks (free and slave) into Fort Negley's labor battalions. "Known men of treason," including Belle Meade plantation's William G. Harding, suffered arrest and confiscation of their money, slaves, and supplies to support Morton's project. The Union cavalry surrounded Nashville's three black (quasi-independent) churches, arrested strong black men and women, and marched them to the St. Cloud hill construction site with axes, picks, and spades in return for certificates of labor to be paid later. Before the project ended, the army would owe the blacks and some "loyal slave owners" over \$85,858 in wages.

On November 5, some Confederate cavalry attempted to invade the city's eastern suburbs. The black laborers sent a delegation to Morton to ask for arms. Morton refused to issue arms, but he allowed the blacks to form a symbolic defensive line with picks and axes. During the fight, an artillery shell struck John Trimble's smokehouse (the site of today's black Cameron-Trimble neighborhood). The federal military drove the Confederates off and inflicted 68 enemy casualties. More federal troops arrived to garrison the town, rebuild bridges, and forage the countryside for food and supplies.

Black workers cleared the hill of trees, blasted the solid rock, and dug underground magazines. Expert slave stone masons shaped the stone and laid thick masonry walls. Black women washed clothes, cooked food, and hauled debris in wheelbarrows.

The Union army and the black workers completed Fort Negley on December 7, 1862. Captain Morton said, "To the credit of the colored population be it said, they worked manfully and cheerfully, with hardly an exception, and yet lay out upon the works at night under armed guard, without blankets and eating only army rations. They worked in squads [military-like companies], each gang choosing their own officers; one was often amused to hear the Negro captains call out: 'You boys over there, let them picks fall easy, or they might hurt somebody.'" Hundreds of black laborers died from exposure and accidents when working on such Union army projects.

Fort Negley became the largest Union fort west of Washington, D. C. The topmost structure consisted of twelve-foot timbers, a stockade to hold horses and soldiers' quarters. Rounded wooden rifle turrets rested on top of each corner of the stockade. The artillery

rested on carriages and smooth plank-flooring on the parapet (flat, platform-like area) surrounding the outside of the stockade. Three-foot ramparts (nine-foot-thick embankments of earth walled with stone) protected the flat artillery area. Projected redans protected the ramparts on the east and the west sides of the stockade. Scarps (steep slopes) and glacis (a smooth, gentle slope) rested below the east and west ramparts and parapets. Two groups of four blockhouses (bomb shelters topped with railroad iron, railroad timbers, and dirt) protected the bottom of these hills on the left and the right sides of the fort's south section. A salient system projected out to protect the bastioned blockhouses. Above the bastion was a stone scarp to protect the first two blockhouses, a passage connecting the two parallel blockhouses, another stone scarp rising above the passage, and the other two blockhouses rising above the scarp with a protected passage between these blockhouses. Morton placed the fort's entrance on the north side with a gentle slope overlooking the city two miles beyond. The fort also had a sharp salient, a gateway, a timber guardhouse, and a loop-holed bomb shelter flanking the gate. Fort Negley, a polygonal copy of an old Spanish design, consumed 62,500 cubic feet of stone and 18,000 cubic yards of dirt; occupied 600 by 300 feet and 51 acres of St. Cloud Hill; and rested some 620 feet above sea level.

The Union army abandoned Fort Negley soon after 1867. The local Ku Klux Klan held secret meetings in the fort's blockhouses until 1869. During the early 1900s, Nashville's black Republican party leaders unsuccessfully petitioned Republican presidents to restore the fort. In 1937, the federal Works Progress Administration restored Fort Negley. The fort, however, was allowed to fall into ruins again until interest to restore the fort began anew with the 1964 Civil War Centennial Celebration. In 1975, Fort Negley was listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

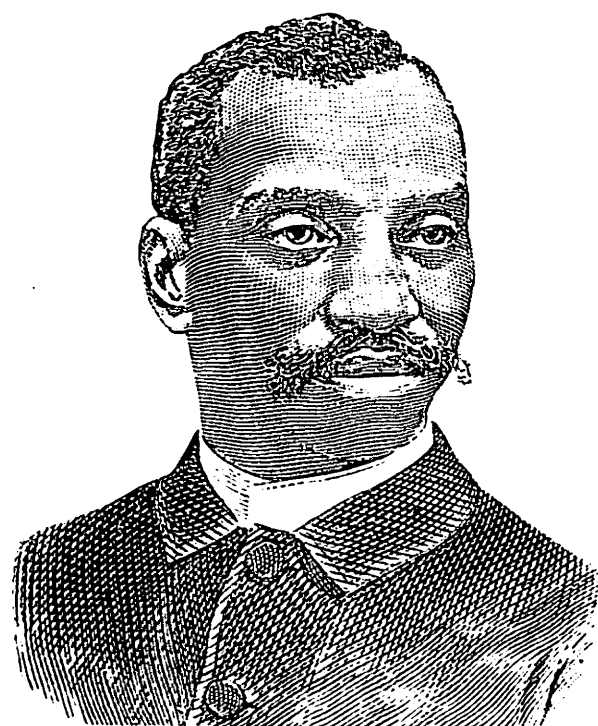
In 1980, the Metro Historical Commission and an MHC plaque marked the entrance to the site. Years later, the Tennessee Historical Commission placed a historical plaque to note the involvement of blacks in the Civil War and construction of Fort Negley. Local community activist, Joe Kelso (Ghetto Joe), pushed for the restoration of the fort until his death. Based upon the Mayor's Advisory Committee's recommendations, in 1994 the City Council approved \$500,000 to begin the restoration of Fort Negley as a historical, tourist, and community resource.

Bobby L. Lovett

WILLIAM H. FRANKLIN (1853-1935)

William H. Franklin was a writer, educator, and preacher, among other things. He was a true pioneer in most of his endeavors. He was born to free parents in Knoxville on April 14, 1852. His father was a competent brick mason, who was very much in demand. His mother was a homemaker.

He started school just one month before the Civil War began and interrupted his education. He returned to school in 1864, when General Ambrose Burnside occupied



Knoxville and allowed the teaching of blacks to resume. Franklin was the acknowledged head of his class and the top student in the school. He attended Knoxville schools until 1870 and began teaching at Hudsonville, Mississippi. After two terms, he had saved enough money to enter Maryville College in Maryville, Tennessee. There he ranked high in his school work and was vice president of the Athenian Society during his first year in college. In 1880, Franklin became the first black person to be graduated from Maryville College. His graduation oration was highly praised. He entered Lane Theological Seminary in September of 1880 and was graduated in 1883.

From Lane Seminary he went to Rogersville, Tennessee, to begin his work. He was ordained by Union Presbytery, Synod of Tennessee, in 1883 and set out to build a school. In just a few short months, he had organized what later would be known as Swift Memorial College.

Franklin had already established himself as a respected writer before finishing college. He began writing for the Knoxville *Examiner*, which was edited by William F. Yardley in 1878. He also wrote for *The Tennessee Star*, *The Herald Presbyter*, *The Critic*, and other papers. *The Afro-American Press*, a book published in 1891 about black newspapers, described Franklin as "one of the most conversant correspondents that now writes for the press. His articles are always fresh and well-received and demand careful thought. He is logical, argumentative, and free from abrupt phrases." He also was highly praised for his work as a special correspondent for the *New York Age* and the *Negro World*.

A number of nationally known individuals were prepared for impressive careers at Swift Memorial College under Reverend Franklin, including William A. Scott, the founder of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate. At age twenty, Scott was appointed Dean of Boys at the school by the Reverend Franklin.

The Reverend William H. Franklin died in October of 1935 at the age of 83. Services were held in the college chapel. *The Knoxville Public Guide* of October 31, 1935, stated, "During the funeral services most of the businesses and offices of the small Tennessee town were closed. It is reported that the entire city and county took on an air of mourning as the news of the educator's death went around."

Robert J. Booker

FREEDMAN'S BANK OF NASHVILLE (1865-1874)

In December of 1865, Nashville's first black bank, the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Bank, was organized by local black leaders. It was one of thirty-three branches which the Congress authorized in the fifteen former slave states. Black Tennesseans organized other Freedman's Bank branches: Chattanooga (1868-1874), Columbia (1870-1874), and Memphis (1865-1874). But none of the other Tennessee branches generated more capital than the Nashville branch. The Congress designed the banks to allow a depositor to place ten cents a day in savings, receive six percent interest, and accumulate \$489.31 in ten years.

The Nashville branch bank had a black cashier (manager) and nearly all black trustees. The early trustees included a white bank president and a list of Nashville's elite black leaders: chairman Nelson Walker (businessman, barber), Frank Parrish (barber), Peter Lowery (preacher, real estate dealer), Henry Harding (hotel owner), Richard Harris (preacher), William C. Napier (hack operator), Daniel Wadkins (preacher), Benjamin East (businessman), and Nelson G. Merry (preacher). Local black businessman Alfred Menefee became the first cashier of the local branch after putting up a \$5,000 bond. Menefee also acted as an agent for the National Freedmen's Relief Association and its *Freedman's Journal*, distributing copies and collecting and depositing funds in the Freedman's Bank. Later John J. Cary, a more formally educated black man and migrant from Canada, became the permanent cashier. By June of 1866, the Nashville branch had \$19,653.28 in deposits.

Between 1866 and 1874, the Nashville branch serviced 16,444 accounts and handled \$555,000 in deposits. Institutional assets rose steadily to \$6,075 (1866), \$43,974 (1869), and \$70,146 (1871). The Nashville branch had \$78,535 in deposits, compared to \$19,823 for the Columbia branch and \$56,775 for the Memphis Freedman's Bank. Cary invested nearly forty percent of the bank's funds in government securities and local real estate. In 1871, Cary and the trustees completed a three-story bank building, Liberty Hall, at 44 Cedar Street. Black cultural events and annual sessions of the State Colored Men's Conventions were held in Liberty Hall.

The national Freedman's Bank and all its branches collapsed in 1874, due to the economic depression of 1873, the accumulating effects of fraud and mismanagement of the national branch by poorly-trained white administrators, and risky loan policies. Nashville's Freedman's Bank also collapsed, because it had \$62,755.87 deposited in the failed national branch. Frederick Douglass received appointment as the first national black president of the troubled banking system shortly before its collapse, but he had no choice except to ask the Congress to liquidate all remaining assets. The United States Comptroller of the Currency closed all Freedman's Banks.

When rumors of the impending disaster circulated in Nashville, John Cary tried to allay the depositors' fears. He published a sound financial statement in the *Union and American* newspaper and persuaded the trustees to make positive public statements to quiet depositors' apprehensions. The Davidson County Chancery Court began bankruptcy

hearings on the Nashville branch, and on December 21, 1874, the court appointed Cary as receiver for liquidation of the bank's assets. Most depositors received a small percentage of their money. Yet large investors, such as Henry Harding, lost thousands of dollars--a fortune in that day. Part of the whites' reaction to the collapse of the black banks was expressed by the Memphis *Avalanche*, which heartlessly mocked the dejected blacks with the following headline: "WHAR'S DAT MONEY."

Bobby L. Lovett

JOHN WESLEY FRIERSON (1880-1965)



John Wesley Frierson was born near Mount Pleasant, Tennessee, on September 25, 1880. He was educated in the Mount Pleasant schools and reared as a dedicated member of the Church of Christ.

At the turn of the century, his family moved to Nashville. While in his early twenties, Frierson became interested in residential rental properties. He founded and operated the J. W. Frierson Realty Company at 431 Cedar (Charlotte) Street, which was the center of the black business district. After fifty-two years at that location, Frierson moved into his newly built J. W. Frierson Building at 1310 Jefferson Street. Eventually, he owned eighty-five parcels of property in predominantly black areas of Nashville. Frierson's motto was "Clean Deals in Dirt." At the height of his career, his personal worth was near one million dollars.

As his business prospered, Frierson increased his involvement in the Church of Christ. He considered himself a "steward" of the church. Frierson traveled extensively wherever the church met, seeking opportunities to assist struggling congregations, motivating them to engage in projects of improvement. It is estimated that eighty-nine church buildings were erected with the help of Frierson's endowment funds.

He also was active in youth affairs and supported civil rights' activities. He encouraged youth with aspirations in the professions of medicine and law. In his will, Frierson stipulated that the Nashville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was to have a permanent office in the J. W. Frierson Building at 1310 Jefferson Street. Because of his benevolence, both the local and the national headquarters of the NAACP honored Frierson with life memberships.

Frierson worshipped regularly at both the Jackson Street Church of Christ (founded in 1896) and the Jefferson Street Church of Christ (founded in 1914 and now the Schrader Lane Church of Christ). In 1963, two years before his death, Frierson established the John Wesley Frierson Church of Christ Development Foundation, chartered to receive, hold, and manage property for religious and charitable purposes. Upon his death on February 14, 1965, his will, drawn by attorney Z. Alexander Looby, provided real estate holdings for the Foundation, and the Frierson's home at 1230 Villa Place is maintained as rental property by the Foundation. On February 17, 1965, J. W. Frierson was interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Reavis L. Mitchell

SUTTON E. GRIGGS (1872-1933)

Born in Chatfield, Texas, on June 19, 1872, Sutton E. Griggs was an orator, a minister, a writer, and a publisher. He was educated in the Dallas public schools and at Bishop College in Mars Hall, Texas. Upon completing his studies at Richmond Theological Seminary (Virginia Union University) in 1893, he was ordained and spent the next two years as pastor of the First Baptist Church at Berkeley, Virginia. During this period, he married Emma Williams, a public school teacher.

In 1899, Griggs moved to Nashville to become the corresponding secretary of the National Baptist Convention and the pastor of First Baptist Church, East Nashville. He



left several years later to become pastor of Tabernacle Baptist Church of Memphis; he spent one year as the pastor of the Hopewell Baptist Church in Denison, Texas. Later, he returned to serve as Tabernacle pastor.

In Memphis, Griggs organized in 1914 the National Public Welfare League, which promoted social efficiency among Afro-Americans and interracial cooperation. He was a disciple of W. E. B. DuBois and a supporter of the Niagara Movement and the newly founded National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1930, Griggs left Memphis to return to Hopewell Baptist Church in Denison. He later resigned this position to go to Houston, Texas, to establish the National Religious and Civic Institute.

Although Griggs is known and respected as a leader in the Baptist church, it is as a writer--more specifically, a novelist--that he has received most attention. During his lifetime, Griggs wrote more than thirty-three books, five of them novels. In 1901, while in Nashville, he established and operated the Orion Publishing Company; here he published, promoted, and sold his own works to the Afro-American community. The works published by Orion were predominantly novels, which combined facts and fiction to present the plight of an oppressed people and a solution. These novels focused on the political issues, the definition of image, and the dignity and survival of black Americans. It is not for his literary style or technique that Griggs is studied, but for his response to the racial injustices of his day, for his defense and portrayal of the humanity and dignity of his people, and his suggestion of what could happen if racial persecution continued. He has been called a "militant" by some and an "accommodationist" by others, while another portion of his audience views Griggs as vacillating between the two philosophies. Whatever label is applied to Griggs, he used ridicule, reason, sympathy, and fear in his novels to address racism in America; he, like Martin Delany in his novel, *Black*, extols the black-skinned hero.

His early novels, *Imperium in Imperior* (1899) and *The Hindered Hand; or, The Reign of the Repressionist* (1905), are responsible for most of the attention Griggs has received. *Imperium in Imperior* focuses upon the classic responses to American life by Afro-Americans: assimilationism and nationalism. The issue of participation in the American democratic idea is presented through the account of a national Negro political organization, which is designed to unite all Negroes in an active body, and the actions of two main characters. One of them is a nationalist and one an assimilationist; one is black-skinned and one a mulatto. In the novel's development, Griggs reflects the tenor of the day: miscegenation, oppression, Jim Crowism, political exploitation of the black man, and the Negro's lack of protection. *The Hindered Hand* depicts the cruel and tragic results of miscegenation, racial injustices, and the question of emigration to Africa. It also is an attack upon the plantation literature of Griggs's day by such white writers as Thomas Nelson Page and Thomas Dixon, Jr.; specifically, it is an attack against the propaganda in Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900*.

Some sources list his death in 1930, but it is believed that Sutton Griggs died January 5, 1933.

Helen R. Houston

WILLIAM JASPER HALE (1874-1944)



William Jasper Hale was born in Marion County, Tennessee, on September 26, 1874. The oldest child in a poor family of four boys and two girls, young Hale went to work at an early age. During his school days, he held several jobs in various East Tennessee towns. Hale found substantial employment in Dayton and earned enough money to enroll at biracial Maryville College. The young man had a passion for reading and mathematics. After attending Maryville College for several terms, he secured teaching positions in Coulterville and Retro. He became principal of St. Elmo Grammar School in a suburb of Chattanooga. Later, he became principal of Chattanooga's East First Street Grammar School.

Hale's opportunity for prominence came in 1909, when the General Assembly authorized a Negro state normal school. He led the effort to raise \$71,000 in pledges to get the school located in Chattanooga. However, Nashville's black community raised nearly \$100,000 and secured the school for Davidson County. Despite the change in location, Hale became the state normal school's principal because state Superintendent of Schools R. J. Jones came from Chattanooga and knew William J. Hale.

Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School opened on June 19, 1912, with an enrollment of 247 students. Hale hand-picked the first faculty members from graduates of Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard universities. After visiting other black institutions where industrial and agricultural training took place, Hale quickly adopted a pre-collegiate curriculum for the school. He secretly created a black history course and called it Industrial Education "with emphasis on Negro problems." The State of Tennessee received federal Morrill Land Grant Funds for State Normal and the University of Tennessee, but the white officials sent most of the money to the University of Tennessee.

Although the state officials committed fiscal discrimination against the black school, Hale managed to increase enrollments and elevate the curriculum to collegiate status by 1922. To secure more state funds, he sent state officials Christmas turkeys from the school's farm. He transported state legislators to the campus, where they were dined, served, and entertained by faculty members and students. During these visits, the students appeared in uniforms,

worked on the farm, and did other manual labor, so the whites perceived that "blacks were being educated according to southern expectations." During 1927-28, three new buildings were completed, library holdings improved, faculty fellowships for advanced training established, and evening courses and extension work added. By 1935, Hale held dedication ceremonies for six more buildings and began discussion of a graduate program.

Hale married his secretary, a local girl named Hattie Hodgkins, who was a graduate of Fisk University. Their three children were graduated from A & I College with distinction: William Jasper, Jr. (1931), Gwendolyn Claire (1939), and Edward Harned (1941).

In 1927, the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools elected Hale to its presidency. He served on the board of Citizens Bank, and in 1929 he presided over the State Interracial Commission. In 1930, Hale became the first Tennessean to receive the Harmon Foundation's Gold Award for outstanding achievement in education. He chaired the Community Chest drive for blacks (1931). He also received honorary Doctor of Law degrees from Wilberforce University and Howard University (1936 and 1939, respectively). Dr. Hale became the Negro state director for U. S. Savings Stamps and Bonds during the early part of World War Two and raised over forty thousand dollars.

When Tennessee A & I State College celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, the institution was valued at \$3,000,000. Hale successfully gained accreditation for the school in 1933. His graduates earned advanced degrees from America's prestigious colleges and universities, including Columbia, Ohio State, Cornell, and Iowa State. He retired in 1943, after struggling for thirty-one years to build and expand a creditable institution of learning for African Americans.

Vallie P. Pursley

ALEX HALEY (1921-1992)



Alexander Murray Palmer Haley, the oldest of three sons (George and Julius), was born to Simon and Bertha (Palmer) Haley on August 11, 1921, in Ithaca, New York. Six weeks after his birth, Simon and Bertha returned to Henning, Tennessee, and presented Will and Cynthia Palmer with their grandson, Alex Haley. Alex and his mother remained with the Palmers, while Simon returned to Cornell University to complete his graduate studies in agriculture. After the death of Will Palmer in 1926, Simon Haley

joined his wife and family in Henning and operated the Palmer business. In 1929, Simon Haley began his teaching career, and the family moved. Two years after they relocated, Bertha Haley died in Normal, Alabama.

At the age of fifteen, Alex Haley was graduated from high school. He attended college for two years, then in 1939 he enlisted in the United States Coast Guard as a messboy. While in the Coast Guard, he began writing short stories; it would be eight years later, however, before any of his stories were published. Approximately thirteen years after entering the Coast Guard, Haley became chief journalist. After twenty years of military service, Haley retired in 1959. Upon his retirement, he embarked upon a new career as a writer. He became an assignment writer for *Reader's Digest* magazine and later was associated with *Playboy* magazine, where he inaugurated the "Playboy Interviews" feature. Soon he was recognized for his insightful and in-depth interviews. His interviews of Malcolm X led to his first book, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (1965). Translated into eight languages, this literary work accorded Haley fame as an author.

The stories Haley heard as a youth in the 1920s and 1930s inspired him in 1964 to investigate his maternal ancestry. "Using the pronunciations of the African words repeated. . . by family members," Haley consulted "linguists at several universities." These linguistic specialists verified the language, as well as the village where the words originated. Haley conducted research in the Library of Congress and in Great Britain, where maritime records were available for slave ships. Traveling to the small village of Juffure, in Gambia, West Africa, he met the *griot*, who gave an oral account of seven previous generations in Mandinka tribal history, back to sixteen-year-old Kunta Kinte, who was wrested from the forest while searching for wood to make a drum. Haley's fact-finding mission verified the oral history preserved by his maternal ancestors.

For his trip back to the United States, Haley booked passage on a cargo ship to try to obtain first-hand knowledge of what his ancestor experienced during the three-month "Middle passage" to America. For ten nights, he slept on a "rough board between bales of raw rubber in the 'hold' of the ship." He tried to conceptualize what it was like to be shackled and lie in filth and human waste, while closely packed with more than a hundred other human beings.

Twelve years later, Haley's research culminated in the 1976 publication of *Roots: Saga of An American Family*. He called his literary work "faction," meaning that it was a fusion of fact and fiction. Prior to book publication, portions of *Roots* were condensed in *Reader's Digest* in 1974. As a result of the unprecedented popularity of Haley's book, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) produced *Roots*, a twelve-hour televised miniseries based upon Haley's novel, in 1977. The series set records for the number of viewers and the Sunday night finale achieved the highest rating for a single television production. The *Roots* miniseries' audience surpassed the Civil War drama, *Gone With the Wind*, which previously had been the most-watched television broadcast. During the course of the eight-night telecast, *Roots* was viewed by more than 130 million viewers. Two years later, in February of 1979, the ABC-Television network presented Haley's *Roots: The Second Generation*.

Roots in book form sold more than 1.6 million copies in the first six months after

publication. The text was translated into thirty-seven languages and was serialized in the New York *Post*; the dramatic story stimulated interest in the study of Africa and in African-American genealogy.

Alex Haley received the 1976 National Book Award for *Roots*. In 1977, Haley received the Pulitzer Prize, as well as the Spingarn Medal from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored. In 1989, Haley became the first person to receive an honorary degree from the Coast Guard Academy. The State of Tennessee honored Haley when it purchased and restored his boyhood home. Historically known as the Palmer House, the ten-room bungalow-style house is located in the small incorporated town of Henning, Tennessee, in Lauderdale County. The first state-owned historic site in West Tennessee and the first state-owned historic site devoted to African Americans in Tennessee, it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on December 14, 1978. A state historical marker placed at the site tells of Haley's inspiration for *Roots*.

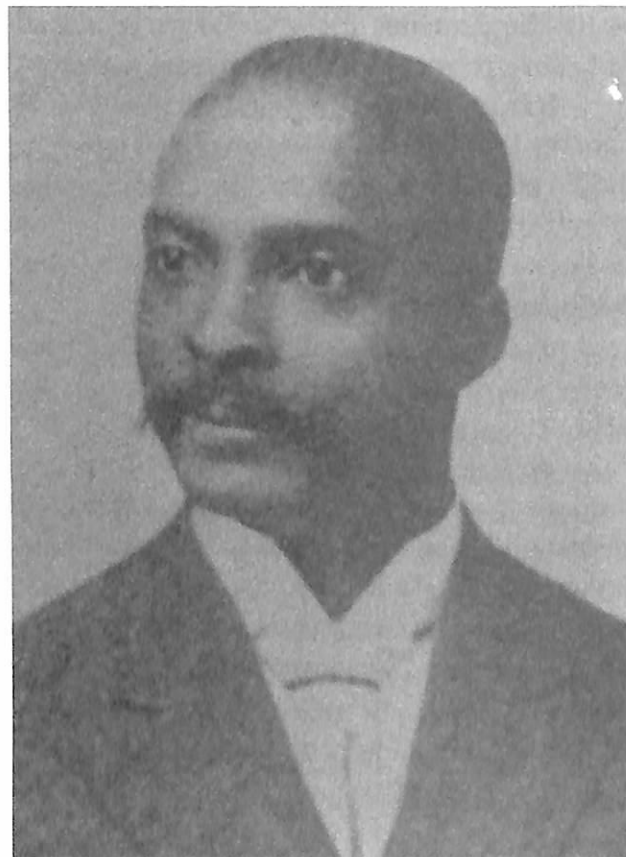
Alex Haley died on February 10, 1992. On February 15, after funeral services in Memphis, his body was conveyed to Henning and interred in the front grounds of the Alex Haley Boyhood Home.

Linda T. Wynn

GREEN P. HAMILTON (1867-1932)

Green P. Hamilton, one of the city's pioneer educators of color, was born in Memphis in 1867. His mother, Laura Hamilton, was ambitious for her son, and he grew up motivated by the importance of obtaining an education. An intelligent lad, he was a reader and letter writer by the age of ten.

An 1882 graduate with honors from LeMoyne Normal Institute, he completed his education at Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi, and Columbia University in New York City. "Professor" Hamilton, as he was called, began teaching in the Memphis city schools in 1884. He became principal of Kortrecht High School, the first Negro public high school in the city, in 1892.



Green Hamilton married Alice Richmond, formerly of Arkansas, who was a teacher in the Memphis city schools. The couple did not have children.

Professor Hamilton organized the first Negro high-school band at Kortrecht around 1900. J. Edgar Hodges, a student who was the son of a prominent Memphis brick contractor, played the trombone, and his sister, Elnora, was soprano soloist. The band presented a benefit concert at Church's Park and Auditorium, in order to raise funds to purchase uniforms and instruments. A. L. Hall, M. D., owner of *The Memphis Striker*, black newspaper, raised the balance of the needed \$900. The band was a big success and toured Mississippi and Arkansas, presenting concerts in the larger cities.

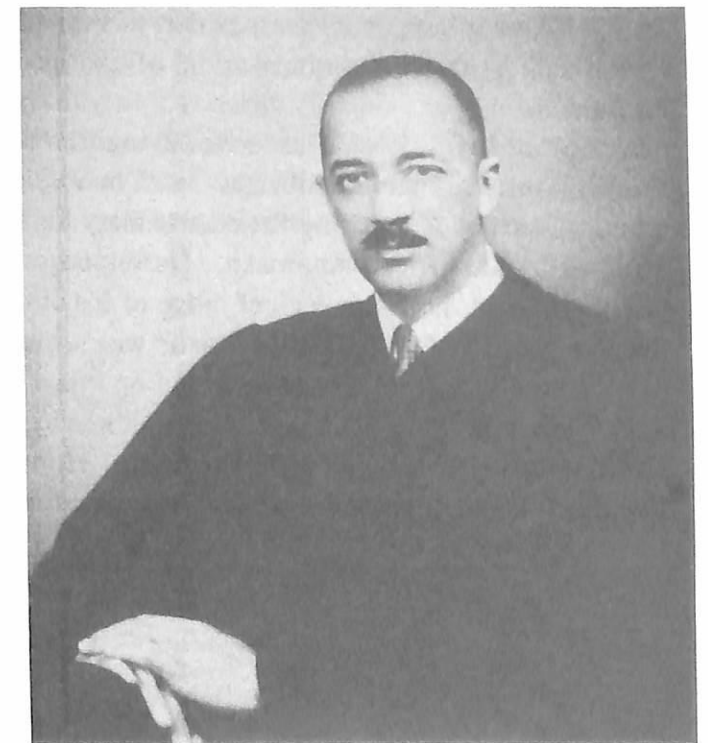
Green P. Hamilton was interested in the progress of his race and was one of the first African-American writers in Memphis to present historical information on citizens of color. He was the author of two books: *The Bright Side of Memphis* (1908), which he dedicated with feeling to his mother, citing the valiant efforts she put forth to enable him to obtain an education, and *Beacon Lights of The Race* (1911). Both books are valuable additions to Memphis' history.

Hamilton Elementary School, Hamilton Junior High School, and Hamilton High School are named in honor of Green P. Hamilton.

Roberta Church and Ronald Walter

WILLIAM HENRY HASTIE (1904-1976)

William Henry Hastie was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, to William Henry and Roberta (Child) Hastie on November 17, 1904. He received his primary education in the Knoxville public schools and in the schools of Washington, D. C. After being graduated from Dunbar High School in Washington, Hastie entered Amherst College. He later was elected president of Amherst's Phi Beta Kappa chapter. First in his class, Hastie was graduated from Amherst College in 1925 with an A.B. degree. Following his graduation, he joined the staff of New Jersey's Bordentown Manual Training School, where he taught until 1927. Three years later, he earned an LL.B. degree from Harvard Uni-



versity, where he served on the staff of the *Harvard Law Review*. Attorney Hastie joined the faculty of Howard University Law School, and in 1931 he was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar. He entered private practice in association with the law firm of Houston and Houston. In 1932, he was graduated from Harvard University with the degree of Doctor of Juridical Science.

Following the 1932 election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States, Dr. William H. Hastie was one of the bright young African Americans who achieved high visibility as a race relations advisor to the Roosevelt administration. In 1933, Hastie left his private law practice to accept the position of assistant solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

Subsequent to his tenure with the Department of the Interior, in 1937 President Roosevelt appointed Dr. Hastie judge of the Federal District Court in the Virgin Islands. Confirmed on March 26, 1937, he became the nation's first African-American federal magistrate. Although the Virgin Islands were ninety percent black, no person of African descent before Hastie had been appointed to a federal judgeship. Judge Hastie served on the bench for two years before resigning his judgeship to return to Howard University's School of Law as dean and professor of law.

From 1941 to 1943, William H. Hastie served as civilian aide to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. On January 15, 1943, he resigned his position as Secretary of War Stimson's civilian aide to protest the government's racial policies of segregation and discrimination in America's armed forces. Later in 1943, William Hastie was awarded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's prestigious Springarn Medal "for his distinguished career as jurist and as an uncompromising champion of equal justice." In 1944, Hastie supported the position of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, demanding senatorial authorization of the proposed law to enjoin the levy in federal elections.

On May 7, 1946, Hastie was inaugurated as the first African-American governor of the Virgin Islands. On October 15, 1949, he was nominated judge of the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals by President Harry S. Truman. It was the highest judicial position attained by an African American. He served on the appellate court bench for twenty-one years. In 1968, he became chief judge of his circuit and in 1971, the year of his retirement from the bench, William Henry Hastie was senior judge.

Dr. William Henry Hastie died on April 14, 1976, at Suburban General Hospital in East Norriton, Pennsylvania. Funeral services were held on April 17 at the Temple University Baptist Chapel in Philadelphia. He was survived by his wife, the former Beryl Lockhart; a son, attorney William H., Jr.; and a daughter, attorney Karen H. Williams.

Linda T. Wynn

WILLIAM DANIEL HAWKINS, SR. (1872- ?)

William Daniel Hawkins, Sr., was born February 5, 1872, in Jasper, Tennessee. Hawkins was among that first generation of blacks born after slavery. Despite the fact that he and his generation matured during the oppressive years of legal racial segregation, Hawkins became a banker, an educator, a prominent layman in the Methodist Episcopal Church (United Methodist), and a leader in Afro-American Nashville.

W. D. Hawkins was educated at Morristown Junior College near Knoxville. Later, he received the bachelor of science and law degrees at Nashville's Central Tennessee College (Walden University). He taught mathematics, English, Greek, and Latin at Central Tennessee College and served as a trustee of the institution.

After leaving the college, Hawkins served as cashier and president of People's Savings Bank and Trust Company. This was Nashville's third black banking institution, founded in 1909. He served as secretary-treasurer at Mt. Ararat Cemetery, Nashville's oldest black cemetery, and managed the Star Realty Company. He was a member of the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. Hawkins also belonged to the National Bar Association, the Agora Assembly, and the Methodist Church. He served as a delegate to many general conferences for the church.

William D. Hawkins, Sr., was married to Sarah H. Martin of Macon, Georgia, in 1904. They had seven children: Emily Christina, William D., Jr., Lloyd Wilson, Mary Evans, Aubrey Martin, Nellie Ruth, and Charles Leonard. Three of the children preceded their father in death. William, Jr., served as the last cashier of People's Bank. The bank became a casualty of the Great Depression in 1929.

William D. Hawkins, Sr., died tragically as the result of a hit-and-run automobile accident. He was funeralized at the Seay-Hubbard Methodist Church and interred in the Mount Ararat Cemetery, located on Elm Hill Pike. Hawkins' wife, four children, and a sister --Lydia Hight--survived him. Now [1989] the only surviving member of his family is the author of this article, who resides in Washington, D. C.

Mary Evans Hawkins Barnes

ZEMA W. HILL (1891-1970)

Photograph

Of

Zema W. Hill

Is Not

Available

For

Publication

Zema W. Hill was a faithful and devoted minister, a funeral-home owner, and a notable leader in Afro-American Nashville. He was born in Franklin County, in the community of Asia near Winchester, Tennessee, on April 2, 1891. He became a Christian at an early age, joined the Macedonia Primitive Baptist Church during its revival services, and became an evangelist during his teenage years. In 1916, Hill moved to Nashville, where he preached and evangelized in High-tower Hall. His elegance, good looks, and magnetic preaching style enlarged his South Nashville congregation until the services had to be moved under a large tent.

In 1919, a house of worship was dedicated at Overton and Division

streets. Elder A. M. Bedford, the moderator of the Cumberland River Association of the Order of the Primitive Baptist Church, dedicated the building as "Hill's Tabernacle." Elder Zema Hill faithfully served the congregation for thirty years.

In the year his church building was dedicated, Hill also established the Zema W. Hill Funeral Home at Fourth Avenue, South, and Peabody Street. During this period, no black insurance companies existed in Nashville, and there were few black funeral homes. The demand for services caused the Hill funeral business to expand so rapidly that a large facility was acquired at Fourth Avenue, South, and Franklin Street. Hill not only arranged the funerals, he also preached and sang at the services. Although he catered to the black elite, Hill's civic-minded zeal caused him to arrange funerals for the destitute as well. These were known as his "silver services," where the plate was passed to collect money from the audiences.

The Zema W. Hill Funeral Home moved to 1306 South Street and became one of the first black businesses in the area. He purchased a fleet of Packard automobiles in the mid-1930s, and his business flourished despite the economic depression. Over the years, Hill bought many other fine automobiles, including Cadillacs, Chryslers, and Lincolns. He attracted attention to his business by printing "Zema W. Hill" in gold letters on his cars' windows and placing two six-and-a-half-foot concrete polar bears in front of the funeral home.

Elder Hill left his imprint on Afro-American Nashville through his charismatic evangelism. During the thirties and forties, whites and blacks, political leaders, and famous persons attended services at Hill's Tabernacle. Even some of Nashville's underworld figures could be seen at Hill's Sunday night services. He was renowned for sermons such as "The Resurrection of the Dead" and "If a Man Should Die, Shall He Live Again." Elder Hill's ministerial work was highlighted with his selection as a moderator *emeritus* of the Cumberland Association of Primitive Baptists and builder of the Cumberland Tabernacle in 1944.

Zema W. Hill died on February 5, 1970, after 17 years of illness. A year before his death, Hill's Tabernacle was rebuilt. At his funeral services on the morning of February 9 at the Cumberland Primitive Baptist Tabernacle, Elder C. R. Wooten and others lauded the late Elder Hill as ". . . a faithful and devoted minister, a loving father, neighbor and friend, and [who] was respected by all who he came in contact with of both races. . . ." Hill, who was interred in Mount Ararat Cemetery in Nashville, was survived by two children: Doris Hill Griner (deceased) and Clarence D. Hill.

Reavis L. Mitchell

JOSEPHINE GROVES HOLLOWAY (1898-1988)

A "pioneer," a "lamplighter," a "hidden heroine." Armed with determination, an old Willis Jeep, and a dream of equality for African-American girls, Josephine Groves Holloway became the founder of the first black Girl Scout troop and was the first black Girl Scout executive in Middle Tennessee. Her father referred to Josephine as "my missionary," and his early perception proved to be accurate when she set out, with missionary zeal, to make the name "Girl Scouts of America" mean what the name implies.

The seventh child and the second girl of John Wesley Groves and Emma Mae Gray, Josephine Amanda was born on March 19, 1898, in a Methodist parsonage in



Cowpens, South Carolina. Although ten children were born to this union, only three boys and two girls reached adulthood.

Her father, a Methodist minister as his father before him, valued education. John Wesley Groves moved his family to Greenwood, South Carolina, where they remained until Josephine finished Brewer Normal School in Beaufort. On the advice of a teacher, Josephine enrolled in Fisk University during the fall of 1919. She worked through college by mending tablecloths in the dining room and winding clocks in the music practice rooms. Illness from an influenza epidemic and a shortage of funds did not keep her from receiving a degree in sociology from Fisk in June of 1923.

Josephine Groves returned to South Carolina and took a job as a recreational and community worker for the summer while sending out job applications. She said, "The job that appealed to me most was Girls' Worker at Bethlehem Center. In this I could imagine using all of my skills and, at the same time, have a hand in reforming the world."

She became Girls' Worker in September of 1923 and organized the first Girl Scout group in 1924, after completing training with Juliette Low during a special training session at the George Peabody College for Teachers. Josephine's time with the group came to an abrupt end when she married a former schoolmate and co-worker, Guernsey Holloway, the Boys' Worker at Bethlehem Center. After the June 30, 1925, wedding, Miss Mathee Nutt, center director, informed the new Mrs. Holloway that a married Girls' Worker would not have enough time for the girls. Holloway resigned in the fall of 1925. Not sharing the same enthusiasm and persistence of Mrs. Holloway, the next Girls' Worker allowed the troop to fold.

Almost twenty years passed before the black troop was reinstated in 1943 through Mrs. Holloway's efforts. Josephine Holloway returned to school and received a bachelor's degree in business from Tennessee A. & I. State College. She served as assistant registrar at Fisk University (1927-34), before taking a job with the state Tennessee Department of Welfare.

When resistance to her petitions to the all-white Girl Scout Council continued, she "organized an unofficial club for black girls, with gingham uniforms, but soon learned the girls longed to become 'real Girl Scouts.'" With the help of some black mothers, teachers, and her husband, Dr. Guernsey Holloway, she began removing the obstacles. During her husband's studies at the University of Chicago, he was able to purchase the handbooks which the local Girl Scout Council would not allow her to buy. Mrs. Holloway taught the girls the Girl Scout promise, the laws, and everything needed for their investiture into Girl Scouting. Former Council president Juli Mosley said in a tribute to Mrs. Holloway: "With this trained group of girls, the Council could not deny membership. So, in 1943 troop 200 became a reality and began Girl Scouting in Nashville for black girls." Holloway's three daughters, Nareda, Josephine, and Weslia, became members of her troop.

In November of 1944, Mrs. Holloway joined the Girl Scout Council's professional staff as an organizer and field advisor. She also served as a district director and a camp director. In 1951, the Council honored her by naming its new camp for Negro girls "Camp Holloway." Other honors include the "Sojourner Truth Award" from the Nashville Chapter

of the National Association of Business and Professional Women and the "Zeta of the Year Award" from Zeta Phi Beta Sorority.

Mrs. Holloway retired from her scouting career on June 15, 1963. She died on December 7, 1988.

Harriette Allen Insignares

JULIA A. B. HOOKS (1852-1942)



Julia Hooks, one of Memphis' most prominent musicians of color and one of the city's pioneer social workers, was born in 1852 in Kentucky, where her talent in music was recognized at an early age. She was educated in Kentucky and attended Berea College, where she received further musical training.

Establishing herself in Memphis well before the turn of the century, she became active in musical groups such as Liszt-Mullard Club, which performed classical music concerts in the city during the 1880s. Other members of the group included Mrs. R. R. Church, Sr., who frequently played piano duets with Mrs. Hooks, and Mrs. Josiah T. Settle, Sr., known for her beautiful soprano voice.

Mrs. Hooks also was involved with various churches because of her expertise in playing the organ and her talent for directing choirs and choral groups. In addition, she taught music, and every year her students appeared in recital at Zion Hall, Beale Street Baptist Church, and, after Church's Park and Auditorium was completed, they appeared in concerts there. Roberta Church was one of Mrs. Hooks's piano pupils.

For a while, Julia Hooks served as a teacher and principal in the Memphis city schools; she later operated a private kindergarten and elementary school in her home on South Lauderdale Street. Among her pupils, in addition to her sons, Henry and Robert, were Robert Church, Jr., and his sister, Annette, Allison Vance, Nellie Bowles, Edgar Mitchum, and Fred L. Hutchins. Julia Hooks loved children and had an unusual capacity

to relate to them; they returned her affection. Frequently, she would organize groups of youngsters for picnics, play activities, or musical programs, arriving at rehearsals for recitals with an ice cream cone for each child.

A dignified, compassionate woman, her sincerity and gentle manner inspired confidence and trust. These qualities served her well when she became an officer of the Juvenile Court, and often she was able to modify the attitude of wayward youngsters and help them cope with their problems. She also was known to provide religious inspiration and spiritual comfort to adult prisoners on occasion.

Around 1902, the city opened a small Juvenile Detention Home next to her residence, which she and her husband, Charles, a truant officer, supervised. Mr. Hooks was killed by one of the wards, but Mrs. Hooks continued her efforts to help young people. At times, Judge Camille Kelly, a well-known judge of the Juvenile Court, would invite Julia Hooks to sit with her when certain cases concerning Negro youths were presented.

Although her primary interest and occupation was music, throughout her lifetime Julia Hooks maintained an interest in the underprivileged of all ages. She initiated the founding of the Old Folks and Orphans Home, located on the old Hernando Road. Using her talent as an accomplished pianist, she played in concerts to help pay for the home.

Two sons, Henry and Robert, were born to Mr. and Mrs. Hooks. Both sons became expert photographers and established a studio known as Hooks Brothers Photographers. The interest in photography was passed on to the next generation, and Charles Hooks, son of Robert Hooks, and Henry Hooks, Jr., operated the family business. Henry Hooks, Sr., was a member of the Iroquois Club, a well known social club organized by a group of young men in Memphis. Henry Hooks, Jr., and his father, Charles, were signers of a petition circulated by a group of prominent black and white Memphians endorsing Robert Church, Jr., as Surveyor of Customs for the Port of Memphis. The petition was sent to President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908.

Julia Hooks died at the age of ninety and, according to her obituary, was able to play the piano until a few weeks before she passed away. She is survived by several grandchildren, including Julia Hooks Gordon, a retired employee of the federal government; Robert, Jr., and Raymond Hooks, both employees of the U. S. Post Office; Mildred Hooks, an employee of the Shelby County Government; Benjamin Hooks, who in 1972 became the first black member of the Federal Communications Commission and served as executive secretary of the NAACP; and Bessie Hooks, an employee of the Internal Revenue Service. A great-grandson, Michael Hooks, is a member of the Memphis City Council.

Roberta Church and Ronald Walter

CHARLES S. JOHNSON (1893-1956)

Charles S. Johnson was born in Bristol, Virginia, on July 24, 1893. He attended Wayland Academy and received his undergraduate degree from Virginia Union University. Johnson



completed the doctoral degree in 1917 at the University of Chicago. While a student in Chicago, Johnson assumed responsibility as director of research and investigation for the Chicago Urban League. During World War One, he enlisted in the army and served in France.

Johnson returned to Chicago after the war, one week before the race riot of 1919. He completed a study and analysis of the race riot and presented a plan to study its causes. The governor accepted his plan and appointed Johnson as associate executive secretary of Chicago's Commission on Race Relations. The commission published a report entitled, *The Negro in Chicago*. In 1921, Johnson became the director of research for the National Urban League in New York, where he founded and edited *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, a periodical designed to stimulate pride in past racial achievements and to show there was hope for the black future.

Charles S. Johnson came to Fisk University in 1927 to head the department of social research, which was established by a gift from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. As head, Johnson created a first-class department and received large grants from foundations. He devoted his life, research, writing, and teaching to explaining blacks to whites, whites to blacks, southerners to northerners, and urban and rural dwellers to one another. His scholarly ability was recognized by awards and appointments, including the 1930 William E. Harmon Gold Medal for distinguished achievement among blacks in the field of science and service on the National Housing Commission under President Herbert Hoover and on the U. S. Committee on Farm Tenancy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1934, he was elected the first black trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and became the first black accorded the honor of being elected vice-president in 1937 of the American Sociological Society.

Johnson helped Fisk become a center for research in race relations. When the university created the Institute of Race Relations in 1944, Johnson was chosen to head the unit. He gathered distinguished scholars at Fisk, including E. Franklin Frazier, Horace Mann Bond, Bertram Doyle, Paul K. Edwards, and Robert E. Park.

In October 1946, the board of trustees chose Charles S. Johnson as the university's first black president. Their selection was inspired by Johnson's capabilities not his race. Johnson was an internationally recognized scholar with seventeen books, chapters in fourteen others, seventy-two articles, and many book reviews. He had served as editor of three magazines. Under his presidency, the university enlarged its student body and the endowment. Charles S. Johnson died in 1956 and was interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Reavis L. Mitchell

SAMPSON W. KEEBLE (1832 - mid-1880s)

Sampson W. Keeble, barber, businessman, and politician, became the first black Tennessean elected to the Tennessee General Assembly. Keeble was born circa 1832 in Rutherford County, Tennessee, to slave parents, Sampson W. and Nancy Keeble. From the age of nineteen until 1863, he served as pressman for two weekly newspapers in Murfreesboro. Near the end of the Civil War, Keeble moved to the bustling city of Nashville, where the black population had tripled during the Union army's occupation. By 1866, Keeble had established the Rock City Barber Shop. He became an active leader as a member of the advisory board of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Bank and treasurer of the board of directors of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association.

During the Reconstruction era, when all local blacks were Republicans and the Davidson County Republican party was dominated by Negroes, Keeble became involved in politics. In 1872, he won the Republican nomination for a seat in the Tennessee House of Representatives. Helped by a heavy black vote for presidential candidate General U. S. Grant and some local white voters who viewed Keeble as a moderate black man, Keeble was barely elected to the Thirty-eighth General Assembly in November of 1872. He carried the important, heavily black fourth ward by eighty-five fewer votes than cast for Republican President Grant's reelection. Keeble's term began on January 6, 1873.

House Speaker W. S. McGaughey swore Keeble into the legislature and appointed him to the House Military Affairs Committee and the Immigration Committee. Before his term ended in 1875, Keeble introduced three unsuccessful bills: To amend Nashville's charter to allow blacks to operate businesses in the downtown area, to protect Negro laborers and their wages, and to gain state funds for Tennessee Manual Labor University.

Keeble's third bill was a significant gesture in his political career. Located on Murfreesboro Road, Tennessee Manual Labor University was organized in December of 1866 by the leaders of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association. These leaders were artisans, craftsmen, and small businessmen, as well as Keeble's associates. Indeed, the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association was a political base for Keeble and others, because the Association held an annual fair every fall and attracted a faithful constituency among the freedmen. It brought national black Republican leaders to Nashville, including

John Mercer Langston (1872) and Frederick Douglass (1873).

After service in the Tennessee General Assembly, Keeble was elected a magistrate in Davidson County and served from 1877 until 1882. His first election as magistrate was contested when Keeble's opponent, James W. Ready, lost by only nineteen votes. The county court ruled in Keeble's favor. Two other blacks also were elected county magistrates with Keeble. By the late 1870s, however, the state poll tax and white racial violence had significantly reduced black voting strength, and white Conservatives (Democrats) had effectively recaptured political power in Nashville and Davidson County. When Keeble sought to return to the General Assembly in 1878, he was defeated by a Greenback party candidate. Yet another black, Republican Thomas A. Sykes, won election from Davidson County to the Tennessee General Assembly during the presidential election of 1880, which was won by Republican James A. Garfield.

Keeble's date and place of death are undetermined, but it is likely that he passed during the mid-1880s, like so many others of his generation.

Linda T. Wynn

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE (1875-)

Knoxville College was founded in 1875 by the Board of Freedmen's Mission of the United Presbyterian Church. The church had started educational missions among the freedmen in 1864, and they were located in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee.



In 1872, Southern states passed legislation to provide some form of education for black children. Since so few black teachers were available, the church that year passed a resolution to discontinue its missions and to concentrate all its educational efforts in a good normal school to train teachers.

After a trip through the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, the site selection committee was convinced that Knoxville offered the best opportunity for such a school. It had a healthful climate, good transportation facilities, and a fairly large black population, as well as too few schools.

Dr. John S. McCulloch became the first president of the Knoxville College in 1877. In order to have a supply of college students, the school organized an elementary department and a high-school department to feed the college department. It graduated its first two college students in 1883.

In 1895, Knoxville College organized a medical department to train physicians. Unfortunately, it never was properly staffed or financed to carry on the work of an accredited medical school. It graduated only two students in 1900 and closed later that year.

Knoxville College had more success with its hospital, which opened in 1907. It was the only hospital within 200 miles of Nashville or Atlanta where Black doctors and nurses could practice their professions. Knoxville General Hospital did not accept black physicians or nurses on its staff. When the Knoxville College Hospital opened, there were only seven black physicians in the city; by the time it closed in 1926, there were twenty. It offered a modern setting for black patients, who were treated in a basement ward at General Hospital.

The college discontinued its elementary department in 1927 and the high-school department in 1931 to fully concentrate on college work. College work, of course, included operating a large farm and maintaining a dairy herd. The most popular department was perhaps the music department with its various quartets and octets, which traveled extensively to boost the recognition of the college.

The effects of the Great Depression and the effects of World War Two forced the college to sell most of its farm land and other properties across the country during the 1930s and 1940s. It was able to bounce back with a great deal of vigor in the 1950s and 1960s with great building projects.

Although it continues to struggle with financial woes, Knoxville College still plays a vital role in educating those students most at risk and is a valuable asset to the city of Knoxville.

Robert J. Booker

LANE COLLEGE (1882 -)

In 1882, Lane College, then the "C. M. E. High School," was founded by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Looking to the establishment of this enterprise as early as November of 1878, Bishop William H. Miles, the first bishop of the C. M. E. Church, presided over the Tennessee Annual Conference, at which time the Reverend J. K. Daniels presented a resolution to establish a school. The resolution was adopted amid much applause. The Conference at once appointed a committee to solicit means with which to purchase grounds and to inaugurate plans to carry forward the proposed work. The

Reverends C. H. Lee, J. H. Ridley, Sandy Rivers, and J. K. Daniels constituted this committee.

Owing to the great yellow fever epidemic of 1878, the committee was handicapped and did not accomplish very much. Meanwhile, Bishop Isaac Lane came to take charge of the Tennessee Conference as presiding bishop. He met with the committee, gave advice, and helped formulate plans for the founding of the school. On January 1, 1880, four acres were purchased for \$240. Thus began a work that has been a powerful factor in the uplift of people throughout the South, the nation, and the world.

The school began its first session in November of 1882 as the "C. M. E. High School," with Miss Jennie E. Lane, daughter of the founder, as the first teacher. In January of 1883, Professor J. H. Harper of Jackson, Tennessee, took over the work and carried out the unexpired term of Miss Lane. In September of 1883, he was succeeded by the Reverend Charles Henry Phillips, later to be elected as a bishop in the C. M. E. Church.

It was during the administration of the Reverend Phillips that the school was chartered under the laws of the State of Tennessee and its name changed to Lane Institute. The Reverend Phillips recommended this action to the board of trustees during the fall of 1883, and the board took action on the recommendation in 1884. Its action was one of the first significant changes in the development of the school.

The first class to be graduated from Lane Institute was under the leadership of Professor T. J. Austin, who served from 1886 until 1887. In 1887, the Reverend T. F. Saunders, a member of the Memphis, Tennessee, Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was appointed the first president of Lane Institute and made numerous contributions. It was during this period that the need for a college department was discerned. The college department was organized in 1896, and at that time the board of trustees voted to change the name from Lane Institute to Lane College. The college department was organized into the classical, the natural and physical sciences, and mathematics divisions, thus broadening the curriculum.

In 1903, the Reverend James Albert Bray, later to be elected a bishop in the C. M. E. Church, was elected president. He held that position until 1907. During his reign, the present Administration Building was erected. President Bray was succeeded by Dr. James Franklin Lane, the son of the founder. Dr. Lane served with distinction for thirty-seven years. During his administration, the college improved its educational facilities and its physical plant. In addition, the college attracted the attention of several philanthropic agencies, such as the General Education Board of the Rosenwald Foundation and the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. These boards gave liberal contributions to the educational program of the college.

In 1936, Lane College was approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and given a "B" rating. Lane College was given an "A" rating by the Association in 1949. In December of 1961, Lane College was admitted into full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

With the passing of President J. F. Lane on December 11, 1944, the Reverend Peter Randolph Shy, who later was to be elected a bishop of the C. M. E. Church, was elected as

the acting president, to serve until Dr. D. S. Yarbrough was elected president in 1945. Dr. Yarbrough served until 1948. He was succeeded by Professor James H. White. Professor Richard H. Sewell, dean of instruction, was elected the acting president in 1950 and served until the Reverend Chester Arthur Kirkendoll was elected president in July of the same year. Dr. Kirkendoll served with distinction for twenty years, until his election as a bishop of the C. M. E. Church in May of 1970. During his tenure, the college became fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and six modern buildings were added to the campus.

Dr. Herman Stone, Jr., who served as the dean of the college for ten years, was elected president in July of 1970. He assumed office on September 1, 1970. During his presidency, Lane College's accreditation was reaffirmed twice by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. In addition, the J. F. Lane Health and Physical Education Building was added to the master plan of the college. After serving for sixteen years as president, Dr. Stone retired in May of 1986. He was succeeded by Dr. Alex A. Chambers, who took office on June 1, 1986.

On March 18, 1992, after a short illness, Dr. Alex Chambers passed away. The board of trustees named Dr. Arthur L. David, dean of the college, to serve as the interim president. In August, Dr. Wesley Cornelious McClure was elected the ninth president of Lane College and took office on September 1, 1992.

Lane College, from its beginning, has served as a source of inspiration for the youth of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Today it stands as a symbol of Christian education for youth of all faiths, creeds, colors, and nationalities.

Lane College

LEMOYNE-OWEN COLLEGE (1871-)

LeMoyne-Owen College is a four-year, historically black college located at 807 Walker Avenue in Memphis. Conceived in 1870, when philanthropist Francis Julius LeMoyne gave \$20,000 to the American Missionary Association, LeMoyne Normal and Commercial School opened during the fall of 1871 in a new building at 284 Orleans Street. LeMoyne directed that the school, which succeeded the AMA's Lincoln Chapel freedmen's school, would admit "all pupils whose conduct is orderly and whose character is creditable." A notable antislavery man, LeMoyne (1798-1879) traveled from his Washington, Pennsylvania, home to visit the new school. He donated a Hutchress striking clock worth \$800 for the school's tower.

Early classes enrolled 185 students, including seventy-five persons in the Sabbath School. J. H. Barnum, the first principal (1871-1873), reported nearly 300 students and three active departments: normal, commercial, and music. LeMoyne Normal produced many teachers and graduated 200 students by 1908.



Missionary and Educational Convention, Inc., and located near the corner of Vance and Orleans streets in the former St. Agnes Academy - Sienna College buildings. Some twenty-two students began their Christian education there on January 18, 1954. The junior college was named for the Reverend Samuel Augustus Owen, pastor of Metropolitan Baptist Church, LeMoyne College's next-door neighbor.

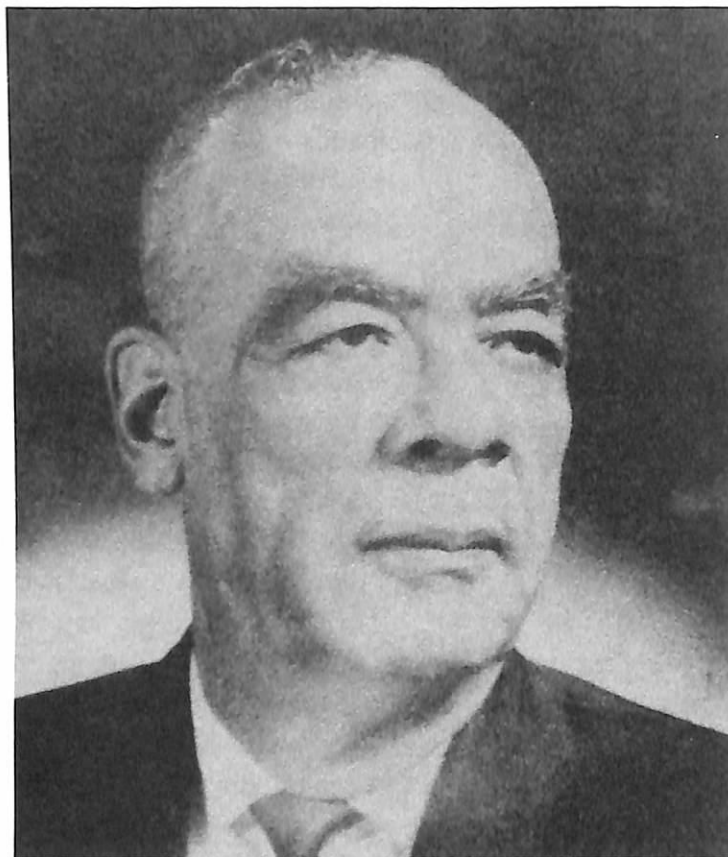
LeMoyne-Owen College continues to educate African Americans and other students for meaningful positions in the world community.

Perre M. Magness

ROBERT EMMITT LILLARD (1907-1991)

Robert Emmitt Lillard was born March 23, 1907, in Nashville, Tennessee, to John W. and Virginia (Allen) Lillard. He received his education at Immaculate Mother's Academy and in local public schools, then attended Beggins Commercial College, although his ambition was to become a lawyer. In 1928, R. E. Lillard began work as a city garage attendant and married Hallie C. Moore (d. 1970). Robert and Hallie Lillard had three children: Gladys, Sandra, and Robert Walter.

Lillard entered law school in 1932, after Z. Alexander Looby and other local black leaders organized Nashville's Kent College of Law. He continued his city job and attended



law classes five nights a week, and in 1935 he was graduated from the Kent College of Law.

In 1936, Lillard passed the bar examinations, but he continued to work at the city garage to support his family. During the next year, however, Lillard received an appointment to Nashville's Fire Engine Company No. 11 at 12th Avenue, North, and Jefferson Street. He drove a fire truck until receiving a disability pension in 1950.

Robert E. Lillard then entered the practice of law on a full-time basis and participated in local black politics. In 1932, he organized the 15th Ward Colored Voters and Civic Club. He persuaded

local politicians to pay the \$2 poll tax for over one hundred black men and women in the fifteenth ward. He prepared for the councilmanic election for a South Nashville district. In 1951, Lillard entered the predominantly black third district, second ward councilmanic race against the white incumbent, Charles Castleman. Because Castleman received support from Democratic party Mayor Thomas Cummings' administration, white politicians reportedly offered money and jobs to persuade Lillard to withdraw from the election. Lillard responded, "I won't be bought out. I won't be frightened out. You have to beat me out." Another Negro, Daniel West, entered the race (perhaps persuaded by white politicians) to split the black vote and force a run-off election between Lillard and Castleman. On May 24, 1951, Lillard won the run-off election and joined Z. Alexander Looby as the first blacks elected to Nashville's city council since 1911.

Lillard served the city council for twenty years, never missing a regular meeting. He served as chairman of several council committees: Public Safety Committee; Special Water Sewer Rate Committee; Special Beer, Wine, and Whiskey Committee; and Public Election Committee. He helped persuade the city to transform Cameron Junior High School into the second high school for local blacks and successfully gained an ordinance to desegregate the Parthenon in Centennial Park. During 1960s, because Lillard believed that a metropolitan form of government would dilute the black voting strength, he opposed the plan to consolidate the city and county governments. Before retiring from the Metro City Council in 1971, Lillard became the first black to serve as Vice Mayor Pro Tem (1967). He made

unsuccessful campaigns for vice mayor and councilman-at-large.

Meanwhile, Lillard's political activism and law practice continued to thrive. He gained admission to the federal district court (1955), the U. S. Court of Appeals, the Sixth Circuit Court (1957), and the U. S. Supreme Court (1962). Lillard founded the Tennessee Federation of Democratic Leagues and campaigned for the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960. He refused the offer to become Nashville's Assistant U. S. Attorney; however, in 1964 and 1967, Lillard was appointed to the state Tennessee Board of Pardons and Paroles by two Democratic governors. In March of 1978, the governor appointed Lillard as judge of the First Circuit Court, Tenth Judicial District. On August 31, 1978, Lillard retired from the bench.

Robert E. Lillard died on November 6, 1991. He was funeralized on November 11 at the Seay-Hubbard United Methodist Church and interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

CRAWFORD B. LINDSAY, SR. (1905-1988)



Crawford B. Lindsay was a notable college professor and a leading educator. He was born in Birmingham, Alabama, on October 19, 1905, to Charles Bernard and Hettie (Hill) Lindsay. Among four of their children, only Crawford and a younger brother, Henry Lewis, survived. Hettie died when Crawford was five years old and Henry at one year of age. After being reared by Aunt and Uncle Henry E. and Carrie Hill, young Crawford completed Talladega College in 1927 and assumed a teaching position in English at Dillard High School. He also coached basketball and met his wife,

Rachael Darden, at Dillard High School. Rachael and Crawford had three children: Henry H., Crawford, Jr., and Hettie Jane. After receiving a master's degree from the University of Michigan in 1930, Crawford Lindsay held a professorship at Morehouse College in

Atlanta from 1931 until 1941. Then Lindsay accepted a position at Tennessee A. & I. State College in Nashville, Tennessee.

Recruited by Walter S. Davis, Lindsay was among a class of highly qualified faculty members who arrived during the 1940s to convert the institution into a university. Lindsay later completed his doctorate in English at Cornell University at Ithica, New York, and obtained a law degree from the Nashville School of Law, which held evening classes in the YMCA.

Although he was typical of Nashville's rising black middle class after World War Two, Lindsay contributed greatly to the foundation upon which local blacks would stand during the 1960s and '70s. His three children completed colleges and universities, including Tennessee State University and Meharry Medical College, and entered professions in teaching and medicine. Lindsay, like the dedicated black professors of his time, also helped to produce many black graduates who successfully entered America's professional life. By the time of his death in Nashville on May 13, 1988, Crawford B. Lindsay, college professor, had served as a model example of Nashville's black intelligentsia.

Bobby L. Lovett and Rachel O. Lindsay

Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY (1899-1972)



Zephaniah Alexander Looby, the son of John Alexander and Grace Elizabeth (Joseph) Looby, was born in Antigua, British West Indies, on April 8, 1899. After the death of his father, young Looby departed for the United States, arriving by 1914.

Looby received a bachelor's degree from Howard University, a Bachelor of Law degree from Columbia University, and a Doctor of Juristic Science from New York University. In 1926, the year that he received the doctorate, he came to Fisk University as assistant professor of economics and remained until

1928. Later he served brief periods as a lecturer at Fisk University and Meharry College. In 1929, Looby was admitted to the Tennessee bar. He practiced law in Memphis for the next three years and met a school teacher named Grafta Mosby, whom he married in 1934.

Unwilling "to pay the moral price" demanded of Memphis' attorneys and "Boss" Edward H. Crump, Looby returned to Nashville. He helped to found the Kent College of Law, Nashville's first law school for blacks since the old Central Tennessee College's department of law (1877-1911).

When the Negro civil rights movements of World War Two began, Looby became the local leader. From 1943 to 1945, he presided over the James C. Napier Bar Association. He ran for the city council in 1940, although a white opponent beat him in a runoff election. In 1946, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hired Looby, Maurice Weaver, and Thurgood Marshall to represent the blacks of Columbia, Tennessee, who were charged with murder following recent race riots in that town. Looby's legal defense helped acquit twenty-three of the defendants. He criss-crossed the state in the company of other black lawyers, arguing against Jim Crowism and discrimination. Looby is credited with desegregating the Nashville Airport's dining room and the city's non-private golf courses.

Soon after the momentous U. S. Supreme Court decision of *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), Looby filed a suit against the local public schools on behalf of A. Z. Kelly, a barber, whose son Robert was denied access to a nearby white school. During the sit-in demonstrations and civil rights marches of the 1960s, Looby and other black attorneys provided money and legal services for local college students who were arrested and jailed. On April 19, 1960, his Meharry Boulevard home was destroyed by dynamite.

Looby viewed politics as a way to change an oppressive system. In 1951, he and fellow attorney Robert E. Lillard became the first blacks to be elected to the city council since 1911. In 1962, he ran for a seat on the Tennessee Supreme Court but lost. In 1963, Looby became a member of the Metropolitan Charter Commission. In 1971, he retired after serving on the old city council and the new Metropolitan Council for a combined total of twenty years.

Z. Alexander Looby died on March 24, 1972. On October 8, 1982, the Nashville Bar Association, whose white members had denied Alexander Looby's membership application in the 1950s, posthumously granted a certificate of membership in his name. His contributions to Afro-American Nashville are recognized in the Z. Alexander Looby Library and Community Center erected by the city on Metro Center Boulevard.

Linda T. Wynn

SAMUEL R. LOWERY (1832-1900?)



Samuel R. Lowery was born to Peter and Ruth Lowery on December 9, 1832. Ruth Lowery died in 1840, leaving Samuel to be reared by his father.

Samuel's father, Peter, was born a slave but purchased his freedom. He operated a hack business at 96 N. Cherry (Fourth Avenue, North) Street and worked as a farmer, a livery stable operator, and a janitor at Franklin College. The Reverend Talbot Fanning, white proprietor of the Franklin College, tutored Peter and Samuel. Peter became the pastor of the Colored Christian Church (today's Gay Lea Christian Church), which had been organized in 1855

by the white Vine Street Christian Church. Peter also was a founder of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association, a member of the board of trustees for Nashville's Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Bank, and organizer of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) congregations at Bristol, Caperville, Knoxville, and Trenton. He also became a real-estate dealer in Civil War Nashville.

In 1848, Samuel became a Christian Church minister. Later, in December of 1856, his life and the lives of local free blacks were drastically changed, because the debate over slavery during the 1856 presidential campaign caused a local race riot in which immigrants and poor whites vented their latent resentment of wealthy free blacks by attacking them and their businesses. The free blacks' school, which had been operating since 1839, was ordered closed for good by the city and white vigilantes. Two dozen blacks were jailed but later released. Fearing for their safety, several free black families, the Lowerys among them, went to the North. In 1857, Samuel became the pastor of the Harrison Street Christian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. By 1859, Samuel was organizing Christian Churches in Canada.

Union occupation of Nashville (1862-66) allowed black Nashville to flower again, and Samuel Lowery was one of the exiled free blacks who returned to the city. He became a Christian Church missionary, chaplain for the 9th U. S. Colored Artillery Battalion, and teacher for the 2nd U. S. Colored Light Artillery, Battery A troops. Between 1865 and 1875, Lowery was involved with the State Colored Men's Conventions, the National Emigration Society, and the Tennessee State Equal Rights League. He studied law under a white attorney in Rutherford County and began a law practice.

On December 10, 1867, Samuel Lowery and his father, Peter, founded Tennessee Manual Labor University, with Peter Lowery as president. Like the former white Franklin College, the school was designed to teach agriculture, mechanical arts, and Christian ethics to freedmen. It was located in frame buildings in a black settlement called Ebenezer, on Murfreesboro Road near Smyrna. Samuel Lowery and Daniel Wadkins traveled north to raise funds for the school. However, questions arose concerning financial impropriety on the part of the Reverend Wadkins, who had collected \$1,632 and took all but \$200 of it in expenses. Apparently Samuel Lowery, not Wadkins, bore the brunt of the blame. The white Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) refused to support the school and excommunicated Samuel Lowery. Around 1872, the Tennessee Manual Labor University ceased to function.

In 1875, Samuel Lowery moved to Huntsville, Alabama, where he established Lowery's Industrial Academy, which won first prize for its silk at the 1884 World's Fair. A group of businessmen financed his Birmingham Silk Culture Company. Later, he founded the S. R. and R. M. Lowery Industrial Silk Culture and Manufacturing Company. On February 2, 1880, Lowery was admitted to the bar of the U. S. Supreme Court. In the 1880s, he established a cooperative community, Loweryvale, in Jefferson County, Alabama, where he died around 1900.

David Mills and Bobby Lovett

HULDA MARGARET LYTTLE-FRAZIER (1889-1983)

Hulda Margaret Lyttle-Frazier, a native Nashvillian, was born in 1889 to David and Rebecca Lyttle. After receiving her primary education, in September of 1910 Hulda entered the first class of George W. Hubbard Hospital's Training School for Nurses. She gained recognition as an astute scholar and as one willing to render care when needed. Lyttle became proficient in operating room techniques, and attending physicians rewarded her diligence and efficaciousness by requesting Lyttle's help in the operating room. Three years after entering the Training School for Nurses, Lyttle, Lula Woolfolk, and Rhonda A. Pugh became the school's first graduates.

Lyttle then entered Lincoln Hospital's School of Nursing in New York. Upon completion of her studies at Lincoln Hospital's School of Nursing, Lyttle was asked by her former teacher, Charmian C. Hunt, to stand in for her as an instructor at Southern

University's School of Nursing, until her contract with George W. Hubbard Hospital's Training School for Nurses terminated. Lyttle returned to Nashville after her three-month



tenure at Southern University's School of Nursing ended. She was recommended for head nurse at Hubbard Hospital by Dr. George W. Hubbard, president of Meharry Medical College, and Dr. Josie Wells, superintendent of George W. Hubbard Hospital, and director and dean of Meharry Medical College's School of Nursing. Lyttle was directly responsible for enhancing the nursing education program and indirectly responsible for improvements made in the general administration of the hospital.

After leaving Meharry Medical College, Hulda M. Lyttle worked in various health care positions around the country.

For almost a year, she gave services and expertise to the newly formed (1941) United Service Organizations (USO) in North Carolina. She later moved to Houston, Texas, where she was to manage a recently inaugurated school of nursing. However, because the school's organizational and operational standards were inadequate to meet the academic needs of prospective student nurses, Lyttle closed the school with help from the state board. She moved to California and for a while worked as a private-duty nurse. In 1948, Lyttle accepted a position with the University of California as administrator of School Health Programs. She later accepted the position of superintendent of the National Baptist Bath House Hospital in Hot Springs, Arkansas. There she met Dr. S. M. Frazier, to whom she was married in May of 1954. They later moved to Miami, Florida.

A proponent of continuing education, Lyttle had completed summer extension courses at the University of Colorado and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. In 1938, she received the B. S. degree from Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College and two years later took advanced courses at the University of Toronto's School of Nursing.

Additionally, she held teaching certificates in Florida and Tennessee.

Lyttle served as first vice president, then president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. She was a member of the Miami Chapter of Links, Inc., and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.

On June 23, 1946, Meharry Medical College's officials named the student nurses' residence hall in honor of Hulda M. Lyttle-Frazier. She became the first woman Meharrian so honored by the school and the hospital. At the age of 94, on Sunday, August 7, 1983, at Cedars of Lebanon Medical Center in Miami, Florida, Hulda Margaret Lyttle-Frazier died. She was funeralized on August 10 at the Church of the Open Door and was interred in Lincoln Memorial Park.

Linda T. Wynn

MARTIN HOTEL HISTORICAL SITE

The Martin Hotel boasted fifty "steam-heated" rooms and a restaurant that served guests and off-the-street customers three full-course meals a day. Many famous African-Americans stayed at the hotel: Willie Mays, Satchel Paige, the Original Harlem Globetrotters, Lena Horne, Cab Calloway, J. Ernest Wilkins (U. S. Assistant Secretary of Labor), and many, many more. The hotel had its greatest success during World War Two, when African-American soldiers passed through Chattanooga on their way to Europe.

In 1862, Clark O'Bannard purchased the property from James Fryson, who was the trustee for the estate of Jeremiah Fryson. The property remained in the O'Bannard family until sometime around 1900, when Christian Horman acquired it. He bequeathed it to his widow Amelia Horman, daughter Lenora A. Grayson, and son Samuel H. Grayson. D. P. Montague purchased the property from W. S. Allen, trustee for Amelia Horman, on August 15, 1906. The property then passed to Genevieve Allen Montague, who gave power of attorney to Richard H. Kimball. Robert R. Martin established the Martin Hotel in 1924; he was a former porter for the railroad. His niece, Ms. Mayme Martin, a former school teacher from South Carolina, came to help with the hotel in 1930. In 1933, after prohibition ended, the Martin Hotel was the first African-American business to receive a legal beer license in Chattanooga, charging fifteen cents for a bottle of beer. Kimball later sold the property to Richard Huskey and his wife, Deane Huskey, on September 3, 1934. In 1936, Ms. Martin assumed the management of the hotel after her uncle's death and ran it until 1985. Later, this property was sold to the Wilcox family; they, in turn, sold it to the *Times Printing and Chattanooga News-Free Press*. On July 19, 1977, the *Chattanooga Times* became the sole owner of the property, which it later transferred to the city of Chattanooga, and then the City of Chattanooga gave the property to the Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation.

On July 1, 1984, the final business permit was issued to the Martin Hotel. On June 30, 1985, the Martin Hotel's business license expired. In November of that same year, it closed its doors after sixty-one years in operation. After several unsuccessful attempts by the *Chattanooga Times* to save the building and preserve it, demolition of the hotel began in June of 1986: the final chapter in the life of the hotel was completed.

On February 19, 1993, the Tennessee Historical Commission designated the site of the hotel as a State of Tennessee Historical Site. The state historical marker was erected in May of 1993, and the site was dedicated on May 27, 1993. The committee handling the dedication ceremony consisted of Leamon Pierce (councilman for Chattanooga City Council District 8), Gary D. Kelley, (chief executive officer of the Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation), Ella B. Bryant (vice chair, Chattanooga Board of Education), Dollie Hamilton (co-owner, PostMark Business Services Center), Elizabeth Green (retired from South Central Bell Telephone Company and former board member of the Martin Luther King Community Development Corporation), and Ronald E. Brewer (regional manager, Community Diversity Development of Tennessee Valley Authority).

Ronald E. Brewer

JAMES MASON (1840- ?)



Knoxville's first black taxpayer was an industrious individual who was active in various civic and charitable causes. He was an ex-slave, city policeman, educator, and a founder of one of the city's oldest black churches.

James Mason was born in Knoxville about 1840 and was owned by Major James Swan. As a young man, he was the Major's favorite servant and valet. His duties were to look after the master and his horses.

Mason was fortunate that a young member of the Swan household taught him to read. Although teaching slaves was forbidden in many areas,

that was not the case in Knoxville, where free blacks soon outnumbered slaves. Mason also was given the opportunity to earn money on other jobs when not needed by the Swans.

Mason eventually was given his freedom. He continued to work and save his money, in hopes of buying his wife's freedom. He had married Betty Fountain, a young slave woman. With the coming of Emancipation, however, purchasing the freedom of his wife was not necessary. He used his savings to buy a house and lot on West Cumberland Avenue in 1866, thus becoming the city's first black property owner and taxpayer. In 1865, he had become a charter member of Shiloh Presbyterian Church.

One of Mason's chief concerns was the plight of deaf black children in Tennessee. As early as 1852, the board of trustees for the Tennessee School for the Deaf had been petitioned to admit a black pupil. The request fell on unhearing ears. In 1879, Mason established a school for deaf children in his home. On April 4, 1881, the state legislature passed a bill establishing a school for black deaf children, with an appropriation of \$2,500 for two years. The first session of the school opened with ten pupils, who were initially placed in Mason's home. They ate their meals in a log cabin, slept in another building, and went to yet another part of the city for school work. This arrangement went on until the summer of 1883, when the students were moved to a site on Dandridge Avenue.

In 1885, the Tennessee General Assembly appropriated money to purchase the property and repair the buildings. By 1945, the school grounds had increased to almost 100 acres and was serving twenty students.

Mason did not live to see the fruits of his labor manifested in the success of the school for the state's black deaf children, but he had dared to dream and take the initial steps for what was to come. While deeply involved in working for deaf children and his church, Mason made his living as a city policeman. He became Knoxville's second black policeman in 1884 and served honorably until his retirement in 1902.

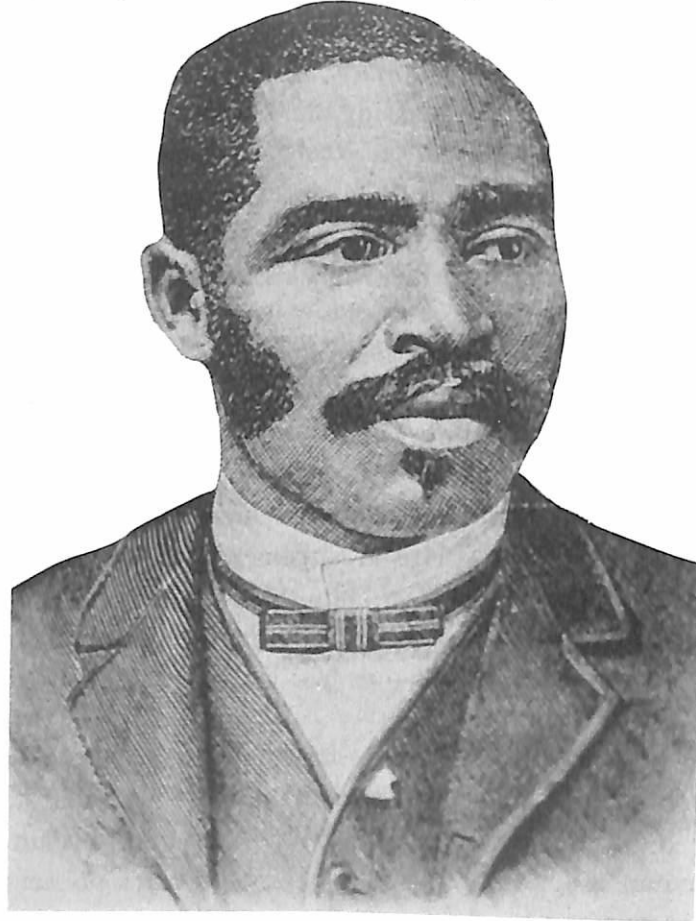
Robert J. Booker

SAMUEL A. McELWEE (1857-1914)

Former slave Samuel A. McElwee became a lawyer and the most powerful Republican party leader in Haywood County during Reconstruction. He served in the Tennessee General Assembly for three terms: 1882-1888.

McElwee was born in Madison County, Tennessee, to Robert and Georgianna McElwee. During the general movement of former slaves, the McElwee family relocated to Haywood County in 1866. Samuel attended local freedmen's schools and Oberlin College in Ohio before starting a teaching career in Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. He entered Fisk University in 1878 and was graduated in 1883 at age twenty-six. McElwee represented Haywood County at the 1884 Annual State Colored Men's Convention in Nashville. While serving in the legislature, McElwee attended Nashville's Central Tennessee College's law

school and obtained his law degree in 1886. In Haywood County, his political base, McElwee practiced law, operated a grocery store, and dabbled in real-estate transactions.



McElwee's political career began in 1882, when he won election to the Tennessee General Assembly. Three other black men, all fellow Republicans, won election to the legislature. Young McElwee had the benefit of the experiences of other black men who previously had served in the General Assembly: Davidson County's Sampson W. Keeble had won election in 1872; Thomas A. Sykes also had won a seat from Davidson County in 1880. Moreover, during the period 1880-1883, predominantly black Haywood County had other blacks who held public offices: Green Estes, county trustee, and William Winfield, registrar.

McElwee became a notable orator in the General Assembly, where he fought constantly for equal educational opportunities for the freedmen. He also worked with his fellow black legislators to defeat bills involving Jim Crowism and contract labor.

McElwee's political career came to an abrupt end in 1888. The white Democrats and Conservatives used fraud, intimidation, and terrorism to take the elections in the heavily black areas of Haywood and neighboring Fayette counties. McElwee received less than 600 votes and was forced to flee, as a group of brave black men guarded his exit.

Determined that they would not be ruled by "Negroes and Republicans," the conservatives, the radical whites, and the neo-Confederates began to "redeem" Tennessee government in 1879 through poll taxes, terrorism, and intimidation of blacks at the polls. The Tennessee General Assembly passed the South's first Jim Crow law in 1881. By 1888, although Haywood County blacks outnumbered the whites, the blacks stayed away from the polls rather than pay the poll tax and risk losing their sharecrop jobs. From that point through the 1960s, the whites continued to use economic reprisals, domination of land ownership, illegal manipulation of court records (deeds), lynchings, and outright terrorism to keep the blacks in Haywood and Fayette counties under control and away from the polls.

In his book, *Lifting the Veil: A Political History of Struggles for Emancipation* (1993), former Tennessee State University Professor Richard A. Couto focused on Haywood County and discussed the career of McElwee. Couto noted that McElwee was the last African American to win a county-wide election in Haywood County.

McElwee settled in Nashville. On June 6, 1888, he married his second wife, mulatto Georgia M. Shelton. To keep the vicious whites from taking the McElwee family lands in Haywood County (as they effectively did to many black families), McElwee hid the land titles under the name *Georgianna Shelton* (his nearly white mother-in-law). He sold some of the lands, but as late as 1900 the McElwees still owned some 95 acres of land in Haywood County. After briefly establishing a newspaper and a law practice in Nashville and losing four of his six new children in infancy, the McElwees moved to Chicago in July of 1901. At that time of Black Northern Migration, many blacks were heading to industrial cities to escape white terrorism and oppression in the South. McElwee established a lucrative law practice in Chicago, where he died on October 21, 1914. He was eulogized by at least three newspapers in Illinois and Tennessee.

Linda T. Wynn

McKISSACK AND McKISSACK ARCHITECTS (1905-)

Nashville's McKissack and McKissack architectural firm has designed thousands of facilities since the early twentieth century.

The first Moses McKissack, of the Ashanti tribe of West Africa, was sold into bondage to William McKissack. As a slave, he learned to be a master builder. In 1822, he married a Cherokee Indian woman named Mirian. Gabriel Moses, one of fourteen children, was born on November 8, 1840, and continued in the trade learned from his father, who died in 1865. Moses McKissack, III, was born on May 8, 1879, to Gabriel and Dolly Ann McKissack in Pulaski, Tennessee.

When Gabriel began his business in Pulaski, builders were often responsible for designing their structures. Moses III learned these skills from his father and received his formal education at the Pulaski Colored High School. In 1890, Moses worked for an architect in Pulaski, drawing, designing, and assisting with building construction. From 1895 to 1902, he worked as a construction superintendent and built houses in Pulaski, Mt. Pleasant, and Columbia, Tennessee.

In 1905, Moses came to Nashville to construct a residence for the dean of architecture and engineering at Vanderbilt University. He was hired to design and build other residences in the West End area. That year, he opened his first office in the Napier Court Building.

McKissack's first major commission in Nashville was the Carnegie Library on the Fisk University campus, a massive two-story stone building with an interior light well. In 1908, Secretary of War William Howard Taft laid the cornerstone of this building, one of the

first major structures in America designed by an Afro-American architect.



McKissack began to officially advertise as an architect in 1909; the city directory listed him as a "colored architect," along with eighteen other architects in the city. By 1920, McKissack was designing buildings for clients in all sections of the city, and his reputation spread throughout the state. One of his more significant residences was the Hubbard House at 1109 First Avenue, South (listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973).

Moses was assisted in most of his pursuits by his younger brother, Calvin

Lunsford McKissack, who was born on February 23, 1890, in Pulaski. He spent three years at Barrows School in Springfield, Massachusetts, and attended Fisk University from 1905 to 1909. Like his brother, Calvin received his architectural degree through an international correspondence course.

In 1912, Calvin McKissack opened an independent practice in Dallas, Texas, and constructed dormitories and churches throughout the region. From 1915 to 1918, he was superintendent of industries and teacher of architectural drawing at the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School. After 1918, he was the director of the industrial arts department of Pearl High School. He was the first executive secretary of the Tennessee State Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, resigning in 1922 to join his brother as partner in the firm of McKissack and McKissack. They were among the first registered architects in the state when the registration law was put into effect in 1921.

In 1924, the firm received a contract from the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A, Inc., to design the Morris Memorial Building on Charlotte Avenue. McKissack and McKissack moved into space on the first and second floors, where the firm still maintains its offices.

The firm received contracts to design several school buildings for Nashville: Washington Junior High, 1927; Pearl High, 1936; and Ford Green Elementary, 1937. They also designed the Tennessee State University Memorial Library (1927) and other buildings on that campus. The firm was chosen in 1929 to build the new company headquarters for the state's only black insurance company, Universal Life of Memphis. Other McKissack buildings included the C. M. E. Publishing House in Jackson and the A. M. E. Publishing

House in Nashville. These buildings, demolished in the late 1970s, represented the firm's expertise in the Art Deco style.

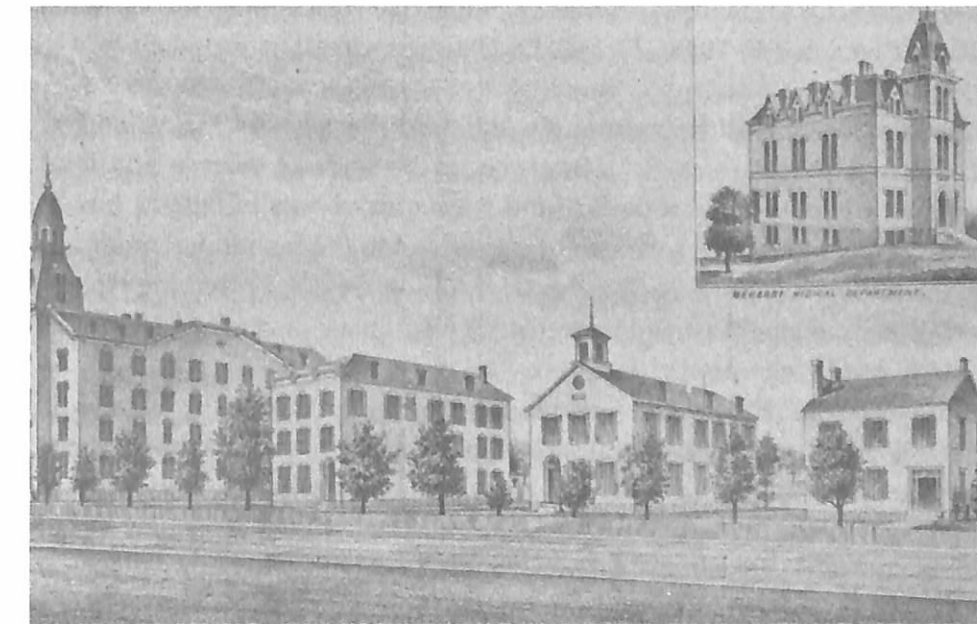
The McKissacks received several federal Works Progress Administration contracts to design public educational facilities in the late 1930s. In 1941, Alabama granted the firm a business license, and in 1943 licenses were granted in Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, and Mississippi. The McKissacks received national recognition in 1942, when they secured a contract for the 99th Pursuit Squadron Air Base in Tuskegee, Alabama--the largest contract ever granted by the federal government to an Afro-American company. Moses and Calvin McKissack received the Spaulding Medal, given to the outstanding Negro business firm in the country. During Franklin Roosevelt's administration, Moses was appointed to the White House Conference on Housing Problems. The firm was involved in the design of several housing projects, one of which was the College Hill development in northwest Nashville.

Moses McKissack, III, died on December 12, 1952. Calvin became the president and general manager of the firm, remaining until his death in 1968. The reins of the company then fell to Moses III's son, William DeBerry McKissack, who continued the family tradition until illness forced him to retire. McKissack and McKissack Architects, Inc., with offices in Nashville, Memphis, and Tuskegee, currently is directed by Leatrice McKissack, the wife of William McKissack.

In recognition of Moses McKissack III's contributions, the city has named an elementary school and a small park in his honor.

Linda T. Wynn

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE (1876-)



Meharry Medical College originated in 1876 as the medical division of Central Tennessee College, an institution established by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal

Church. The founder and first president of Meharry Medical College was New Hampshire native George Whipple Hubbard (1841-1921), a former Union soldier who received his medical degree from the University of Nashville. While still in school, Hubbard began the work of building Meharry, with himself as sole instructor, religious advisor, and superintendent.

Meharry's dental and pharmaceutical departments were organized in 1886 and 1889, respectively. There was only one member in the first graduating class in 1890; he held the degree of Master of Arts. In 1910, the School of Nursing of Mercy Hospital was transferred to Meharry. The Hubbard Hospital was built in 1912. On October 13, 1915, Meharry Medical College was granted a charter separate from Central Tennessee College, which had changed its name to Walden University in 1900.

On February 1, 1921, John J. Mullooney, a 1908 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and a former faculty member of Girard College in Philadelphia, became the second president of Meharry. Under his leadership, admission requirements were rigorously administered; the number of faculty members increased; research and hospital facilities were expanded, increasing the bed capacity to 100; outpatient clinics were reorganized according to specialty; and a hospital superintendent was employed. In 1923, Meharry was given an "A" rating. With contributions from the General Education Board and the Rockefeller, Rosenwald, Eastman, and Carnegie foundations, together with assistance from the City of Nashville and Meharry alumnae, the college moved from South Nashville to its present location in North Nashville, adjacent to Fisk University.

In 1938, the distinguished scholar Edward L. Turner assumed the post of president. Turner modified the curriculum of the medical school, insisting on a more scientific approach and stressing the importance of proper clinical procedures. During this time, Meharry began to experience financial difficulties, which plagued the institution throughout the 1940s. President Turner resigned in 1944. Dr. M. D. Clawson served as president of Meharry from 1945 to 1950.

An interim administrative committee directed affairs until 1952, when Dr. Harold D. West, the first black president of the school, began his term. Under West, fiscal expansion was planned and a twenty million dollar fund-raising drive was initiated. Land adjacent to the campus was purchased, and a new wing was added to the hospital. Under a re-definition of purpose, the School of Nursing and the Division of Dental Technology were terminated in the early 1960s, and significant improvements were made to the curriculum and facilities in the schools of medicine and dentistry.

From 1966 to 1968, Meharry was managed by an interim committee until the former dean of the medical school, Lloyd Elam, was appointed president. Meharry then established a graduate school offering the Ph.D. degree in the basic sciences and a School of Allied Health Professions in conjunction with T. S. U. and Fisk University. New buildings for the schools of medicine and dentistry and a new hospital building were constructed in the 1970s. Elam provided Meharry with thirteen years of progressive leadership. He continued his service to the school as a distinguished member of the teaching faculty.

In March of 1981, Richard Lester, chairman of the Department of Radiology of the University of Texas Science Center and a member of Meharry's board of trustees, assumed the duties of interim president for one year. In July of 1982, David Satcher became the third black man to hold the position of president. He served until 1993 and was followed by President John Maupin.

Meharry Medical College includes the School of Medicine, the School of Dentistry, the School of Graduate Studies and Research, the School of Allied Health Professions, the George Russell Towers of Hubbard Hospital, two health centers, and the Harold D. West Basic Sciences Center.

Reavis L. Mitchell, Jr.

MOUNT ARARAT AND GREENWOOD CEMETERIES (1869-)

Mount Ararat Cemetery (1869-) and **Greenwood Cemetery (1889-)** are the oldest organized burial sites in black Nashville.

Since 1822 about 4,000 blacks (slaves and free persons) were buried in the Nashville City Cemetery on Fourth Avenue, South. Other slaves were interred in white family and church cemeteries. After the federal government established the National Cemetery in Nashville in 1866, some 1,909 former black soldiers from Union army regiments were buried there, with tombstones imprinted USCT.

After the Emancipation of 1865, local whites no longer wanted black bodies in private white cemeteries. Additionally, because they continued to have a high mortality rate caused by cholera, pneumonia, intestinal diseases, poverty, poor housing, malnutrition, alcohol consumption, and other ailments, the freed blacks needed their own undertakers and cemeteries. In 1884, the death rate was 16.7 for local whites and 26.9 per 1,000 persons for black Nashvillians. Infant deaths comprised 46.5 percent of the total black deaths for 1887 and 40 percent for 1910 -- rates that mirrored Nashville's black infant mortality rates for the 1850s.

In April of 1869, Mount Ararat Cemetery was founded by local black leaders. They employed black businessman and Republican Nelson Walker, who began buying lands from white Republican leader John Trimble and other whites in the area presently known as Cameron-Trimble Bottom locale. In 1869, Walker purchased property from James M. Murrell for the trustees of the Nashville Order of the Sons of Relief Number One and the Nashville Colored Benevolent Society. The land belonged to the H. B. Lewis estate, lying 1,000 feet north of Murfreesboro Pike, where it junctions with Elm Hill (Stones River) Pike. On May 2, 1869, the Mount Ararat Cemetery lots went on sale. To involve the churches and preachers, a mass meeting was held on Sunday and a black leader said, "We must have education, valuable property, and plenty of money; and, we should labor to secure colored teachers in the colored schools of the city." Thomas Griswold, businessman and black city councilman, became secretary of Mount Ararat Cemetery. Because of periodic epidemics,

some 1,400 burials per year frequently took place at Mount Ararat. The freedmen needed undertakers as badly as they needed cemeteries. Between 1865 and 1888, one major black undertaker, Thomas Winston, operated in Nashville. His crude shops were moved frequently from No. 5 and No. 3 Front, 47 Cedar Street, McLemore and Velvet, 119 McLemore, and then to 161 Cedar Street. In 1886, Preston Taylor arrived as pastor of the Gay Street Colored Christian (Disciples of Christ) Church. He boarded at 119 McLemore and later at 249 Gay Street. When Winston died in 1888, Taylor filled the void by opening Taylor and Company Undertakers at 316 1/2 North Cherry Street. He purchased thirty-seven acres of land one mile east of Mount Ararat on Elm Hill Pike and opened Greenwood Cemetery by 1888. Two years later, Taylor was in competition with Woodard and Company Undertakers, and then the W. Goff Colored Undertakers in 1891. By 1892, however, Taylor was black Nashville's major undertaker. After Taylor's death and will probate in 1931, the United Christian Missionary Society of the National Christian (Disciples of Christ) Missionary Convention acquired Greenwood Cemetery.

After 1910, the Mount Ararat Cemetery deteriorated until it was revived in the 1920s. By the 1970s, however, much of Mt. Ararat again was overgrown with trees and brush and insensitive white businessmen had begun to encroach on the site. In 1982, the Greenwood Cemetery's board of directors was asked to take Mount Ararat under management. The board accepted the property from the Mount Ararat Association and Mount Ararat Cemetery, Inc., and the new management (under Robert Mosley, Jr.) cleared brush and trees and restored the neglected sections of Mount Ararat. In 1983, the Garden of Saint James was developed. A landscaping project provided more burial space, and a 112-crypt mausoleum was built on Mount Ararat property. On June 21, 1986, the Greenwood Cemetery's board of directors voted to change the name Mount Ararat to Greenwood Cemetery West. In 1988, Greenwood Cemetery was honored by mayoral proclamations recognizing its 100th anniversary and commending its contributions to Nashville's history and culture. By 1992, the management had professional color brochures, a new administration building, and various services for Greenwood Cemetery's customers.

Bobby L. Lovett

NELSON G. MERRY (1824-1884)

Nelson G. Merry, born a Kentucky slave in 1824, came to Nashville with his master. In 1840, his widowed mistress willed the sixteen-year-old slave to the First Baptist Church. He was employed by the church, baptized, and finally freed on November 1, 1845.

Merry began preaching to the First Colored Baptist Church congregation, which had been organized by whites in 1843. Merry was carefully tutored by the Reverend Samuel A. Davidson, a white man who served as the black congregation's pastor from 1848 to 1853. After being examined by local Baptist ministers, Merry became in 1853 the first ordained

Negro minister in Nashville. Immediately he took charge of the 100 members of the First Colored Baptist church. In 1849, after the Reverend Davidson became pastor, the black congregation moved into the old school house at 21 North McLemore Street (now Ninth Avenue). After moving to a house on Pearl Street, the church finally found a permanent location on the west side of Spruce Street (now Eighth Avenue), today's site of the Federal Reserve Bank. Under Merry, the First Colored Baptist Church became the state's largest church, with over 2,000 members. It became independent of the white First Baptist Church in 1866.



During the 1880s and the 1890s, the church experienced trouble and several congregational splits. In 1887, an ideological split caused the Reverend Tom Huffman, Nelson Merry's successor, to lead a group of members to organize Mount Olive Baptist Church at 908-910 Cedar Street (now Charlotte Avenue). In 1895, due to a destructive fire and bickering over the insurance proceeds, the First Colored Baptist Church split again. One faction went to court and received the name First Colored Baptist Church (now First Baptist Church Capitol Hill on Merry Street) and moved to the northwest corner of Spruce Street. The other faction was granted the old church site at 311-313 Spruce Street, along with several thousand dollars in insurance proceeds. They organized Spruce Street Baptist Church at 810 Cedar Street and are now located on Twentieth Avenue North.

Merry organized at least fourteen Negro Baptist churches, including the Vandavall Baptist Church on Stewart Street in Edgefield, begun in 1866. Its pastor, Randall B. Vandavall, a self-purchased free black who was born a slave near Nashville in 1834, officiated at Nelson G. Merry's funeral on July 15, 1884.

Merry is recognized as a founder of the Tennessee Colored Baptist Association (1866). He served as editor of *The Colored Sunday School Standard* (1874-1875). He also was well known in regional and national Baptist church conferences, due to his frequent attendance at such meetings before and after the Civil War.

His survivors were his wife Mary and their children: Adella, Elizabeth, Emma, Jimmy, John, and Nammie. His death drew notices in both of the city's major newspapers, and

Nashville's white ministers conducted a special service for Merry. He was buried in Mount Ararat Cemetery. The tomb is marked with a life-like relief and a forty-foot granite monument.

Linda T. Wynn

JAMES C. NAPIER (1845-1940)

James C. Napier was born of free parents on June 9, 1845, in Nashville, Tennessee. His father, William Carroll, was a free hack driver and a sometime overseer. James attended the



free blacks' school on Line and High Street (now Sixth Avenue) with some sixty other black children until white vigilantes forced the classes to close in 1856. Although the teacher, Daniel Wadkins, a free black, reopened the school, the December of 1856 race riot caused a temporary end to black education in Nashville until the Union occupation in February of 1862. After the riot, the Napier family and several other moderately wealthy free black families either moved or sent their children to Ohio to continue their children's education under free black teacher Rufus Conrad.

Upon returning to the Union-held city of Nashville, James Napier became involved in Republican party politics. John Mercer Langston, an Ohio free black who became a powerful Republican politician and congressman, was a friend of Napier's father. Langston visited Nashville on December 30, 1864, to speak to 10,000 black Union troops, who had taken part in the recent and victorious Battle of Nashville, and to address the second Emancipation Day Celebration. He later invited James to attend the newly opened law school at Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he was founding dean. After

receiving his law degree in 1872, James returned to practice in Nashville. In 1873, he married Dean Langston's daughter, Nettie. This wedding was the biggest social event in nineteenth-century black Washington.

Between 1872 and 1913, James C. Napier became Afro-American Nashville's most powerful politician and its most influential citizen. Between 1878 and 1886, he served on the Nashville City Council and was the first black to preside over the council. He was instrumental in the hiring of black teachers for the colored public schools during the 1870s, the hiring of black "detectives," and the organization of the black fire-engine company during the 1880s. His greatest political accomplishment was his service as President William H. Taft's Register of the United States Treasury from 1911 to 1913.

Napier also was a successful businessman and a personal friend of Booker T. Washington. Margaret Washington was a personal friend of Nettie Langston Napier and often spent two or more weeks each summer at the Napier's Nolensville Road summer home. Washington visited the city several times a year until his death in 1915. Napier was elected president of the National Negro Business League, which Washington had founded. The League held several of its annual meetings in Nashville, and Napier organized a local chapter of the League in 1905. He was a founder and cashier (manager) of the One Cent (now Citizens) Savings Bank organized in 1904, and he gave the new bank temporary quarters rent-free in his Napier Court office building at 411 North Cherry Street (now Fourth Avenue). He helped organize the 1905 Negro streetcar strike and the black Union Transportation Company's streetcar lines. He presided over the powerful Nashville Negro Board of Trade and was on the boards of Fisk and Howard universities. Upon his death on April 21, 1940, James Carroll Napier was interred in Greenwood Cemetery near members of his family and members of the Langston family.

Herbert Clark

NASHVILLE SIT-INS (1959-1961)

On February 1, 1960, four North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College students captured America's attention when they sat down at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and requested service. However, prior to this demonstration and between 1943 and 1960, sit-ins had taken place in Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, and at least fifteen cities, including Nashville, Tennessee. The earlier protests did not gain full attention until 1960, when the southern civil rights movement gained momentum.

Although Nashville was considered to be the "Athens of the South" and a few blacks served on the Board of Education, the city council, and the police force, blacks and whites were racially segregated. The pattern of racial exclusiveness prevailed in Nashville's schools and public facilities, including rest rooms, waiting areas, snack counters, transportation terminals, libraries, theaters, hotels, restaurants, and neighborhoods. Jim Crowism pervaded

all aspects of life in Nashville and throughout the South. In 1958, local black leaders founded the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference (NCLC), an affiliate of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference. On March 26-28, 1958, NCLC members held a workshop on nonviolent tactics against segregation. Under the leadership of the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith, NCLC president and pastor of First Colored Baptist Church on Eighth Avenue, North, the workshops continued in the church's basement throughout 1958. Early in 1959, the NCLC began a movement to desegregate downtown Nashville.

During November and December, 1959, the institutionalized policy of segregation was tested at Harvey's and Cain-Sloan's department stores. The Reverends Smith and James M. Lawson, Jr., students John Lewis, Diane Nash, James Bevel, Marion Barry, and others bought goods and then attempted to desegregate the lunch counters. Before the end of 1959, other college students were being trained to participate in the protests. The students were from Nashville's black colleges, including Fisk University, Tennessee A & I State University, Meharry Medical College, and American Baptist Theological Seminary. However, the Greensboro, North Carolina, student demonstrations received the first publicity on February 1, 1960. Twelve days later, on February 13, 1960, Nashville's black college students launched



their first full-scale sit-ins. The students convened at the Arcade on Fifth Avenue, North, and entered Kress's, Woolworth's, and McClellan's stores at approximately 12:40 p.m. They made purchases and then occupied lunch-counter seats. Nearly two hours later, the stores closed their lunch counters, and the students left without incident.

For the next three months the students continued the sit-ins, adding Greyhound and Trailways bus terminals, Grant's variety store, Walgreen's drugstore, and Cain-Sloan's and Harvey's department stores as targets. The students' principles of direct nonviolent protest and written rules of conduct became models for later protests in the South. When the students were met with white violence and arrests on February 27, the black community rallied to support them with attorneys and bail money. Some eighty-one students who were found guilty of disorderly conduct on February 29 refused to pay the fines and chose to serve time in jail. Vanderbilt University's administrators expelled the Reverend James Lawson, a divinity student, for participating in the sit-ins.

On March 3, Mayor Ben West appointed a biracial committee to investigate the issues. The mayor's committee recommended on April 5 that lunch counters be divided into white and black sections. The NCLC rejected the proposal.

In the pre-dawn morning of April 19, the home of attorney Z. Alexander Looby, legal counsel for the demonstrators, was destroyed by dynamite. In response to the racial violence, blacks marched to Nashville's City Hall to protest to Mayor Ben West; the city official finally conceded to Fisk student leader Diane Nash that he felt segregation was wrong and that lunch counters should be desegregated. On May 10, 1960, Nashville became the first major city to begin desegregating its public facilities.

In September of 1990, the Metropolitan Historical Commission erected a historical marker on the southwest corner of Charlotte and Eighth Avenue, North, commemorating the Nashville sit-in movement and its NCLC headquarters, the former site of First Colored Baptist Church (Capitol Hill). On April 19, 1995, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the pivotal march and sit-in movement was observed. The former-student organizers of the movement returned to Nashville for a full day of activities, including the unveiling of a Metro historical plaque at City Hall, a symposium at the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center of Vanderbilt University and at Fisk University Chapel (a point of origin for the 1960 march), and placement of a state historical marker at the northeast corner of Jefferson Street and Dr. D. B. Todd Boulevard (formerly Eighteenth Avenue, North) to commemorate the route of the 1960 civil rights march and the Nashville Sit-In movement.

Linda T. Wynn

NASHVILLE'S STREETCAR BOYCOTT (1905-1907)

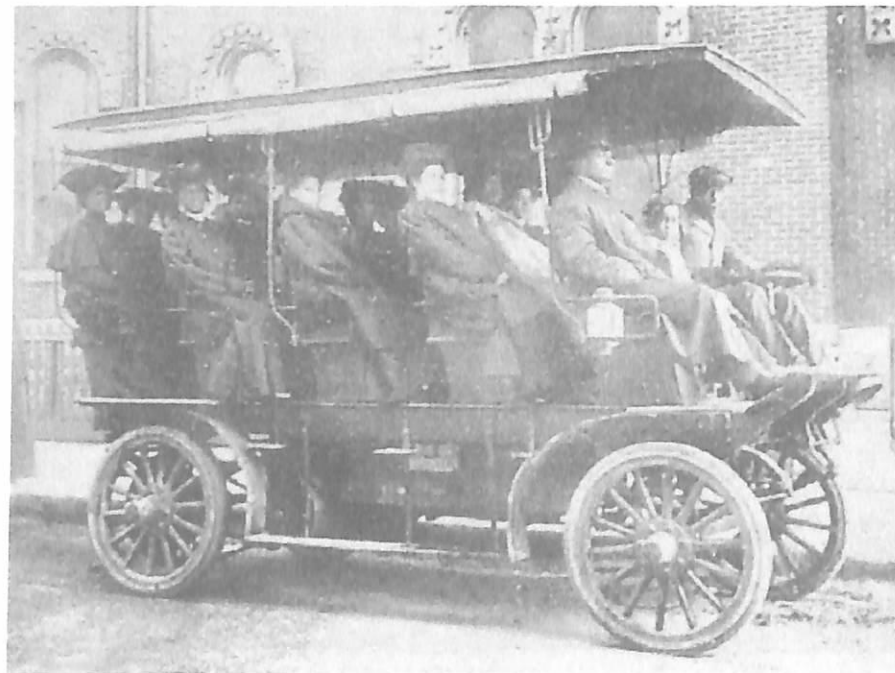
With the enunciation of the 1896 *Plessy versus Ferguson* United States Supreme Court decision, white Southerners declared segregation laws permissible as long as they provided equal accommodations for the races. The court ruling legalized the concept of racial separation and served as the constitutional underpinning for the South's Jim Crow system. Four years later, between 1900 and 1906, African Americans in Nashville and numerous other cities battled against unequal accommodations in public transit.

Beginning in 1899, the Tennessee General Assembly attempted to expand the existing scope of segregation in public transit by proposing legislation to "make the separate coach law apply to street cars." Although this proposal died the same year in the House Judiciary Committee, it was revived in 1901 and was defeated by a 48-30 vote in the House of Representatives. Again, in the biennial session of 1903, proponents of the "separate coach" legislation continued to push for the law's enactment. Successful lobbying by the transit companies and strong newspaper objection in Nashville and Chattanooga aided in limiting the proposed law to "counties having 150,000 inhabitants." On June 7, 1903, the Tennessee Supreme Court ruled that the streetcar law was unconstitutional. However, white citizens of Tennessee mirrored the notion of ethics superiority, as revealed in the range of laws e

established to separate the Negro race from white society in other southern states.

When the General Assembly convened in January of 1905, Jim Crow was awakened from hibernation. On January 10, Davidson County's Representative Charles P. Fahey introduced Bill Number 87 "to separate white and colored passengers on streetcars." After two or three inconsequential amendments had been adopted, the bill, as amended, passed the lower house of the legislature by a vote of 81 to 4. It was then transmitted to the upper chamber, where it passed by a 28-1 vote. The law passed on March 30 was to become effective on July 5 and required operators of streetcars to designate by means of conspicuous signs which part of the car was for white or colored passengers. Those passengers refusing to occupy the designated seating area were liable for a fine not to exceed twenty-five dollars.

As early as March 5, 1904, the Reverend J. A. Jones declared that "the day the separate street car law goes into effect. . .that day the company will lose nine-tenths of its negro [sic] patronage. . .the self-respecting, intelligent colored citizens of Nashville will not stand for Jim Crowism on the streetcar lines in this city." The Nashville *Clarion*, a Negro weekly newspaper edited by the Reverend Edward W. D. Isaac, urged its readers "to buy buggies, or if they could not, trim their corns, darn their socks, wear solid shoes and walk."



On July 5, black Nashvillians transformed disapproving discourse into protest action and boycotted the Nashville Transit Company. Whites accused Negro leaders of being "agitators. . .who for purposes of their own are willing to play upon the fears and excite the prejudices of their more ignorant people." A well-known black cleric responded to the charge by insisting that the real troublemakers

were the members of the Tennessee General Assembly, who "substitute race prejudice for brain." R. H. Boyd said, "These discriminations are only blessings in disguise. They stimulate and encourage, rather than cower and humiliate the true, ambitious, self-determined Negro."

Of all the boycotts that took place in the state, Nashville had the best-organized boycott and the most ambitious of transportation companies, which Negroes initiated in several southern municipalities. The Union Transportation Company was chartered August 29, 1905, and became operational on October 3. As the company began experiencing

difficulty with its steam-driven cars, electric-powered buses, and more and more blacks tired of walking, the boycott came to an end. The black streetcars were sold and the Union Transportation Company was closed in 1907.

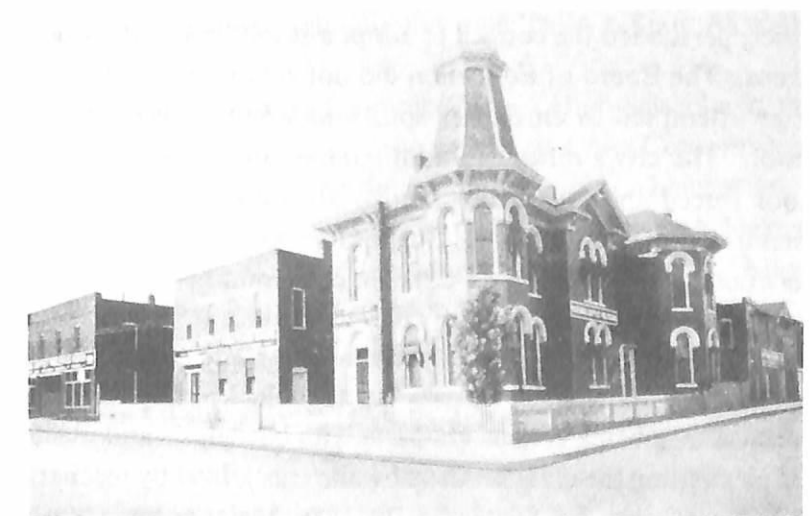
Linda T. Wynn

NATIONAL BAPTIST PUBLISHING BOARD (1896-)

During November and December of 1896, the National Baptist Publishing Board was established in Nashville by the Reverend Richard Henry Boyd (1843-1922). Before becoming secretary of the Home Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention in September of 1896, Boyd pursued the idea of providing literature for the Convention's member churches. Upon his arrival in Nashville in November of 1896, he received help and advice from the Reverend Charles H. Clark of Mount Olive Baptist Church, officers of the African Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union, and the white Southern Baptist Convention's publishers. The latter establishment lent Boyd its printing plates to print the first publications of the National Baptist Publishing Board. The Board began on January 1, 1897, and was first located in the Brown Building on Cedar (Charlotte) Street before moving into three buildings on Second Avenue, North, and Locust Street. To equip the facility, Boyd sought the services of a white man to visit auctions and bid for machinery, since the rules of segregation would not allow blacks to engage in such activity.

The main purpose of the National Baptist Publishing Board was to publish literature for denominational use. The Board also published books which gave accounts of the denomination's history and books on a variety of secular subjects, including Richard H. Boyd's *The Separate or "Jim Crow" Car Laws* (1909). With a plant valued at \$350,000 by 1913, the National Baptist Publishing Board became one of the largest business enterprises owned and operated by blacks in the United States.

The Reverend Boyd presided over the publishing board until his death in 1922, then his son, Henry Allen Boyd, assumed leadership of the company. Henry A. Boyd implemented new business practices and operational procedures, which promoted the growth of the business.



He directed the company for thirty-seven years. When Henry Allen Boyd died in 1959, Theophilus Bartholomew Boyd, Jr., was elected secretary-treasurer and chief administrator of the National Baptist Publishing Board. As a young man, he had worked in every department of the publishing plant and was fully acquainted with all aspects of the business. It was during T. B. Boyd, Jr.'s administration that the National Baptist Publishing Board experienced its most prosperous period. For the sum of \$60,000, the Board purchased four and a half acres of land on Centennial Boulevard and erected a one million dollar building for operations and administrative offices. After serving the National Baptist Publishing Board for twenty years, Dr. T. B. Boyd, Jr., died on April 1, 1979, and was interred in the Woodlawn Mausoleum.

The fourth generation of leadership was provided by Dr. T. B. Boyd, III. He, too, continued the Boyd tradition of progressive leadership. Under his leadership, the National Baptist Publishing Board continued to modernize its operations and expand the circulation of periodicals. By 1944, the National Baptist Publishing Board included millions in sales, worldwide distribution of publications, and operation of its Annual Sunday School Congress (1905-), which attracted over 30,000 "messengers" to convention cities all over America.

Linda T. Wynn

PEARL SCHOOL (1883-1983)

Pearl High School opened its doors in the fall of 1883 on South Summer Street (Fifth Avenue, South). The newly constructed public school for Negroes was named for Joshua F. Pearl, the city's first superintendent of public schools. T. W. Haley, a white principal, and white teachers directed Pearl (grades one through eight) until 1887, when black teachers were employed.

On September 25, 1884, Nashville's last Negro city councilman of the era, James C. Napier, persuaded the council to adopt a resolution to provide high-school classes for Negro citizens. The Board of Education did not act on the resolution until 1886, when Mrs. Sandy Porter attempted to enroll her son, James Rice Porter, in the all-white public Fogg High School. The city's refusal to admit James and other Negro youths to the city's only high school forced the Negro community to hold mass meetings. A mass meeting held on September 14, 1886, at Clark Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church petitioned the Board of Education "to as speedily as possible consummate permanent high school facilities for the rapidly growing [population of] colored youth. . . ."

The Board convened a special meeting and authorized the superintendent to establish ninth- and tenth-grade classes at the black Meigs Public School. Principal D. N. Crosthwaite, a black college graduate with bachelor's and master's degrees, received the task of implementing the classes. Crosthwaite was joined by teachers J. Ira Watson, J. M. Turpin, and L. T. Jackson. On September 20, 1886, Meigs became Nashville's first black high school. Eleventh-grade instruction was added to the school's curricula the following year.

Beginning during the 1897-98 academic year, the high-school department at Meigs was transferred to Pearl. On June 2, 1898, Pearl's first high-school class was graduated. Because of overcrowded conditions, the mayor and the city authorized the building of a new facility for Pearl High School. In 1917, Pearl moved to a new three-story structure at Sixteenth Avenue, North, and Grant Street. The Board hired additional teachers, expanded the course of study, and included a twelfth grade. The old Pearl building was renamed Cameron Junior High School, in honor of former teacher H. H. Cameron, who died during World War One.

By 1936, because of crowded conditions, it was necessary to begin construction of a new building. Located on Seventeenth Avenue, North, and Jo Johnston, the new structure



was designed by the black architectural firm of McKissack and McKissack. In the fall of 1937, students moved into what "eminent authorities considered one of the most modern, best constructed, and well-equipped buildings for Negroes in the South." The city later added other facilities: vocational wing (1945), stadium (1948), gymnasium, cafeteria, and four classrooms (1964). Pearl students

won many awards and athletic championships, including the 1966 TSSAA State Basketball Championship.

In 1983, the city's federal desegregation plan combined Pearl High School and West Nashville's predominantly white Cohn High School into the new Pearl-Cohn Comprehensive High School. The city built the Pearl-Cohn facility on the former sites of two black schools--Washington Junior High School and Ford Greene Elementary School--in North Nashville and converted the old Pearl High School facility into the Martin Luther King, Jr., Magnet School. In October of 1992, the Tennessee Historical Commission approved the placement of a historical marker at the site of the former Pearl High School.

Linda T. Wynn

**J. FRANKIE PIERCE AND THE TENNESSEE
VOCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR COLORED GIRLS (1923-1979)**



Frankie Pierce was born during or shortly after the Civil War to Nellie Seay, the house slave of a Smith County legislator. Frankie received her education in John G. McKee Freedmen's School in Nashville. She married and left Nashville, returning at the death of her husband with a mission of her own in mind: to found an institution for delinquent colored girls.

J. Frankie Pierce supposedly received the inspiration for establishing such a school by observing facilities of this nature in other southern states. She also was influenced by her friendship with a probation officer, who reluctantly took delinquent black girls to jail because the law would not permit them to enter white institutions.

Mrs. Pierce soon set about the task of laying a foundation of support, organizing the City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the Negro Women's Reconstruction Service League. She was a leading member of First Colored Baptist Church (Capitol Hill). After extensive lobbying, the Tennessee Vocational School for Colored Girls bill was passed by the General Assembly on April 7, 1921, and the school opened its doors on October 9, 1923. Frankie Pierce became its first superintendent, a position she held until 1939.

Located at 2700 Heiman Street, the school had a sixty-six-acre campus and employed an average of sixty-nine workers. Girls twelve to fifteen years old were received from across the state and were released through the Division of Juvenile Probation. The school was approved through the ninth grade and included academic and vocational training.

Frankie Pierce was a woman with vision, and through her perseverance, determination, and courage, she provided the leadership to make that vision a community reality. She was "an untiring worker, a great politician" for her people. Some who knew this woman took pride in how she led her club members in a march on city hall in protest of the racial segregation of public facilities at a time prior to the civil rights movement. J. Frankie Pierce died in 1954.

Mattie Coleman served as the vocational school's second superintendent until her death in 1943. She promoted the school's choir, which performed at religious services and area concerts. During Coleman's tenure, the girls attended Haynes High School; one of them became the valedictorian and one the salutatorian of their graduating classes. During this time, Laura Deaderick became the principal of the academic program at the vocational school.

In 1943, Mattie Flowers became the school's superintendent. Under her leadership, the girls received all of their education on the campus. The elementary grades were certified; a psychologist joined the staff, in conjunction with the Tullahoma School for White Girls; and a chaplain and a full-time religious curriculum were added. The State Board of Licensing for Cosmetology was located on the campus and hundreds of young women often gathered to be licensed.

In 1953, Dorothy Read became the head of the school. The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Nashville became interested, and many local ministers became involved with the school. Read's administration added Read Hall and sought to attract highly trained employees and volunteers.

In 1960, Virginia Edmondson became superintendent. During her tenure, a program of behavioral modification was started; spiritual, educational, and physical programs were expanded; and affiliations with local and national professional organizations were explored. The focus was on preparing students to return to the community as homemakers. Meharry Medical College supplied professional help for the staff and students, and the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College supported the recreational program. In 1966, the school was integrated, and Pierce Hall was built. Edmondson retired in 1967 to become a psychiatric nurse.

Marlene Howlett served as superintendent from 1967 to 1971. The high school was accredited and teachers' salaries were equated with those of public-school teachers. A director of religion was added, and a chaplain was hired in conjunction with the Joelton School for Boys. The first white student was sent to the all-black Pearl High School; she commuted daily with the superintendent's husband, who taught there. Students enjoyed the additions of an annual field day, a Sweethearts' Ball, dramatic performances, and a Girl Scout troop. Sammie Mitchell became superintendent in 1971.

The Tennessee Vocational School for Girls was renamed the Tennessee Reception and Guidance Center for Juveniles before it closed in 1979.

Virginia Edmondson

JAMES HENRY PRESNELL (1885-1950)

Knoxville's "Bronze Mayor" was widely known throughout the city and was undoubtedly the most popular person in the black community during the 1930s and 1940s. Noted for his



ever-present cigar and friendly manner, he was very involved in civic, church, and social activities.

James H. Presnell was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, on November 13, 1885. He was graduated from the Normal Department of Knoxville College in 1908 and from the College in 1910. After being graduated from Meharry Medical College in 1913, he set up his medical practice in Knoxville. In 1923, he married Cloteal Hardy, a popular teacher at Knoxville Colored High School. They had three children: James, Jr., Madison, and Margaret Louise.

Through the years, Presnell's lucrative practice allowed him to accumulate a considerable amount of property. He continued his studies at Northwestern University and engaged

in post-graduate work in some of the leading hospitals in the country. His patients ranked him high in his knowledge and practice of medicine.

In 1937, the *Flashlight Herald*, a weekly newspaper for the black community, sponsored the Bronze Mayor Contest, in an effort to give black citizens an "official" voice. Four of the city's most prominent black men were in the contest. Presnell won by more than 2,800 votes over his nearest rival. One of the daily newspapers described the event as "just like Harlem." When the results were announced, the newspaper reported that "the city stood abreast Harlem and Beale Street and other Negro sections which already had 'mayors.'"

Presnell, in his usual genial manner, was quoted as saying, "I feel greatly honored. I went over and bought the boys of the *Flashlight Herald* cigars after they notified me of my election."

But that election was no lighthearted or trivial matter. He had been "elected" spokesman for the black community. His job, as he explained it, was to head committees of Negro citizens in conferring with city officials and others. One of his chief concerns was to prevent the Knoxville Housing Authority from destroying beautiful homes and prosperous businesses during its "slum clearance" projects. He advanced efforts to remedy overcrowded schools and to divert Knoxville's notorious First Creek, which flooded and ravaged a good part of the black community during the rainy season.

Through his generosity, the auditorium in the Knoxville College Administration Building was refurbished; the renovated auditorium was named in his honor. He is credited with leading the successful drive to establish the unit for blacks at the local tubercular

hospital in 1928. His medical building, which was constructed in 1922, was a centerpiece for black achievement.

Robert J. Booker

WALTER CALDWELL ROBINSON (1893-1968)

Walter Caldwell Robinson was born the son of sharecroppers in Larkinsville, Alabama, on July 17, 1893. His family, which lived in Alabama, worked the farm of a white man until Walter was nine years old.

Walter's parents, Joseph and Elizabeth Robinson decided to move to Chattanooga, Tennessee, when he was nine, seeking better employment and educational opportunities for their children. In Chattanooga their economic status improved, but, due to segregation and discrimination, their "plight" remained bleak.

In spite of these despairing circumstances, the children -- Floyd, Monroe, Jessie, Rosa, Fannie, Amanda, and Walter C. Robinson -- were able to lift themselves to a high level of participation in a tightly segregated society.

Walter Robinson showed signs of becoming a businessman and leader at an early age. At age eleven, he secured employment in a foundry and by age sixteen was operating a laundry business of his own. He married one of his neighbors and classmates, Cora Adair. To this marriage were born seven children: Evelyn, Marian, Walter, Jr., Jesell, Camille, Lucille, and Alma Lee.

Walter, Cora, and their children were very active members of the Second Missionary Baptist Church. Robinson became president of the Baptist Young People's Union soon after joining the church. At age twenty-one, he became a trustee of his church. Robinson was an asset to the church because he was able to influence outstanding ministers to accept the pastorship of the church. After becoming a politician, Robinson was able to raise large sums of money for religious undertakings by asking wealthy whites for donations. He began at-



tending the meetings of the city's fourth ward. Because of the interest he exhibited in ward, local, and national politics, as well as his leadership ability, he was elected chairman of the fourth ward by defeating Hiram Tyree, who had been ward leader for many years.

Walter Robinson was quite successful in creating interest and participation among black citizens. In a short while his influence spread throughout Chattanooga and Hamilton County. He organized the chairmen of all the black wards and established the Colored Voters League of Greater Chattanooga to gain recognition for blacks through a united political group. In 1926, the National Republican Executive Committee selected Robinson to conduct a campaign tour of northern and northwestern states. In his address, Robinson encouraged blacks to support the Republican national candidates for President, Vice President, and the Congress, because he felt that this was the best avenue for ending segregation and discrimination. As a result of his political involvements, he was chosen as alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1928. Thereafter, he was an alternate delegate at each National Republican Convention until his health failed in 1963.

H. D. Huffacker was supported by Walter Robinson and the Colored Voters League of Greater Chattanooga for the position of Commissioner of Education in 1927. Huffacker was elected and, once in office, gave Robinson a job as a truant officer for the Chattanooga Public School System. He was responsible for seeing that black boys and girls attended school. Also, because of his leadership ability and influence, Robinson was given the responsibility for suggesting the blacks to be hired as teachers, janitors, and other positions in city departments. Robinson worked in this capacity until a candidate whom he opposed was elected Commissioner of Education in 1935.

Then Robinson began full-time work for the success of the newspaper business, which he started in 1933. This newspaper (*The Chattanooga Observer*) was initiated for the purposes of expressing his views to benefit the Republican party and to defeat candidates in local elections when Robinson felt they were not the best candidates for the good of the black citizens.

Robinson was continually elected chairmen of the fourth ward until urban renewal programs split the ward in 1959. He also was continually elected chairman of the Colored Voters League of greater Chattanooga until his death in 1968.

Malcolm J. Walker

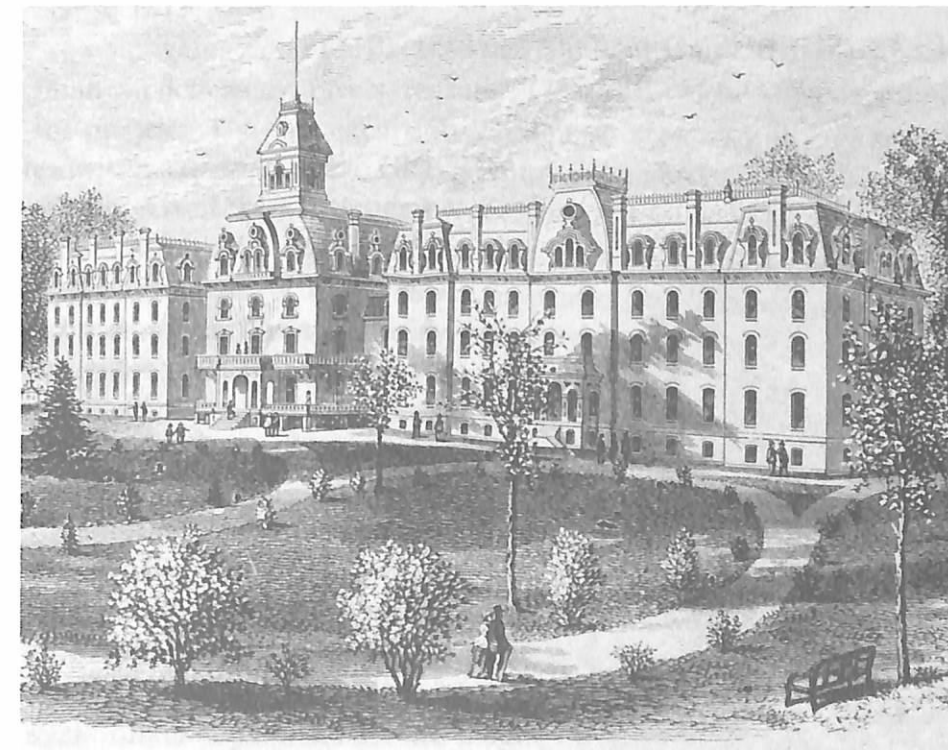
ROGER WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY (1866-1929)

Roger Williams University, one of four colleges founded in Nashville for freed slaves, began in 1864 as Bible classes in the home of Daniel W. Phillips, a white Baptist minister from Massachusetts. The Reverend Phillips (1809-1890) was assisted by fellow ministers Henry L. Wayland, J. R. Graves, and Thomas Skinner. The pastor of the First Colored Baptist

Church allowed the school to move to the basement of the church at Pearl and Walnut Streets. A mission of the white First Baptist Church, the black congregation was pastored by Nelson G. Merry.

In 1866 the so-called "Baptist College" was named the Nashville Normal and Theological Institute and relocated in Union Army barracks on Cedar (Charlotte) between Spruce (Eighth Avenue, North) and McLemore (Ninth Avenue, North) streets. The American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, local blacks and other contributors funded the freedmen's school.

In 1867 the school moved into a two-story frame building at Park and Polk streets. Merry traveled to Memphis and held church benefits to raise money for the school. In 1869 a group headed by Phillips attempted to purchase surplus Union Army Fort Gillem adjacent to them at Salem (18th Avenue, North) and Jefferson Streets but Fisk University bought the property. When Fisk's Jubilee Hall rose next door, Phillips raised \$30,000 and purchased thirty acres of the William H. Gordon farm on Hillsboro Road by 1874.



On February 13, 1883, the school was incorporated as Roger Williams University. Several blacks, including Merry and Randall V. Vandavall (1832-1898), served on the board of trustees. The school added a master's degree in 1886 and continued to expand until the 1890s, when student rebellion and white suburbanization of West Nashville caused its decline.

After Vanderbilt University established itself in the vicinity and the Belmont area was under development by realtors, a realtor offered the American Baptist Home Mission Society \$150,000 for the Roger Williams campus. The discussion of whether to sell the campus was influenced by the student rebellion of 1888-89, in which the blacks had charged the president with racism and caused him to resign. But the ABHMS refused to sell the school.

On the night of January 24, 1905, at ten o'clock, a mysterious fire destroyed Centennial Hall. The school reopened, but on May 22, 1905, another fire of unknown origin

leveled Mansion House. The American Baptist Home Mission Society closed Roger Williams University and subsequently sold part of the land to realtors and the rest to George Peabody College for Teachers by 1911. Realtors subdivided the land for resale, with covenants on the deeds that restricted sale to any "person of African descent."

Local black leaders were upset that the white Baptists had closed "their school" built by Merry, Vandavall, and Phillips. As a result, the Negro Baptist Association of Tennessee formed the Tennessee Missionary and Education Association to raise \$10,000 and purchase a new campus on Whites Creek Pike. In the fall of 1909, Roger Williams University was reopened in North Nashville, with its first black president. By 1922, however, there were only 159 students and twelve faculty members. On July 12, 1927, the decision was made to merge the school with Howe Institute in Memphis (LeMoyne-Owen College). The students and teachers left for Memphis on December 29, 1929.

Bobby L. Lovett

ELLA SHEPPARD (MOORE) (1851-1914)



Ella Sheppard was born on February 4, 1851, in Nashville, Tennessee. Her father Simon Sheppard hired his time from his master and worked hard to accumulate \$1,800 to buy his freedom. Ella's mother, Sarah Hannah Sheppard, was not as fortunate. Her mistress promised Simon that he could buy Sarah, but the slaveowner refused to honor the agreement. Determined that Ella would not remain a slave, Sarah made a threat to "take Ella and jump into the river than see her a slave." Fearing the loss of mother and child, the slave mistress sold Ella to Simon Sheppard for \$350.

Ella remained in Nashville with her father when the mother was taken to Mississippi. Simon married another slave woman and gave \$1,300 for her freedom. A race riot hit Nashville in 1856, causing whites to tighten the controls on local free Negroes. When his business debts

piled up and could not be paid, Simon fled to Cincinnati, Ohio, to prevent his family from being seized as assets and sold as slaves. Ella Sheppard attended a colored school and studied music in Cincinnati. Ella demonstrated such exceptional musical talent that her father bought a piano and paid for private music lessons.

Simon Sheppard died in 1866. His bills were paid, leaving Ella and her stepmother penniless. To help support the family, young Ella played the piano at local functions. A prominent local piano teacher agreed to help Ella continue her musical education. She became this man's only black pupil, and Ella had to keep the lessons a secret by entering the school through the back door between nine and ten o'clock at night.

Ella Sheppard returned to Tennessee. In 1868, she accepted a teaching position at Gallatin, north of Nashville. The poor Negro students paid tuition so seldom that she saved only six dollars after five months of work. Ella took this six dollars from her "pie box" (trunk) and entered Fisk University, where her six dollars lasted three weeks. By teaching music in Nashville, she earned enough money to continue in school for two years. Ella became the music teacher at Fisk University--the only black staff member at the school before 1875.

Again, good fortune smiled on Ella Sheppard. To relieve the school's serious financial deficiency, Fisk's treasurer, George L. White, organized a group of students to sing for money. The first excursions became so promising that Erastus M. Cravath reluctantly gave White permission to form a group and go on national tour. Cravath was field secretary for the American Missionary Association, Fisk's founding and funding agency, and he was White's brother-in-law. Ella Sheppard became one of nine singers selected by White to form the group of singers. She served as pianist and assistant trainer. Principal Spence became so upset about losing his only music teacher that he asked Cravath to hire another black teacher to serve during Ella's absence "lest the students rebel."

On October 6, 1871, the group went on tour. The first tour netted \$20,000 to pay for the site of a new campus at Salem (Eighteenth Avenue, North) and Jefferson Street. As majestic Jubilee Hall slowly rose on the site and the school needed more funds, the Jubilee Fund often became the only source of money for the school. So the singers had to extend their concert tours. In seven years, the Jubilee Singers raised \$150,000 in America and Europe. Ella Sheppard served as the backbone and trainer for the group.

In 1882, Ella Sheppard married George W. Moore. She spent many years helping George in his work with the American Missionary Association, lecturing throughout the South, and organizing Jubilee choirs. Eventually, she located her mother and a sister in Mississippi and brought them to Nashville.

Ella Sheppard died on June 9, 1914. She was interred in Nashville's Old City Cemetery.

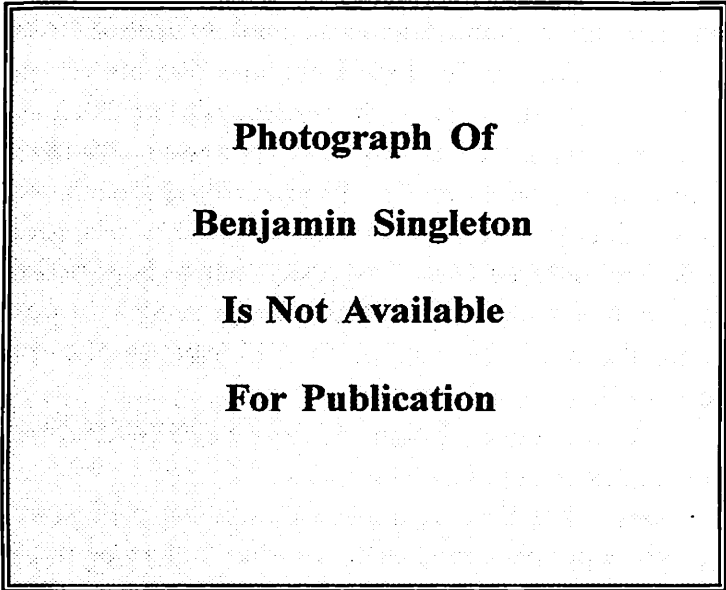
Beth Howse

BENJAMIN "PAP" SINGLETON (1809- ?)

Benjamin "Pap" Singleton called himself the "father of the Black Exodus," a movement that began during the late 1860s and continued into the 1880s, when thousands of freedmen resettled in Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Indiana, and other areas. Singleton led nearly 8,000 blacks to Kansas via steamboat, train, and wagon.

Singleton was a former Davidson County slave, born around 1809, and raised and trained as a cabinet maker. After being sold and sent to New Orleans, he escaped back to Nashville and then to Detroit and Canada. During the Civil War years, Singleton left Detroit and returned to Nashville, which was under Union army occupation. He made a living building cabinets and coffins, while he lived in a large Union camp for fugitive slaves along the riverbank in Edgefield (East Nashville, near the Jefferson Street bridge). When peddling his wares, "Pap" Singleton, as his fellow freedmen called him, preached to idle, destitute former-slaves about going west to farm and own federal homestead lands.

In September of 1869, black Nashvillians held a large meeting about migrating from the South. Elias Polk, Robert Knowles, Randall Brown, Henry Carter, and Daniel Wadkins argued the pros and cons of leaving the South. Many of Nashville's freedmen were frustrated because of crowded and impoverished conditions, recent outbreaks of racial violence by whites, and the 1869 electoral defeat of their city Republican ticket by white Conservatives (Democrats). When the mass meeting failed to gain a vote for the exodus, Singleton and a Summer County black preacher, Columbus M. Johnson, organized a homestead association. Johnson was concerned about addressing the large federal contraband camps, which housed impoverished freedmen in Gallatin and Hendersonville. In 1872, the association sent a committee to investigate Kansas for settlement. A year later, Johnson, Singleton, and 300 persons boarded steamboats on the Cumberland River to settle in Cherokee County, Wyandotte, and Topeka, Kansas. For years, the north end of Topeka was called "Tennessee Town."



In April of 1875, Singleton, William A. Sizemore, and Benjamin Petway called for a state convention to discuss black migration to the West. The convention met in Liberty Hall (44 Cedar Street, now Charlotte), which was built in 1872 by and for Nashville's first black bank, the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company. The convention formed the Tennessee Emigration Society, sent delegates to Kansas, and resolved: "To the white people of Tennessee, and them alone, are due the ills borne by the colored people of this State." The Memphis *Bulletin* newspaper reported that the "chiefest ground of discontent is inadequate labor prices and delays in paying the same. A repair of this evil would tend greatly towards checking the flow of [black] immigration out of the State, already begun." Then the Nashville Colored People's Cooperative Emigration Club was formed "to improve the moral, intellectual, social, and material interests of the colored people." The leaders hoped to relieve crowding in Tennessee's urban black neighborhoods, resettle the black poor, and build a politically powerful society in the Far West.

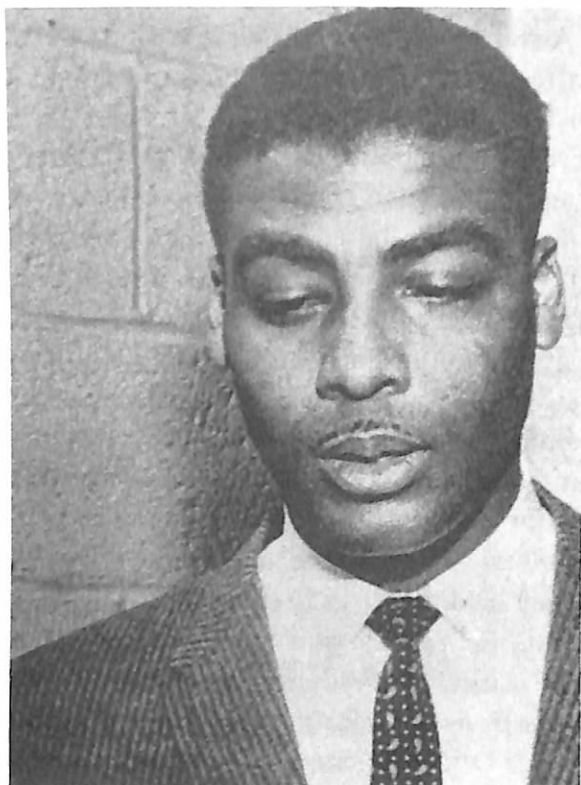
Singleton, Sizemore, and their followers formed the Edgefield Real Estate Association, located at No. 5 Front Street. They held rallies in Brentwood and other black communities, raised funds by charging five cents for parties, and published newspapers to publicize the colored migration. Singleton criticized Frederick Douglass and other Republicans for opposing the freedmen's exodus from the South, saying, "Such men as this should not be leaders of our race any longer." But Douglass simply argued that the Negroes should remain in the South and fight the racist attempts to reenslave them. In Nashville, Singleton plastered lettered posters announcing: "Leave for Kansas on April 15, 1878." He established a colony at Dunlap, Morris County, Kansas, in June of 1879. At least 2,407 local blacks joined the exodus.

The Nashville *Union and American* called the Black Exodus "a foolish project," and white employers supported a campaign to attract Chinese laborers to replace the black workers. By 1882, the Black Exodus had stopped. The waters of the Cumberland River washed out all traces of the black emigrants who boarded so many steamboats near Edgefield. Benjamin "Pap" Singleton died out West during the late 1880s and was buried in an unidentified grave.

Bobby L. Lovett

KELLY MILLER SMITH, SR. (1920-1984)

Kelly Miller Smith was born October 28, 1920, in the all-black town of Mount Bayou, Mississippi, to Terry Monroe and Priscilla (Anderson) Smith. He received his early education in Mound Bayou and was graduated in 1938 from the Magnolia Avenue High School in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Later in 1938, Smith entered Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College. After being called to the ministry, however, he transferred to Morehouse College and completed the bachelor's degree in religion by 1942. Smith furthered



his education at Howard University, where he earned the Master of Divinity degree and from which he later (1976) received an honorary doctorate degree.

The Reverend Smith served as pastor for the Mount Heroden Baptist Church congregation in Vicksburg, Mississippi, from 1946 to 1951. In May of 1951, he became pastor of Nashville's First Colored Baptist Church (First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill) on Eighth Avenue, North. At this church Smith spent the remainder of his life, building a magnificent new church edifice in 1972, inaugurating new programs, and completing the Kelly Miller Smith Towers, a high-rise apartment complex for the elderly, in 1980.

When the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its *Brown versus Topeka Board of Education* (1954) decision against school segregation, Smith was president of the Nashville chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1955, he joined twelve other black parents in a federal suit to achieve desegregation in Nashville public schools.

In 1958, the Reverend Smith founded the Nashville Christian Leadership Council and served as president until 1963. This organization sponsored the nonviolent role in desegregating Nashville's lunch counters, hotels, and theaters. Smith, a strong advocate of nonviolence, believed that Americans would be more sympathetic to black rights if blacks obtained their rights through peaceful demonstration instead of through the judicial system. In his efforts to promote educational and economic parity for black Americans, Smith also founded a local chapter of the Opportunities Industrial Center, Incorporated, in 1969.

In the same year, he was appointed assistant dean of Vanderbilt University's Divinity School. Smith also served on the faculties of Natchez College, Alcorn College, and American Baptist Theological Seminary. Other honors he received included being chosen one of *Ebony* magazine's "Ten Most Outstanding Preachers in America"; one of *Nashville* magazine's "Ten Most Influential Citizens" in 1977; the president of the National Conference of Black Christians; a member of the board of directors for Morehouse College's School of Religion; a member of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches; and a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In 1983, Dr. Smith delivered the prestigious Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale University. These lectures served as the basis for his final publication, *Social Crisis Preaching*

(1984). Following Kelly Miller Smith's death in 1984, he was interred in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

WILLIAM OSCAR SMITH (1917-1991)



William Oscar Smith was born in Bartow, Georgia, to William O. and Ida B. Smith on May 2, 1917. Due to threats his father received from local white supremacists, six months after Smith's birth the family moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Reared in Philadelphia, W. O. received his education in the city schools and was graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School. After graduating from high school, he entered the Mastbaum Vocational School of Music. Subsequent to attending Mastbaum, Smith matriculated at Lincoln University and in 1937 entered New York University (NYU), New York City. While a student at NYU, Smith, a bassist, gained practical music experience playing with noted persons such as Bessie Smith, Fats Waller, Dizzy Gillespie, and Coleman Hawkins.

Two years after he enrolled in NYU, Smith "thumped" his way into jazz history by playing for the now-classic Coleman Hawkins recording of *Body and Soul*. In June of 1942, he was graduated from NYU with a Bachelor of Arts degree. Smith continued his academic training, earning a graduate degree from the University of Texas at Austin and the Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Iowa at Iowa City.

During World War Two, Smith was stationed at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, as band director in the Thirty-seventh Special Services Company, U. S. Army. While in the service, he met a young woman named Julia (maiden name undetermined), whom he married; in 1944 they became parents of W. O. Smith, III. After his tour of military service ended, he returned to New York and taught at the Seward Park High School.

In 1945, Smith participated in a recording session with Max Roach and Dizzy Gillespie. Later in the same year, he moved to Baltimore, and at Morgan State College he

met Catherine Leeds, to whom he was married in 1948. They became the parents of three children: Jacqueline, Jay, and Joel. As he wrote in his autobiography, *Sideman: The Long Gig of W. O. Smith* (1991), when he moved to Baltimore, he "effectively left behind [his] chance to become a big name in jazz." Smith displayed his musical capability at noted spots of entertainment such as the Cotton Club and the Savoy Ballroom. In 1952, W. O. Smith and his family moved to Nashville, where he began his thirty-year tenure on the faculty of Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University. Dr. Smith's educational, musical, and cultural endeavors in his adopted city made him a force with which to be reckoned.

Subsequent to joining Tennessee State University's faculty, Smith reportedly became the second African American to become a regular member of the Nashville Symphony, playing in the viola and bass sections. His instructional experience and contact with the city's school system made him painfully aware of students who possessed a desire and aptitude for music but lacked the financial wherewithal to afford private lessons. Through a multicultural gathering of interested community members known as the Wednesday Night Club, which was founded by Smith, he articulated his desire to find a solution to the problem. In 1984, two years after Smith's retirement from Tennessee State University, his vision of a community music school came to fruition. Specifically structured to meet the needs of Nashville's low-income students, the W. O. Smith / Nashville Community Music School was the bridge between the city's public schools, where the students' multitude prevented personalized training on a one-to-one ratio, and the Blair School of Music, a private musical academy where the \$300 cost for fifteen weekly half-hour periods (payable in advance) was preclusive for under-privileged persons. The community music academy was established in the inner city at 1416 Edgehill, where it provided seven teaching studios, a waiting room, and office space.

Dr. William Oscar Smith died on May 31, 1991. His remains were interred in Woodlawn Cemetery, Nashville.

Linda T. Wynn

STONE SISTERS (1879-1975)



The Stone sisters became the proprietors of the first black-owned beauty parlor in downtown Nashville. Their business was on the corner of Sixth Avenue, North, and Union Street near the present site of the Tennessee Performing Arts Center. The sisters catered to a clientele of wealthy white women, and they introduced the first permanent-wave machine, which they learned to use at Frederick's in New York City. They sold hair pieces and wigs from France and used hair-weaving equipment, hair dryers, and hair-cutting tools, among other innovations. The sisters developed "Stone-White," a skin bleach lotion, and sold it at their beauty parlor. The Stone sisters resided at 1613 Jefferson Street, immediately across the street from Fisk University's Jubilee Hall.

Lee Stone (1879-1954), Sallie K. Stone (1881-1954), and Nannie Stone (1885-1975) began working in the early 1900s as apprentices at McIntyre Beauty Parlor, after arriving in Nashville from their birthplace in Maury County, Tennessee. The three sisters were joined by another sister, Emma Stone (1889-1934), who completed the pharmacy program at Meharry Medical College in 1907 and operated the Campus Drug Store at 1712 Jefferson Street. In 1915, the sisters bought the McIntyre Beauty Parlor from its white owner, May McIntyre, for the sum of \$500. The sisters operated the lucrative business until the 1930s. The Luke Leas, the Percy Warners, the Robert Cheeks, and other prominent white families frequented the Stone sisters' downtown establishment.

Two other sisters were not involved in the beauty parlor business: Augusta (1876-1917) and Hortense (1883-1959). Augusta married Jefferson D. Fowler, a physician and teacher at Meharry. Hortense, the mother of the author of this article, married George Richardson White, a former dental student at Meharry.

The mother of the Stone sisters, Sallie Brooks Stone (1858-1923), was born a slave. The father of the girls, John Secrest, was a prosperous white Jewish planter in Maury County. The girls inherited some Indian blood from their maternal grandmother, Sallie.

The Stone sisters held membership at the Gay Street Christian Church. Lee, Nannie, and Emma sang in the church's choir. The Stone family was compassionate and sensitive to the issue of racial oppression. The mother often visited the sick and gave money and food to the poor. The sisters unsuccessfully used money and influence to gain the release of a black Knoxville man accused of killing a white woman in 1919.

The Stone sisters, except for Nannie, are buried in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery. Nannie was buried in California with her husband, dentist Thomas H. Grantham.

Emma White Bragg

SUNDAY SCHOOL PUBLISHING BOARD OF THE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED (1915-)



In September of 1915, at the annual session of the National Baptist Convention, United States of America, held in Chicago, Illinois, the convention split over issues concerning the ownership and control of the National Baptist Publishing Board, of which Robert H. Boyd was secretary. With this chasm, the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, United States of America, Incorporated (SSPB, NBC, USA, Inc.), came into existence. The administrators of the National

Baptist Convention, Incorporated (NBCI), under the leadership of the Reverend Elias Camp Morris, established the SSPB in Nashville. It was housed at 409 Gay Street and, for the first five years of operation, was under the direction of attorney Solomon P. Harris and the Reverend William Haynes. During their tenure in office, Harris and Haynes set about the task of fashioning the NBCI's publishing board. They instituted *The Baptist Voice*, which was prepared for publication and edited by the Reverend J. D. Crenshaw of Nashville. Under the joint leadership of Harris and Haynes, the infant publishing board endeavored to meet the needs of the NBCI. However, it was with the calling of the Reverend Dr. Arthur Melvin Townsend as secretary that the Sunday School Publishing Board moved into a phase of productive growth.

In 1920, the Reverend Dr. A. M. Townsend was called by the NBCI to take over the leadership of its Sunday School Publishing Board. A graduate of Roger Williams University and Meharry Medical College, Dr. Townsend practiced medicine in Nashville and served on the faculty of Meharry Medical College until 1913. It was during 1913 that he began his five-year tenure as president of Roger Williams University. In 1918, Dr. Townsend resigned as president of the university to accept the pastorate of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Memphis, Tennessee. He held this position for two years, before becoming secretary of the NBCI Sunday School Publishing Board.

Within a year after Dr. Townsend assumed leadership of the Sunday School Publishing Board, there were more than thirty employees and modern printing equipment was installed. The Sunday School Publishing Board was in need of new facilities. Officers of the Convention assigned this task to a committee of three, headed by Dr. Townsend, and authorized purchase or construction of a building for the Publishing Board. Dr. Townsend recruited persons to traverse the country, raising funds from the Convention's various churches, associations, and individuals. With funds raised from 300 donors who each contributed \$100, he purchased the Commercial Hotel on Fourth Avenue and Charlotte, where during antebellum days slave traders gathered to discuss the buying and selling of slaves, along with other goods and merchandise.

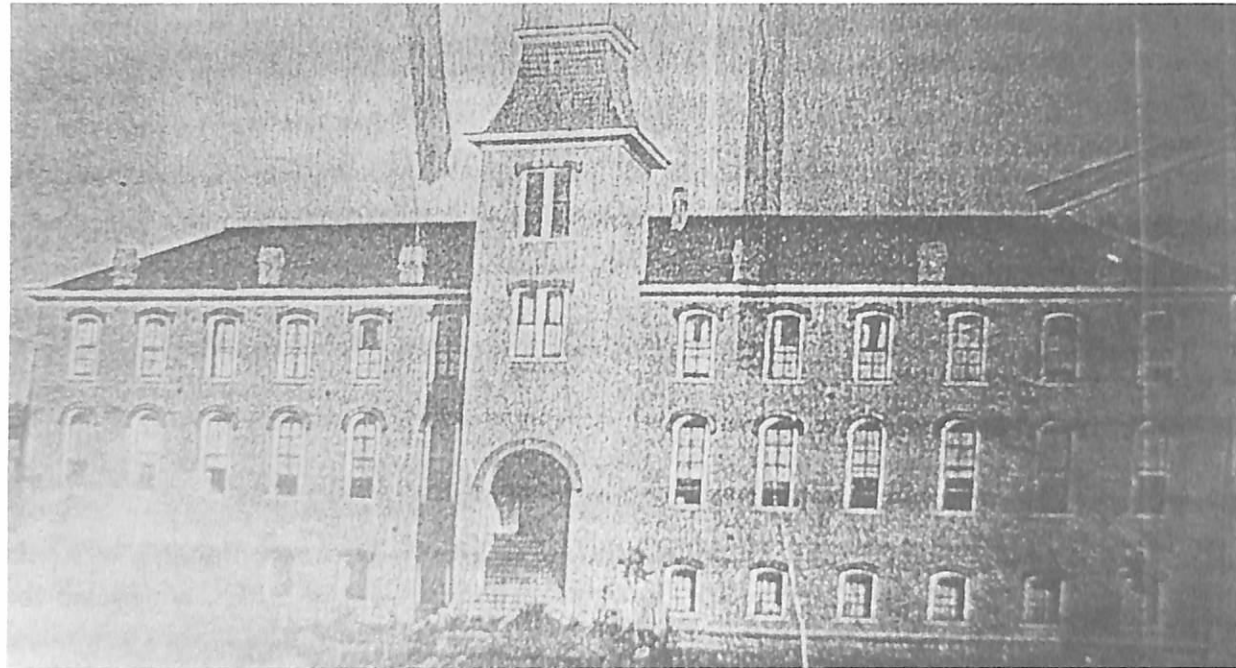
The Commercial Hotel was demolished, and Townsend hired the black architectural firm of McKissack and McKissack to design the new building. The construction contract for the new headquarters of the Sunday School Publishing Board was awarded to T. C. Windham, who also was of African descent. On May 18, 1924, the cornerstone of the building was laid. A year and a half later, the building opened on October 19, 1925. Sixty years after the ending of slavery, descendants of former slaves built and equipped a building valued at more than \$800,000. It was completely furnished and was among the most modern and best-equipped publishing houses of its kind in America. At the recommendation of President Lacey K. Williams, the building was named the Morris Memorial Building, in honor of Dr. Elias Camp Morris, who served the NBCI as president for more than a quarter of a century (1894-1922). Five years after the erection of its new building, the Sunday School Publishing Board published Louis G. Jordan's *National Baptist History, U.S.A., 1750-1930*.

In less than twenty years, the mortgage on the Morris Memorial Building was paid off. On November 10, 1942, Dr. D. V. Jeminson, president of the NBCI, conducted the formal mortgage-burning ceremony. The "lamp lighter," as Dr. A. M. Townsend was known, continued to lead the Sunday School Publishing Board of the NBCI in a progressive fashion until his death on April 29, 1959. Following his demise, the Reverend Charles L. Dinkins, who was assistant secretary of the publishing board, served as acting secretary until the NBCI met in annual session the following September. At that meeting, the NBCI passed the torch to Dr. D. C. Washington. He served as executive director of the Sunday School Publishing Board for the next fifteen years. Upon the death of Dr. Washington in September of 1974, Cecelia Nabrit Adkins served as interim executive director. Adkins had many firsts to her credit as an employee of the Sunday School Publishing Board. She was the first woman to serve as chief accountant, fiscal agent, and personnel director of the denominational publishing board. In January of 1975, during the mid-winter meeting of the NBCI, she was elected as executive director of the Sunday School Publishing Board. With this election, Dr. Adkins made denominational history and continued to add to her list of firsts by becoming the first woman and the first lay person named as executive director of the Sunday School Publishing Board. Not only did she become the first woman to head the Sunday School Publishing Board, but with her election she became the first woman administrator to lead a denominational publishing establishment--an operation serving more than 35,000 Baptist churches, with a constituency of approximately eight million persons.

Today, the Sunday School Publishing Board continues to prosper. It not only publishes Sunday school and religious materials, it also publishes works on church administration, denominational history, and renown personages who have made invaluable contributions to the culture and history of African Americans.

Linda T. Wynn

SWIFT MEMORIAL COLLEGE (1883-1955)



William Henderson Franklin, one of the first African-American graduates of Maryville College, was born in 1852 in Knoxville, Tennessee, to slave parents Henderson and Elizabeth (Bates) Franklin. He received his early education in the city's church-operated academies. Later, he was graduated from Maryville College, one of the few white schools of higher learning in the state that accepted students of African heritage. After completing the required course work at Maryville College, Franklin entered Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, and was graduated in 1883. Subsequent to his graduation, Franklin was sent to Rogersville, Tennessee, to establish a Presbyterian Church and assist the city's African-American populace. The Reverend Franklin became pastor of St. Marks Presbyterian Church in Rogersville (Hawkins County).

The same year he arrived in Rogersville, the Reverend Franklin established Swift Memorial Institute and served as its principal and later as its president. For ten years, classes were conducted in the church. Ten years after the school's founding, the academy's first structure was actualized and named in honor of the Reverend Elijah E. Swift, president of the Board of Missions for Freedmen and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Pennsylvania. In 1901, because the state's legislative body enacted a statute that closed

Maryville College's doors to African Americans, the school's board of trustees voted to convey \$25,000 of its endowment to Swift Memorial Institute. The \$25,000 transfer carried with it the prerequisite that the Board of Missions for Freedmen erect a dormitory for male students and that the educational institution be elevated to a four-year college. Through the endeavors of Dr. Mary E. Holmes of Rockford, Illinois, and friends of Dr. Swift, the Freedmen's Board built a three-story men's dormitory in 1903. A year later, Swift Memorial Institute became Swift Memorial College offering a four-year curriculum. By 1913, the women's dormitory was inadequate to meet the school's needs, and two wings were added to the main building for dormitory use.

Under President Franklin's leadership, the school experienced growth and prosperity. Franklin retired at the end of the 1926 academic year, and he was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. C. E. Tucker, pastor of the Leonard Street Presbyterian Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee. During the beginning of Dr. Tucker's administration, the Tennessee Board of Education began its program of evaluating all educational institutions. The state board gave Swift credit for only one year of its four-year curriculum. Dr. Turner began the process of reorganizing the school. Three years later, the curriculum was standardized and two years of fully accredited college courses were offered. Swift Memorial College became Swift Memorial Junior College. As a junior college, the school flourished and continued its mission of providing an education to students from Tennessee and other southern states.

After ten years of untiring service, Tucker retired at the end of 1935-36 school year and was succeeded by Dr. Hargrave, head of the English and education departments. Dr. Hargrave retired in 1941 and was followed by Robert E. Lee, who had served the college since 1926 as a teacher, coach, and dean. Under his management, many changes were implemented, including the addition of the Industrial Arts Department, a gymnasium, a home economics cottage, and an expanded library.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the National Board of Missions began reassessing the feasibility of operating the twenty schools located in the South. The National Board of Missions for Freedmen discontinued its support for Swift Memorial in 1952. However, with assistance from the local board of directors and from funds obtained from public sources, receipts from students, and gifts from alumni and friends, Lee was able to keep the school operational until 1955.

In 1955, Swift Memorial Junior College closed. The boys' dormitory was used by the Hawkins County Board of Education as a public high school, and William T. Blevins, a Swift alumnus of Rogersville, was hired as principal. The building was used as a high school until 1964, when Hawkins County schools were desegregated.

Linda T. Wynn

MOTHER MARY MAGDELENA L. TATE (1871-1930)



Saint Mary Magdalena L. Tate is recognized as the founder of the First Holiness Movement in the United States. The Church of God, a member of the Holiness - Pentecostal denomination, is located in dozens of states and Jamaica, with headquarters in Nashville (since 1924).

Saint Mary Magdalena L. Tate was born January 3, 1871. During her youth, because of her character and demeanor, she was called "Miss Do Right." Mary Tate's followers were known as "The Do Rights."

Mary Magdalena L. Tate became known by many of her faithful followers as Mother Tate. This unique black woman, along with her two sons, Walter Curtis Lewis and Feliz

Early Lewis, in 1903 founded and established the House of God, which is "the Church of the Living God, the Pillar and the Ground of the Truth Without Controversy" (1 Timothy 3:15-16). (Cited hereafter as House of God.)

After she was ordained by God, Mother Tate boldly preached "the Gospel in cleanliness of the word of God and of things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." Many persons were amazed and wondered at the demonstration of the Gospel, which was preached by this blessed servant of God. She preached her first sermon at Brooklyn, Illinois. In 1907, Mother Mary Magdalena climaxed a career as a world evangelist of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In Alabama, over 900 persons were converted to Christianity through her preaching. She boldly went into the water and baptized many of the converts through the physical strength given her by the Lord's power.

Mother Tate was baptized in 1908 and was approved and accepted as Chief Apostle Elder, president, and first chief overseer of the formally organized church in Greenville, Alabama. Additionally, she was ordained to the Bishopric by the Board of Trustees and Bishops of the Church of God. Mother Tate organized and presided over the First General Assembly of the Church of God from June 25 to July 5, 1908, in Greenville. A number of ministers were ordained, and several pastors were appointed at this meeting.

In 1910, the first Church of God was established in Waycross, Georgia. During the following year, the first Georgia State Assembly of the Church of God was held in Waycross,

where the first presiding elders were appointed and pastors received financial support from the general church.

One of the most significant developments in the Church of God was the creation of the Decree (Covenant) Book during the 1914 General Assembly at Quitman, Georgia. Also at this meeting, four state bishops were appointed to serve in Georgia. Also in 1914, Mother Tate organized the first Church of God in Florida in the city of Ocala. The first Florida State General Assembly followed at Ocala.

By 1916, under the leadership of Mother Tate, charters were issued to Church of God members in more than twenty states and the District of Columbia. Between 1930 and 1962, fourteen state charters were granted to establish the Church of God. Four more states were added to the Church of God roster by 1981. By 1992, some forty-three states and Jamaica were chartered by the Church of God.

In 1924, the Church of God's headquarters was established on Heiman Street in Nashville, Tennessee. The original building, although no longer used for services, still stands on Heiman Street. The present headquarters sanctuary was dedicated in 1981. The Church of God, a member of the Holiness-Pentecostal denomination, has experienced the greatest growth in membership of any Christian organization in the United States of America.

Mother Mary Magdalena L. Tate died on December 28, 1930, and was buried in the family plot in Dickson, Tennessee. Her remains were relocated in Nashville's historic Greenwood Cemetery in 1963. A marker to memorialize Mother Tate was erected near the entrance to the cemetery.

F. Dovie Shuford

GEORGIA GORDON TAYLOR (1855-1913)

Georgia Gordon Taylor, a native Nashvillian, was an original Fisk University Jubilee Singer. She entered Fisk in 1868 and remained a student in the literary department. She took music lessons from George L. White before becoming a Jubilee Singer in 1872. Georgia was among the first group of singers to tour the United States and Europe in 1872-73, when the Jubilee Singers appeared before Queen Victoria in England. After returning to America, Georgia married the Reverend Preston Taylor, founder of Greenwood Cemetery and Lea Avenue Christian (Disciples of Christ) Church. In 1978, Georgia Gordon Taylor was posthumously awarded a bachelor's degree by Walter Leonard, president of Fisk University.

Georgia Gordon was eighteen years old when she went to Europe in 1873. She sits in a Victorian chair with her feet on a footstool at the extreme right of the oil painting by Haverhill, Queen Victoria's artist-friend, who was so fascinated with the Jubilee Singers' music that he offered his services free of charge to the Queen to paint the group's portrait. This famous oil portrait now hangs in the Appleton Room of Jubilee Hall on Fisk University's campus.

Georgia was born in 1855 in Nashville, Tennessee, to a mulatto mother, Mercy Duke Gordon (1833-1890), and a slave father, George Gordon (1830-1870). Mercy's mother was white, and the law required that children of free mothers were free. Between 1620 and 1820, most American mulattoes had white mothers and black fathers. Mercy had another child, Elwina, born in 1848 and fathered by a white man (a "Doctor Warner") before she married the black slave, George Gordon. It also was common for slaves and free blacks to marry each other. Free blacks comprised nearly twenty-two percent of Nashville's population by 1860, and mulattoes (persons of black and white parentage) made up more than half of the town's free Negroes. Some slaves, perhaps like George Gordon, were quasi-independent persons, who were allowed to live in their free spouse's household, hire out their own time, and pay part of their wages to their owner. Because Mercy was a free person, all of her children were born free, even though Georgia's father was a slave. Mercy and George had two children: Governor B. (1853-1870) and Georgia.

Georgia married Preston Taylor (1849-1931) and had one child, Preston G. Taylor (1890-91); she was broken-hearted over the death of her seven-month-old son. She became her husband's constant companion, but she gave freely of her singing ability as a soprano soloist throughout Nashville's black community.

Following her death in 1913, Georgia Gordon Taylor was buried in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery on Elm Hill Pike, where a magnificent and beautiful monument marks her resting place. A plaque denotes that she was an original Jubilee Singer, and her experiences with the Jubilee Singers are well documented in the Special Collections section of the Fisk University Library.

Emma W. Bragg



PRESTON TAYLOR (1849-1931)



Preston Taylor was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, on November 7, 1849, of slave parents. Taylor served as a drummer boy in the Union army during the siege of Richmond, Virginia. After the Civil War, he traveled throughout the North, but settled at Mount Sterling, Kentucky, as a minister. Deeply affected by the exclusion of Negroes from local Reconstruction projects, Taylor secured a contract to build several sections of the Big Sandy Railway from Mount Sterling to Richmond, Virginia. After this successful business venture and extensive work in the Christian (Disciples of Christ) Church, he moved to Nashville.

Taylor arrived in Nashville around 1884. By the early years of the twentieth century, he had become one of Nashville's most influential black business and religious leaders. He married Georgia Gordon, one of the original Fisk Jubilee Singers. Their son, Preston, died as an infant in 1891, and Mrs. Taylor died in 1913. Taylor then married Ida D. Mallory.

In 1887, Taylor purchased thirty-seven acres of land near "Buttermilk Ridge" at Elm Hill Pike and Spence Lane. Upon this dairy land, in 1888, he established Nashville's second oldest cemetery for blacks, Greenwood. Also in 1888, he founded Taylor Funeral Company at 449 North Cherry Street (now Fourth Avenue).

In 1905, he extended his holdings with the purchase of thirty-seven and a half acres of land near the corner of Spence Lane and Lebanon Road, for the purpose of establishing the Greenwood Recreational Park for Negroes. The park was elaborate, with fountains, gardens, shows, good stands, a baseball park, rides, band stands, and special attractions. The annual State Colored Fair was held there, where at times some 14,000 persons attended in a single day. His horse-drawn "pleasure wagons" met the electric streetcars at the Green-Fairfield Street turnaround and took the customers to the Lebanon Road entrance of the park. Mysterious fires threatened twice to destroy the park. Otherwise, there was no challenge to Greenwood Park until the first city-owned park for Negroes, Hadley Park, was opened in July of 1912. Taylor's business ventures made him a wealthy man.

After moving to Nashville, Taylor became minister of the Gay Street Christian Church, founded in 1855 as the Negro congregation of the white Vine Street First Christian Church. In 1891, due to a controversy, the Reverend Taylor and a part of the congregation

left the Gay Street Colored Christian Church and established a church in a doctor's office building on Spruce Street (now Eighth Avenue). In 1903, the congregation completed a church building on Lea Avenue near Lafayette Street. After Taylor's death, the two congregations united into today's Gay-Lea Christian Church, located on Osage Street.

Among his other activities were the organization in 1917 of the National Colored Christian Missionary Convention and involvement in the establishment of Tennessee State Agricultural and Industrial State Normal College in 1909. He also helped organize several other Nashville black businesses, including the One Cent (Citizens) Savings and Trust Company Bank.

As a businessman, undertaker, and influential minister, Preston Taylor was one of Nashville's most powerful black leaders. Upon his death in 1931, week-long ceremonies were held before his interment in Greenwood Cemetery. In 1951, a public housing project was named in his honor.

Joe E. McClure

TENT CITIES OF FAYETTE AND HAYWOOD COUNTIES (1960-1962)

In many states of the South, the voting rights granted Americans of African descent under the United States Constitution's Fifteenth amendment were nothing more than unfulfilled promises drafted on parchment. Not until the ratification of the 24th Amendment in 1964 was the poll tax rescinded in federal elections. Other contrivances implemented to impede the Negroes' right to vote were not abrogated until the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Two years prior to John and Viola McFerren and C. P. Boyd leading the Negro voter registration drives in two of Tennessee's southwestern counties, on September 9, 1957, the Eighty-fifth United States Congress enacted the first civil rights bill since 1875. This civil rights legislation, among other things, empowered the U. S. government to initiate civil suits in federal courts where any individual or group was prohibited from or threatened for exercising their right to vote.

In 1959, blacks in Fayette and Haywood counties fought for the right to vote. The McFerrens of Fayette County and C. P. Boyd of Haywood County shared the same concern about the constitution. This concern was ignited by the absence of Negro jurors for the Burton Dodson trial. Dodson, an African-American farmer in his seventies was on trial for the alleged 1941 murder of a white man. Because African Americans were intrinsically denied their rights to participate in the electoral process, they were omitted from the pool of potential jurors. John McFerren and others from Fayette County formed the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc., and C. P. Boyd and others formed the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League. One of the primary objectives of both leagues was to initiate a voter-register drive.

Following the 1959 formation of the leagues, a number of African Americans registered to vote at the respective courthouses. However, when the Democratic primary was held in August, those registered African Americans were not allowed to cast their ballots. Leagues members filed suit against the local Democratic party, and in 1960 the court gave African Americans their first taste of victory. According to a statement by a United States Justice Department official published in the 17 November 1959, edition of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, this was the first legal action filed against a party primary under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Fayette County's residents of European descent began using their economic dominance to castigate African Americans who defied the southern code and refused "to stay in their place." Many lost employment, credit, and insurance policies. Whites refused to sell them goods and services. White physicians withheld medical care from their African - American patients. Without notice in the winter of 1960, white property owners evicted more than 400 African-American tenant families from their lands. The leadership of the league did not capitulate to such unconscionable retaliation. Without hesitation and with the support of Shephard Towles, a self-determining African-American property owner, they formed a makeshift community know as "Tent City."

The authorities and civilians of Haywood County also sought to repress African Americans. Those who registered to vote were evicted by their landlords, their credit was canceled, merchants distributed names to determine with whom and who not to do business. A much smaller Tent City, of approximately thirty families, went up in Haywood County. Surplus army tents were erected and homeless families prepared themselves to face the piercing winds of winter. The substitute encampments became an undaunted declaration against white oppression and an unrestrained manifesto of African-American self-esteem.

By the end of 1960, the racial ferocity endured by African Americans in Fayette and Haywood Counties attracted national attention. An expose' by Ted Poston in the New York *Post* brought the activities of the Fayette County League before the citizens of the country. On November 18, 1960, the Justice Department amended a lawsuit it had brought in September to include thirty-six additional landowners who had evicted their tenant farmers.

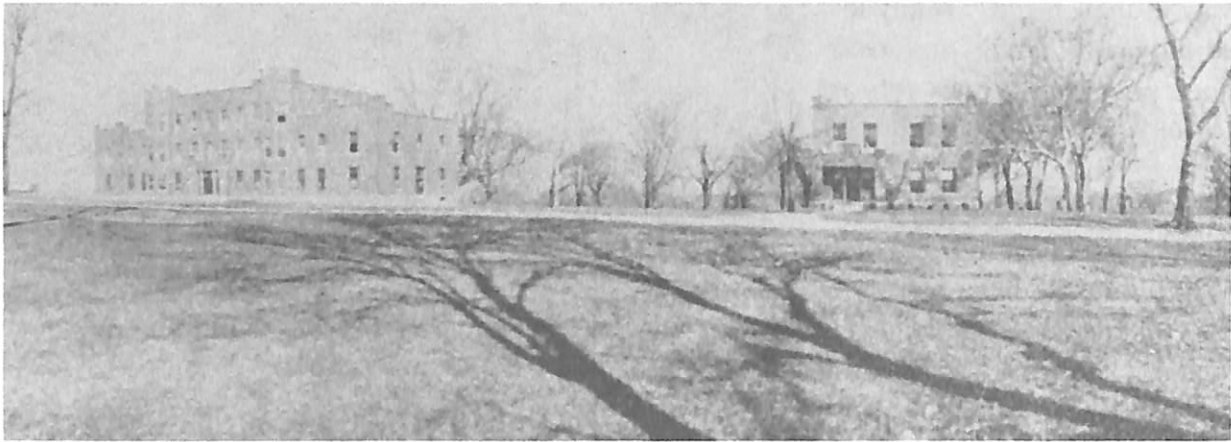


On December 14, 1960, the Justice Department filed suit against forty-five landowners, twenty-four merchants, and one financial institution in Fayette County for violating the civil rights of African Americans. On July 26, 1962, the "landowners were permanently enjoined from 'engaging in any acts. . .for the purpose of interfering with the right of any person to register to vote and to vote for candidates for public office.'"

Because of Viola McFerren and the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc., the Tennessee Historical Commission erected a historical marker commemorating "Tent City."

Linda T. Wynn

TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY (1912-)



In 1909, the Tennessee General Assembly authorized a state normal school (teacher training institution) for each grand division of the state and one for Tennessee's 472,987 "colored people." As cities and towns competed for placement of these schools, the leaders of Afro-American Nashville used their influence to have the black school built in Davidson County.

During the campaign for the state normal school, Nashville's Negro Board of Trade gave its support. Benjamin Carr organized the Colored Agricultural and Industrial Association as an official lobby group. Preston Taylor, the wealthy black undertaker, solicited funds door to door. Leaders like W. S. Ellington, Henry Allen Boyd, T. Clay Moore, and James C. Napier appeared before numerous legislative sessions until black Nashville received the support of the governor and the mayor. The Davidson County Court also agreed to provide an appropriation to help build the school. At the end of 1910, it was decided that the school would be built in Nashville, not in Chattanooga.

The campaign for the new school took place in a period of growing black influence in Nashville. In January of 1911, Benjamin Carr, formerly of Hickman County, became the Negro advisor to newly-elected Republican Governor Ben W. Hooper, and in February

President William Howard Taft appointed James C. Napier Register of the U. S. Treasury. In September of 1911, a heavy black voter turnout elected black attorney Samuel P. Harris to the city council; he was Nashville's first black councilman since J. C. Napier's service ended in 1885. In November of 1911, blacks were allowed a section in Nashville's Ryman Auditorium to hear President Taft speak. And by 1912, Democratic presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson was counting local black voters.

Meanwhile, the site selected for the new school was two miles west of Fisk University. It consisted of a part of the old Hadley plantation (once home to thirty-four slaves), of which sixty-seven acres of land were sold by the First Bank and Realty Company. On the site was a former Civil War redoubt called Zollicoffer Hill. A physical plant, consisting of dormitories for girls and boys, a main building with offices and classrooms, and several small farm buildings were built at a cost of over \$80,000.

Chattanooga's William J. Hale, a former high-school principal, was appointed the principal of the new school. He personally supervised the construction of the buildings and the organization of the Tennessee State Normal curriculum. Incidentally, Hale gained acceptance from clannish black Nashville by marrying a local girl, Hattie Hodgkins, in November of 1913.

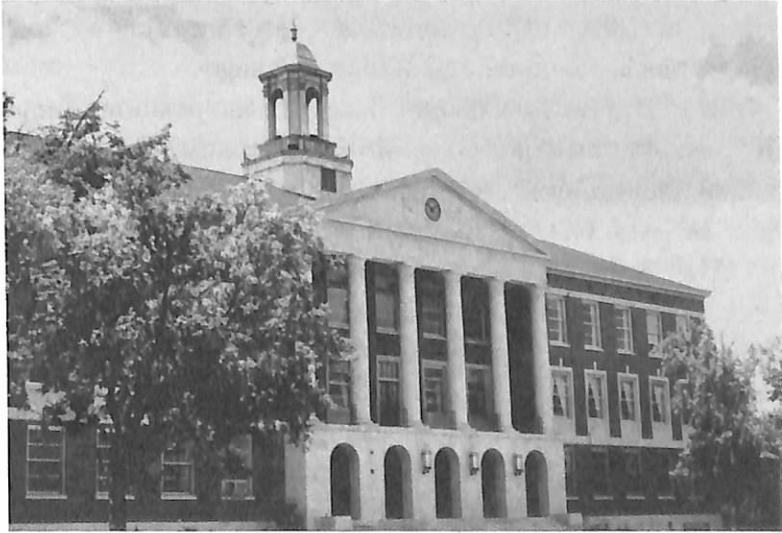
On June 21, 1912, the school's doors opened to summer-session students. On September 20, the fall term began with 300 students. On February 7, 1913, Booker T. Washington toured the facility and praised its cleanliness, a move that further solidified local white support for Hale. The first commencement exercise took place on May 23, 1913, and the formal dedication ceremonies were held on November 11, 1913.

In June of 1924, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial Normal School for Negroes granted its first college degree. President Hale resigned in 1943 and was followed by presidents Walter S. Davis (1943-68), Andrew P. Torrence (1968-74), and Frederick S. Humphries (1974-1985).

In 1979, under federal court order, the institution merged with the University of Tennessee's Nashville branch and became the expanded Tennessee State University. By becoming a comprehensive, doctoral-degree - granting institution, Tennessee State University gained

new presidential leadership: Roy Peterson (acting, 1985-1986), Otis L. Floyd (1986-1990), George W. Cox (acting, 1990-91), and James A. Hefner (1991 to present).

Lois C. McDougald and Bobby L. Lovett



MARY CHURCH TERRELL (1863-1954)



Mary Church Terrell, one of the early women of color engaged in lecturing and other activities for recognition of women and Negroes, was born in Memphis on September 23, 1863, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation. Her father, Robert R. Church, Sr., a pioneer Memphis businessman, was married twice. Mary, known to members of her family as "Mollie," and her brother were born during the first marriage to Louisa, which terminated in divorce when the children were very small. Robert, Jr., and his sister, Annette, were born during the second marriage to Anna (Wright) Church.

Because of limited educational facilities in Memphis at the time, while very young she lived with close family

friends in Yellow Springs, Ohio, to attend a "Model School" connected with Antioch College. Subsequently, she attended public schools in Ohio, Oberlin Academy, and enrolled in the four-year "Classical" or "Gentleman's Course" at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, being graduated in 1884. Mary completed her education by spending two years in Europe, studying French, German, and Italian languages.

In 1891, Oberlin College offered her the position of registrar of the school, including faculty position, but she declined the offer because of her forthcoming marriage. During its centennial celebration in 1933, Oberlin recognized her as one of its one hundred outstanding alumni. In 1948, Oberlin conferred upon her the honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters.

After being graduated from college, Mary returned to Memphis and lived for a year with her father, who discouraged her interest in teaching there. He did not object when she accepted a position as a member of the faculty of Wilberforce University at Xenia, Ohio. She left Wilberforce to accept a teaching position at the M Street High School in Washington, D. C., where she met her future husband.

On October 18, 1891, in Memphis, Mary married Robert Heberton Terrell (1857-1925) at the family home, 384 South Lauderdale Street, where the ceremony and reception took place. Annette Church was the flower girl and Robert Church, Jr., was the ring bearer.

Robert Terrell was a graduate of Groton Academy, Groton, Massachusetts, and a *magna cum laude* graduate in the class of 1884 of Harvard University, Cambridge,

Massachusetts. He was graduated as valedictorian of his 1889 class at Howard University Law School, Washington, D. C., and received a master's degree in law from Howard in 1893. Terrell taught at the M Street High School in Washington, and later practiced law with John R. Lynch, a former member of the U. S. House of Representatives from Mississippi. He practiced law until he received four successive four-year Presidential appointments as judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, where he remained until ill health forced him to retire.

The Terrells were parents of two children. Phyllis and adopted daughter Mary (deceased). There were no grandchildren.

After her marriage, Mary Church Terrell made her home in Washington and maintained a summer home at Highland Beach, Maryland, which she built next to the home of Frederick Douglass. She became active in the feminist movement, founding a women's club, the Colored Woman's League, in Washington in 1892. This organization merged with the National Federation of Afro-American Women in 1896 and adopted the name National Federation of Colored Women. Mary Church Terrell was elected the first president.

She was a popular speaker and lecturer and wrote many articles denouncing segregation. Her appointment to the District of Columbia Board of Education in 1895 was a first in America for a woman of color. She resigned in 1901, was reappointed in 1906, and held the post until 1911. In 1909, she was one of two Negro women (Ida B. Wells-Barnett was the other and both were former Memphians) invited to sign the "Call" and be present at the organizational meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, thus becoming a charter member of the national organization. She assisted in the formation of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority at Howard University in 1914, accepted honorary membership, and wrote the Delta Creed, which outlined a code of conduct for young women. In World War One, she was involved with the War Camp Community Service, which aided in the recreation and, later, the demobilization of Negro servicemen. She worked in the suffrage movement, which pushed for enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Mary Church Terrell was involved in the international women's movement on three occasions. She represented colored women on the American delegation to the International Congress of Women at Berlin in 1904 and was the only woman to deliver her address in English, German, and French. Her theme was equal rights for women and Negroes wherever they may be found. In 1919, she received international recognition as a speaker on the program at the Quinquennial International Peace Conference in Zurich, and in 1937 she delivered an address before the International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faith in London. In 1940, she wrote her autobiography, *A Colored Woman In A White World*.

At age 89, she marched with her cane at the head of a picket line, carrying her sign to desegregate Kresge's store and Thompson's restaurant with members of the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the District of Columbia Anti-Discrimination Laws. The Smithsonian Institution acquired from her family a full-length oil portrait of her, which it displays periodically at its National Portrait Gallery in connection with her activities in the feminist and civil rights movements.

On July 24, 1954, Mary Church Terrell died at age 90, after a brief illness at Anne Arrundel General Hospital, Annapolis, Maryland, a short distance from her summer home at Highland Beach.

Roberta Church and Ronald Walter

ARTHUR MELVIN TOWNSEND (1875-1959)

Arthur Melvin Townsend was born on October 26, 1875, in Winchester, Tennessee, to the Reverend Dock Anderson and Emma A. (Singleton) Townsend. Townsend was a minister and the director of the Franklin County Negro Elementary Schools. Mrs. Townsend was a Shelbyville school teacher. Arthur Townsend was graduated from Roger Williams University in 1898 and in 1902 was graduated with honors from Meharry Medical College in pathology and pharmacology. While practicing medicine, he served on the Meharry faculty from 1902 until 1913. He also served as president of the Robert F. Boyd Medical Society and the State Medical Association. In 1910, he published his research on the disease pellagra in two volumes of the *Journal of the National Medical Association*. In 1923, he became the first alumnus of Meharry to serve on its board of trustees, and he served on the board for thirty-six years.



Townsend was quite active in church affairs. He served as organist in several Nashville churches and conducted Sunday school classes and missions to hospitals and jails. He met his future wife, Willa Hadley, at Spruce Street Baptist Church. From 1917 to 1957, he periodically pastored Spruce Street Baptist Church and served as pastor to Metropolitan Baptist Church of Memphis from 1918 to 1921. He became a leader of the Negro Baptist Association of Tennessee and its Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, which reestablished Roger Williams University in 1909. Townsend received an A.M. degree in 1912 and a D.D. degree in 1915 from Roger Williams University. He was president of the university from 1913 to 1918.

The scope of Dr. Townsend's activities included many facets of Afro-American culture. He was involved in the International Sunday School Association, the North

American Committee for the World Council of Christian Education, the Free and Accepted Masons, the Knights of Pythias, and the International Order of Odd Fellows. He served as the cashier of Peoples' Bank and Trust Company and as a leader in the establishment of the Masonic Home for the Aged. He received many honors, including citations for outstanding services to the church and community. Under the auspices of the National Baptist Convention, Townsend headed the committee to purchase and renovate the John Webb Bathhouse in Hot Springs, Arkansas. He also became secretary of the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. In 1926, under his leadership the Board constructed its new headquarters, known as the Morris Memorial Building, at Fourth Avenue, North, and Cedar (now Charlotte) Street. Townsend also helped to found the National Baptist Training School in 1918 and the American Baptist Theological Seminary in 1924. Twice he led the Spruce Street Baptist Church on Eighth Avenue, North, in major rebuilding programs.

On Monday, April 20, 1959, while preparing to go to his office, the builder and lamplighter died at the age of 83. He was survived by his son, Arthur, Jr. (now deceased), and grandchildren, A. M. Townsend, III, a Memphis obstetrician, and William M. Townsend, an Atlanta businessman.

Linda T. Wynn

WILLA ANN HADLEY TOWNSEND (1880-1947)



Willa Ann Hadley Townsend was born April 11, 1880, in Nashville to Sam P. and Mary Hadley. She was educated in Nashville public schools and received degrees from Fisk, Roger Williams, and Northwestern universities, as well as a degree in religious education from the National Baptist Missionary Training School. She taught in Nashville's public schools, at Roger Williams University, and at the Howe Institute in Memphis. She also served as organist and music director for Spruce Street Baptist Church, where she met and married Arthur M. Townsend, a physician.

When her husband became president of Roger Williams University, Willa Townsend served as

head of music and director of the university's singers. The Roger Williams Singers toured to raise funds and to erect three buildings on the campus. They "sang the University back into Roger Williams," a local black school that struggled to survive, but closed in December 1929.

As a hymnologist, songwriter, and music director, perhaps one of Willa Townsend's most outstanding works was the *Baptist Standard Hymnal*. She served as chairperson for the music committee for the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., and compiled and edited *Gospel Pearls and Spirituals Triumphant*. This work is still used today by many black Baptist churches. Willa Townsend also edited *The Beginner's Quarterly*, *Special Day Programs*, and other Baptist publications.

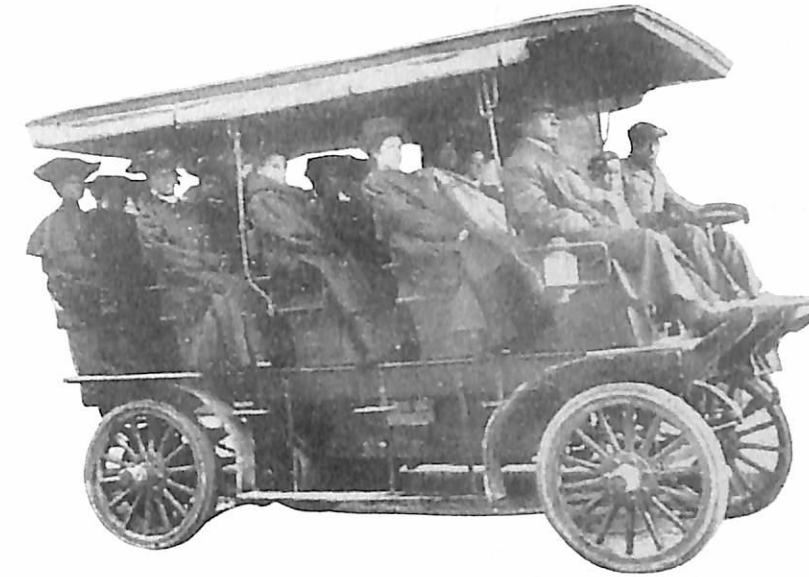
Willa Townsend was an active leader in the Sunday School Publishing Board and many other religious organizations. In 1934, she represented the board at the World's Baptist Alliance, held in Berlin, Germany. This trip afforded her the opportunity to tour the Holy Land and be baptized in the River Jordan. She was a member of the board of directors of the National Baptist Training School, president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, vice president of the Women's Auxiliary, and held many other offices at the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. She used her talents to organize a \$200,000 bond campaign to pay off the debt for the Board's Morris Memorial Building and helped to raise over \$10,000 for the Tennessee Baptist Missionary Education Convention's educational programs. She belonged to several civic organizations, including the Women's Auxiliary of the Nashville Medical Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Willa A. Townsend died on Sunday morning, May 25, 1947. Her funeral was held on May 30, when the president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., the mayor, and other public officials and religious leaders paid their final respects to this educator, hymnologist, music director, civic and social leader. Willa Townsend is interred in the Townsend Mausoleum in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

UNION TRANSPORTATION COMPANY (1905-1907)

The Union Transportation Company was chartered on August 29, 1905, because of Tennessee's new streetcar segregation law (July, 1905). The company was capitalized at \$25,000, in shares of ten dollars each. The incorporators were leaders of black Nashville: Preston Taylor, president; George W. Henderson, treasurer; Richard Henry Boyd, purchasing agent; James C. Napier; C. Victor Roman; Bishop Evans Tyree; George W. Washington; William D. Chappelle; Luke Mason; T. G. Ewing; J. W. Grant; H. T. Noel; A. T. Sanders; J. G. Merrill; Robert Robertson; and William Beckham.



The Union Transportation Company was organized to provide "a convenient transportation for Negro messengers, merchandise, traffic and freight throughout the cities and towns of Tennessee and the United States." Although the charter was worded to allow for the operation of streetcar facilities in other parts of Tennessee, Nashville was its immediate goal. News of the new business venture and the appearance of a temporary system of horses and

wagons for transporting black passengers around the city gave new life to the two-month-old boycott. The white street railway operators endured economic hardship in the face of determination exhibited by black Nashvillians. For example, the Nashville Transit Company reportedly lost \$500 per week by mid-September.

The purchasing agent for the Union Transportation Company, Richard H. Boyd, bought five large (fifteen passenger) steam-propelled automobiles and took an option to buy twenty more vehicles. The company employed ten men, and the officers donated their time. The autobuses arrived in Nashville on September 29, and the dedication ceremonies were held in Watkins Park on October 2, 1905. The regular lines of travel were started on Tuesday, October 3. Four of the five cars were in constant service and a fifth car was held in reserve.

The Union Transportation Company soon experienced problems. The steam-propelled buses lacked adequate power to traverse the steep grades of Nashville's terrain and keep regular schedules. To correct the problem, the company's officers traded the machines for fourteen electric automobiles that carried twenty passengers each. Emboldened by the support of the *Nashville Globe*, the company put its electric cars into operation in January of 1906. After having its batteries ruined by overcharging at the Nashville Railway and Light Company's facilities, the Union Transportation Company installed its own dynamo and electric-generating equipment at the Nashville Baptist Publishing Board's facilities. This proved to be a futile effort, because the batteries could not be adequately charged by the new generator.

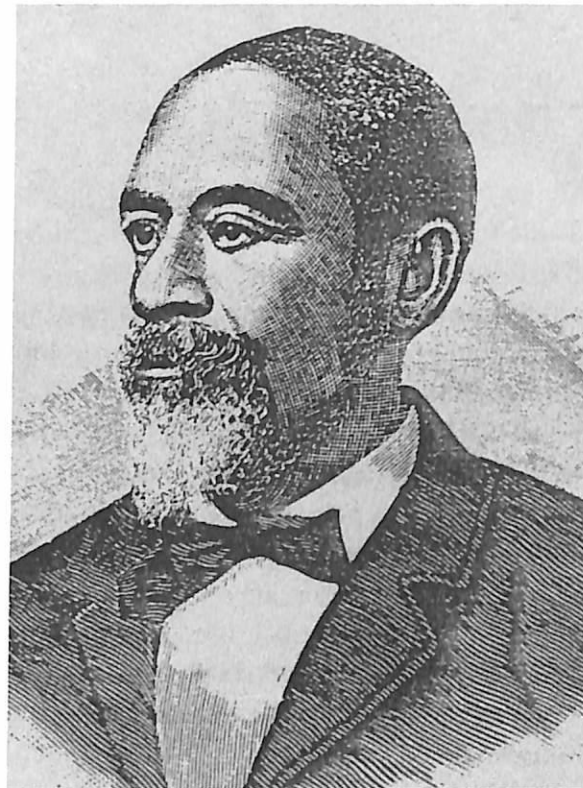
The demise of Union Transportation was waiting in the wings. The impetus required to maintain the enormous financial undertaking had ceased, and payment on the subscribed stock slowed. In addition, in April of 1906 the City of Nashville indicated its plan to levy an annual privilege tax of \$42 per car. These taxes and persistent battery trouble caused the company to cease operations by mid-summer. In 1907, Boyd sold the company's cars to the Jamestown Exposition in Virginia.

Black Nashvillians were brought to the gateway of significant black enterprise and victory over Jim Crow by the Union Transportation Company.

Linda T. Wynn

RANDALL B. VANDAVALL (1832-1898)

Randall Bartholomew Vandavall was born a slave on March 23, 1832, near Neely's Bend, about ten miles above Nashville on the Cumberland River. He was one of eleven children born to slaves Sylvonia and Lewis. The mother came from Virginia to Middle Tennessee as a baby; the father was a coachman. When the mother died, the owner hired the large family to local employers. Randall's father was no longer able to make his weekly visits to see his family.



Young Randall's new employer forced him to sleep on the ground. Later he slept in the white family's house and attended school with the master's sons. Now living in Nashville, at age sixteen Randall joined the First Colored Baptist Mission and later professed to be a preacher. He became a slave to two more owners and worked on a railroad. After returning to Nashville from the railroad construction project, Randall became a "quasi-independent slave" by paying his owner \$200 per year from his wages as a drayman (taxi driver). He married Martha Nicholson, a slave whose master also allowed her to hire out to others. These kinds of arrangements were common in a boom town like antebellum Nashville, where twenty-two percent of the blacks were free persons and a quarter of the slaves were hired out. Just before the Civil War began, Randall arranged for a friendly white lawyer to obtain an \$1800 loan to purchase his and Martha's freedom.

Vandavall was elected pastor of the "African Mission," a black congregation established in January of 1862 by the white Spring Street (Central) Baptist Church. The Union army arrived in the city in February and forced the Spring Street Church's pastor and

Confederate-sympathizing members to flee, thereby causing the "African Mission" to disintegrate before it could firmly establish itself as a black church.

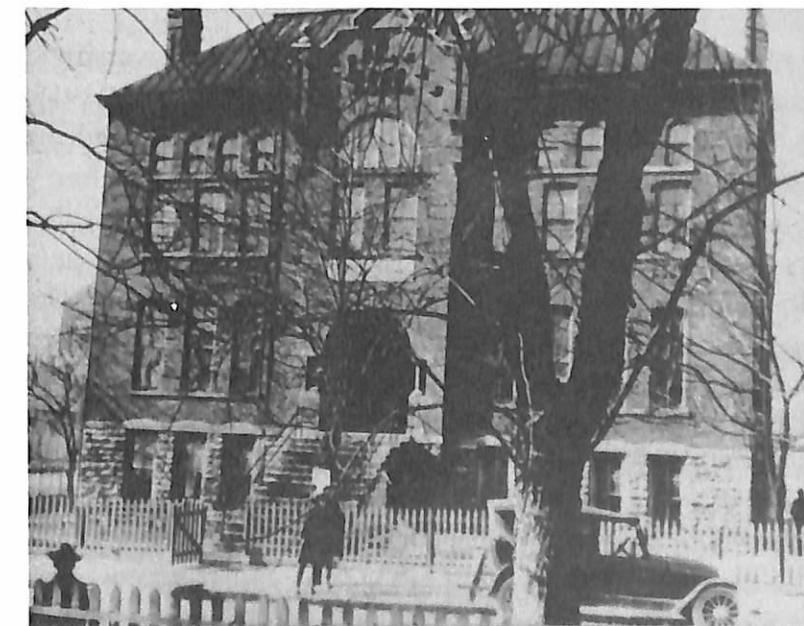
Two years later, the Spring Street Baptist Church reopened with a white minister from the North. Vandavall's fortunes rose again in 1864 when the new minister, Daniel W. Phillips, recruited him to help form the "Baptist College" to train black preachers. In 1866, this school became the Nashville Normal and Theological Institution (Roger Williams University) on Sixteenth Avenue, North, where Phillips served as president and Vandavall became one of the trustees.

In 1866, Vandavall formed the Second Colored Baptist Church ("Vandavall's Baptist Church," later named First Baptist Church of East Nashville). The congregation worshipped in Vandavall's home on Berry and Second streets in Edgefield before moving to the old Union army barracks on Mark and Stevens streets and later to McClure's Hall on Woodland between Second and Third streets.

Vandavall rose to prominence in black Nashville. Edgefield's black public school at Wetmore and Spring streets was named in his honor in 1880, and Roger Williams University awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree in 1886. He served on the Negro Committee of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897. The Reverend Vandavall's name sometimes appears in historical sources as "Venable, Vandervill, Vandervall, and Vandevall." He was pastor of the First Baptist Church of East Nashville until his death in 1898.

Bobby L. Lovett

WALDEN UNIVERSITY (1868-1925)



Walden University began as a school for freedmen under the sponsorship of northern Methodist Episcopal Church missionaries. In late 1865, the Reverend A.A. Gee and others began classes for freedmen in Andrew Chapel M. E. Church (now Clark Memorial M. E. Church), moving in 1866 to the old Confederate gun factory on College Street (now Third Avenue, South). After the Nashville public schools opened in September of 1867, the school was chartered as

Central Tennessee College, under the Reverend W. B. Crichlow. The school's board of trustees attempted to purchase land on Rutledge Hill, but white residents obtained a court order to block the sale. In 1868, Central Tennessee College purchased the Nance property on Maple Street (now First Avenue, South), where the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands helped to finance the construction of two brick buildings.

Central Tennessee College operated from 1870 to 1900 under John Braden, a Union army chaplain. By 1874, the school's 240 pupils studied grammar and secondary and normal (classical and teacher training) subjects. During Braden's presidency, the school began to issue college degrees.

In 1876, the Meharry Medical Department was added to Central Tennessee College. The head of the department was Dr. George Whipple Hubbard (1841-1921), a teacher for the Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Commission and former principal of Nashville's first Negro public school, Bellview.

During the 1880s, Central Tennessee College grew rapidly and added several new departments: law (1877-1882), industrial art (1885), dentistry (1886), and pharmacy (1889). In the 1890s, the school expanded its female and industrial education opportunities, adding a nursing department in 1892. Young female students also could learn domestic science in such courses as sewing, cooking, and home economics. Around 1895, the students attempted to stage a rebellion while demanding more black faculty members, but they quieted down because of respect for "old man Braden" and his life-long devotion to freedmen's education.

In 1900, the name of the school was changed to Walden University, in honor of Bishop John Morgan Walden, formerly a freedmen's missionary. Then the school had thirteen departments, a faculty of sixty-eight, and 1,360 alumnae. Thereafter, the suitability and success of Walden declined. In 1911, for example, the school graduated only one law student. Walden University found it increasingly difficult to attract grammar and high school students after the Tennessee Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal State School was opened in Nashville in 1912.

Alumnus Edward A. White became the first black president of Walden University in 1915, which was a year of financial hardship resulting from the depression of 1914-1915. Also in 1915, the Meharry faculty decided to form a separate college. Hubbard secured the charter for Meharry Medical College and remained its president until his death. Meharry retained the old campus.

In 1922, Walden University was renamed Walden College and moved to a twelve-acre campus on the eastern hills overlooking the black neighborhood of Trimble Bottom. The new campus was formerly the site of Stevens Infirmary in 1864. The site was used intermittently by St. Mary's Orphanage from 1863 to 1903. It was a sanitarium from 1905 to 1920 and the home of Judge Chester K. Hart. Walden College operated there until 1925 as a junior college for teacher education, business, the arts, and pre-dental and pre-medical education. Financial difficulties forced the school to close. Walden College's campus was vacant until 1935, at which time Trevecca Nazarene College leased it, then purchased the campus in 1937.

Bobby L. Lovett

IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT (1862-1931)



The life of Ida B. Wells covers several epochs of the African-American saga. Born six months before the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation and reared during Reconstruction, she came of age during the post-Reconstruction period and spent her adult life fighting to redress the inequities brought about by Jim Crow. One of the first African-American women to serve as an investigative reporter, Wells began her fight at the age of twenty-two when she brought legal action against the Chesapeake, Ohio, and Southwestern Railroad

Company. Through written and spoken communication she made known the stark atrocities of lynching in America and conveyed her struggles against all the acts of inhumanity to the African American in her travels abroad.

Ida Wells was born a slave on July 16, 1862, in Holly Springs, Mississippi, to James and Elizabeth (Warrenton) Wells. The oldest in a family of four boys and four girls, she acquired from her parents a love of liberty and self-sufficiency that characterized her life. She attended Shaw University (later Rust College) in Holly Springs, and, after her move to Memphis, Tennessee, she attended summer sessions at Nashville's Fisk University.

The yellow fever epidemic of 1878 claimed the lives of Ida's parents and youngest brother. Following their deaths, Ida, at the age of sixteen, assumed the responsibility of rearing her siblings. Despite seemingly insurmountable obstacles, she took and passed the Mississippi teachers' exam and taught briefly in Holly Springs.

In the 1880s, Wells moved to Memphis. While preparing for the teachers' exam for the Negro Public schools of Memphis, she taught in Woodstock, Tennessee, outside Memphis. In May of 1884, Wells purchased a first-class ticket on a local Memphis-to-Woodstock line. Taking a seat in the white ladies' coach and refusing to move to the segregated "smoker" car when so instructed by the conductor, Wells was ejected from the train. She subsequently filed suit against the railroad company. In December of 1884, the Memphis circuit court ruled in her favor and awarded her damages. On December 5, 1885, Wells lost her suit when the Tennessee Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision.

Ida B. Wells taught in the Memphis city schools from 1884 to 1891. Using the story of her suit against the railroad and its outcome, Wells contributed to *The Living Way*, a religious weekly, under the pseudonym, "Iola." She also wrote regularly for the African-American press throughout the country. Elected secretary of the Afro-American Press Association in 1889, Wells became known as the "Princess of the Press." During this same year, she became editor of and partner in the *Free Speech and Headlight*, a militant journal that served as a voice of the African-American community. Wells's 1891 editorials critical of the Memphis Board of Education and its unequal distribution of the resources allotted to the segregated Negro schools led to her dismissal as a teacher.

The lynching of three young African-American proprietors of the People's Grocery Store, on March 9, 1891, caused Wells to declare journalistic war on lynching. Because of her prickly penned editorials about the issue of lynching, she was banished from Memphis. Exiled from the South, Wells persisted in her struggle against racial injustice and lynching as a columnist for the *New York Age*. In addition to investigating and reporting on the execution of blacks without due process of law, she lectured on the subject and made her findings known throughout the Northeast, England, Scotland, and Wales.

Three years after she was expelled from Memphis, on June 27, 1895, Ida B. Wells married attorney Ferdinand L. Barnett, editor and founder of the *Chicago Conservator*. They had four children: Charles, Herman, Ida, and Alfreda.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett is one of eleven prominent Tennesseans depicted in the official Tennessee bicentennial portrait and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). On March 25, 1931, in Chicago, at the age of 68, the ever-vocal "crusader for justice" was forever silenced.

Linda T. Wynn

WESSYNGTON PLANTATION (1819-)

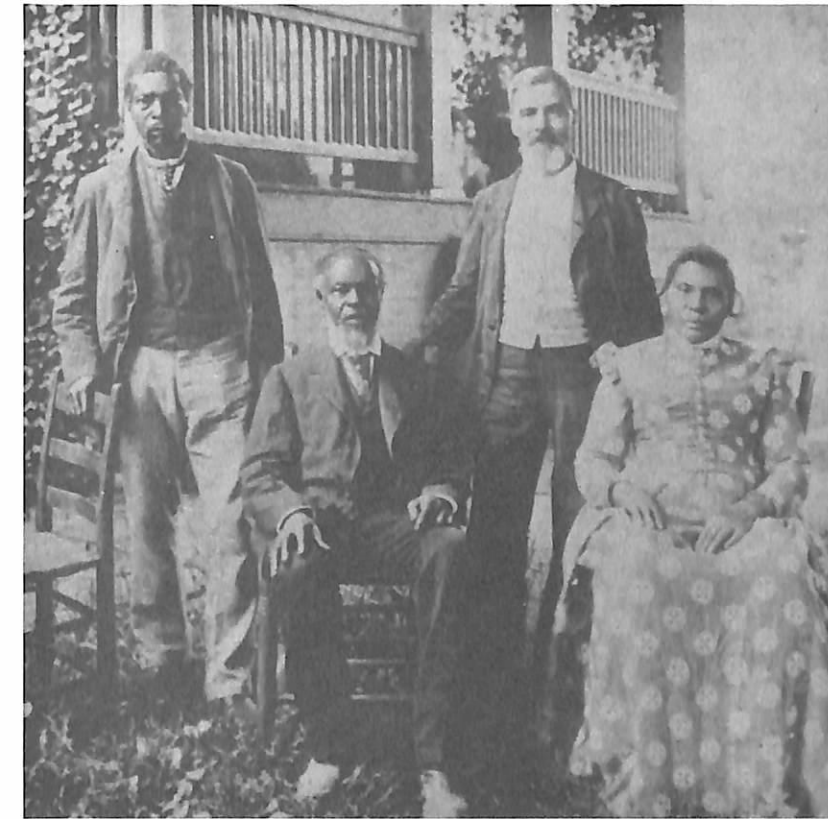
Much of the history of local African Americans begins in the chapter on slavery in America. in America. And that chapter includes slave farms and plantations common to Tennessee, particularly to Middle and West Tennessee. Whereas white families dominated the history of the plantation era, it was the majority residents (the black workers--the slaves) who built and maintained the economy of Tennessee's plantations. A large portion of black family history and genealogy can be traced through the slave farms and the large plantations, such as the Wessyngton Plantation in Middle Tennessee.

Wessyngton Plantation was settled in 1796 by Joseph Washington (1770-1848) and African and African-American slaves he brought with him from Southampton County, Virginia. It was not unusual after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) for ambitious men to move their slaves from the wornout lands of the eastern slave-states to the cheaper and more fertile lands of the western territories like Tennessee (which, carved from western North Carolina, became a state on June 1, 1796). Joseph was a second-cousin to

President George Washington, and *Wessyngton* is the Old English spelling of the Washington surname, which dates to A.D. 1260. Joseph Washington and his slaves were among the first settlers in Robertson County, Tennessee, to begin the cultivation of dark-fired tobacco. With the wealth generated by the black workers, the Wessyngton mansion was built in 1819 by slave labor and still stands on the original land.

After Joseph's death in 1848, the estate passed to his son, George Augustine Washington, Sr. (1815-1892). Under George's management and with the labor of even more African-American slaves, the estate was increased from 3,700 acres of land, seventy-nine slaves, and 15,000 bushels of tobacco in 1850 to 15,000 acres, 274 slaves, and 250,000 bushels of tobacco by 1860. A year before the Civil War, Wessyngton became America's largest tobacco plantation and the world's largest single producer. The outbreak of the Civil War in mid-1861, however, brought operations at Wessyngton to a halt. Despite the empty rhetoric and boasting of Tennessee's minority Confederates, the Union army and pro-Union citizens quickly took control of Middle Tennessee in early 1862. Many of Wessyngton's

black men enlisted with the Union army after the office for the recruitment of United States Colored Troops (USCT) opened at Nashville in September of 1863. After the war and the Emancipation, many of the USCT returned to their families and to Wessyngton to farm. Because the Washingtons never sold any of the slaves from the plantation, the African-American families remained intact through recent times. As many as five generations of black families lived at Wessyngton at the same time, and many of them continued after slavery to use the Washington surname.



In the above copy of an 1892 photograph, the writer of this article identified four Wessyngton servants, all former slaves and relatives of the writer. From left to right are Allen Washington (b.1825; head dairymen), Emanuel Washington (b.1824; the cook), Granville Washington (b.1831; body servant to George A. Washington), and Hettie Washington (b.1839; head laundress and Emanuel's wife).

The Wessyngton Plantation remained in the hands of direct white descendants of the original settler until 1983. Then the estate was sold to Glen and Donna Roberts. Wessyngton is located in Cedar Hill, Tennessee, about thirty-five miles northwest of Nashville.

In 1964, the Washington family deposited family records in the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. These records span the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries and are stored on nearly seventy rolls of microfilm. The records yield valuable information on the lives of African Americans before the Civil War, providing a wealth of data on black genealogy, as well as black life on one of Tennessee's premiere plantations. Indubitably, plantation history is important for the reconstruction of black family history and genealogy in Tennessee.

John A. Baker, Jr.

EMMA ROCHELLE WHEELER (1882-1957)

A native Floridan, Emma Rochelle Wheeler was born near Gainesville on February 7, 1882. She grew up in Florida, where her intrigue with the medical profession was aroused at the early age of six. An eye problem prompted her father to take her for treatment to a white female diagnostician. Young Emma and the female physician became friends, and when she went to school in Gainesville the doctor's abiding concern for and interest in her continued. She visited Emma at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville. At age seventeen, Wheeler finished Cookman and in 1900 she married Joseph R. Howard, a teacher.

Howard died a year later of typhoid fever, never seeing the son named for him. Shortly after Howard's death, Emma and young Joseph moved to Nashville, Tennessee. She



attended Walden University, and in 1905 her dream became a reality when she was graduated from Walden University's Meharry Medical, Dental, and Pharmaceutical College. She also was married to Dr. John N. Wheeler during the week of Meharry's commencement.

Following graduation, John N. and Emma R. Wheeler moved southeast of Nashville to Chattanooga and with meager resources set up their medical practice on Main Street. For ten years, John and Emma practiced together. In 1915, Dr. Wheeler purchased two lots on East Eighth Street at the corner of Douglas, where she had a three-story building constructed. After the structure's completion, on July 30, 1915, the thirty-bed, nine private rooms, and twelve-bed ward of the medical dispensary was dedicated as the Walden Hospital.

Complete with surgical, maternity, and nursery departments, Walden Hospital was staffed by two house doctors and three nurses. Seventeen physicians and surgeons from the Mountain City Medical Society used the new facility and admitted their patients. The median monthly patient load was twelve. Although Dr. John N. Wheeler admitted his patients to the facility, it was managed, operated, and paid for by Dr. Emma R. Wheeler.

While maintaining long office hours and serving as superintendent of Walden Hospital, Dr. Emma Wheeler personally performed a number of the surgical procedures. However, she found surgery too exhausting to continue, in addition to her other responsibilities. For more than twenty years, Dr. Wheeler also maintained a school for nurses. She, with the assistance of her husband, taught and trained many students who were interested in becoming attendant care-givers. In 1925, Dr. Wheeler initiated the Nurse Service Club of Chattanooga, an innovative, prepaid hospitalization plan. The Nurse Service Club, the only one of its type in Chattanooga, was entirely separate from the hospital's operation.

In 1949, the Chattanooga branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) voted Dr. Wheeler the "Negro Mother of the Year." Wheeler was a member of the Mountain City Medical Society; the State Volunteer Medical Association, treasurer and member of the board of trustees of Highland Cemetery; and a member of Wiley Memorial Methodist Church. In January of 1925, she, along with Emma Henry, Zenobia House, and Marjorie Parker, organized the Pi Omega Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Chattanooga's first AKA chapter.

Dr. Emma Rochelle Wheeler's health began to decline in 1951 and two years later, in June of 1953, she retired from operating and managing Walden Hospital. With her retirement, Chattanooga's first and only African-American owned and operated hospital ceased operation on June 30, 1953, after thirty-eight years of service. For a while, Dr. Wheeler continued to practice general medicine, receiving her patients on the first floor of the former hospital building.

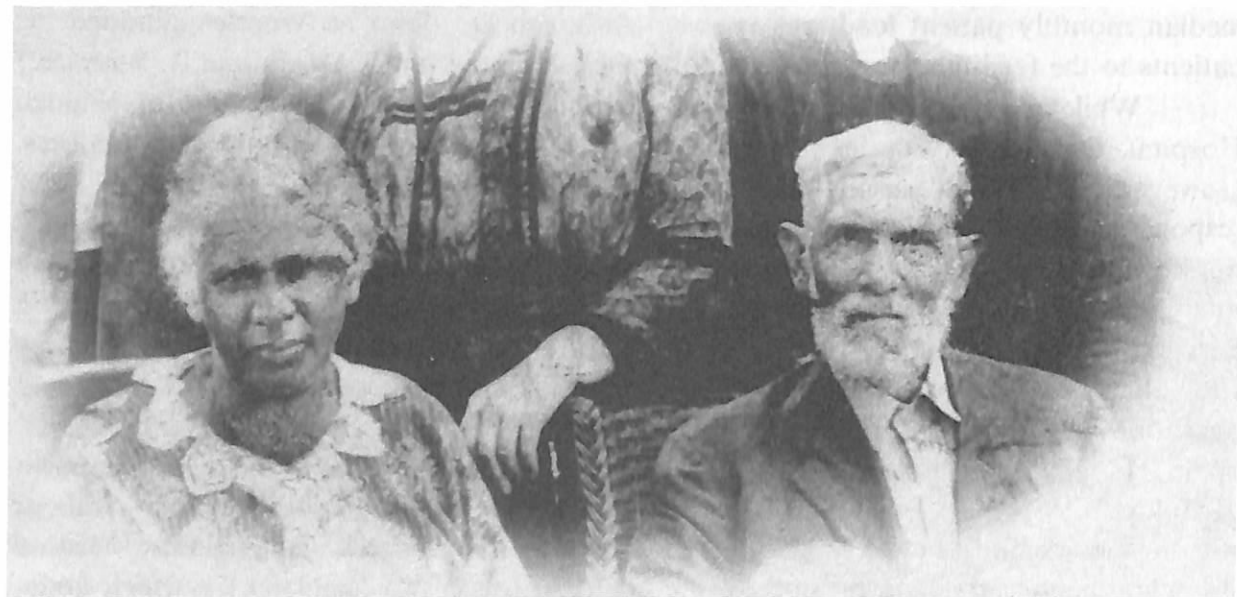
At age 75, on September 12, 1957, Dr. Emma Rochelle Wheeler drew her last breath in Nashville's Hubbard Hospital. The body of the pioneering health-care provider was conveyed back to Chattanooga and funeral services were held on September 17 at the Wiley Memorial Methodist Church. She was buried in Highland Cemetery.

Five years after her death, the Chattanooga Housing Authority named the city's newly completed housing project the Emma Wheeler Homes. Ten years later, as a part of

its Black History Week celebration, the Chattanooga branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History paid homage to the life and contributions of Dr. Emma R. Wheeler as one of the city's pioneering African-American women. On February 16, 1990, the Tennessee Historical Commission approved the placement of a state historical marker at the site of Walden Hospital, established, owned, and operated by Dr. Emma Rochelle Wheeler.

Linda T. Wynn

CARRIE JOHN RICHARDSON WHITE (1851-1934)



Carrie John Richardson was born in 1851 in Nashville to Ann McGavock and John Richardson. Her father had been a slave, who purchased his freedom and worked as a barber at the Commercial Hotel. A literate man, he wrote many underground passes for slaves. Ann's father was a white man, and her mother was an American Indian. Thus, Ann McGavock and her four sisters--Susannah, Jo Anna, Martha, and Fannie--were technically (legally) freeborn.

While Ann was in New Orleans, her father died of cholera. A white man, Randal McGavock, took custody of the five children. Randal McGavock migrated from Virginia to Nashville in 1795, established a successful career, and served as mayor before moving to Williamson County to build Carnton mansion. McGavock gave Susannah to his daughter, Elizabeth, who married General William Giles Harding. Susannah remained on Harding's Belle Meade plantation until after slavery and her death.

Carrie's great-grandmother was Jonah, a full-blooded Creek Indian, who lived in a hut on the grounds where the state Capitol stands. Her mate was a Negro. Also, Carrie's paternal grandmother's mate was an Indian, *Tupponce*.

Carrie, born in 1851, was reared in a house on Gay Street, near Summer Street (Fifth Avenue, North). Her mother later sold the property and moved the family home to Grant and Fourteenth Avenue, North. Carrie's early education was received in dames' schools. One school was taught by a white woman at the corner of Fifth and Jefferson streets. Another school was taught by a free black preacher named Daniel Wadkins, who conducted classes in Nashville between 1837 and 1857. The black schools were closed as a result of the December, 1856, race riot.

During the Civil War and the Union occupation, like so many of the town's other free Negroes, Carrie continued her formal education. She was enrolled at Fisk University soon after it opened in 1866 and would have graduated from the college course, except that she got married to Charles Henry White in 1868. Charles attended Baptist College (Roger Williams University).

Carrie became an apprentice under Mercy Duke Gordon, a seamstress and the aunt of Charles H. White. Before marriage, Carrie taught at Bell Buckle, Tennessee, and at Trinity School in Nashville. Charles was born of a free mulatto named Yessie Duke and a white judge of Gallatin, named Alfred White. Charles was a barber and later taught school in Franklin. After his marriage, he worked as a shipping clerk on Nashville's Public Square and sold dairy products from his farm.

The Whites bought a forty-five-acre farm in 1875. Located five miles from Nashville on Brick Church Pike, the farm had horses, mules, ponies, guineas, turkeys, peafowl, chickens, hogs, and cows. There was an abundance of fruit trees and children. Carrie White and her husband had ten children: Alfred, James, Randall, Carrie, Charles, George, Maude, Felix, Annie, Gordon, and Howard. Only eight children grew to adulthood; Alfred died as a baby, and Howard passed at the age of seven years.

Carrie's children enjoyed various careers, including doctor, teacher, principal, post office worker, housewife, fireman, undertaker, and transfer worker. Several of the children attended Fisk University's model and preparatory grades. James and Annie received their bachelor's degrees from Fisk in 1894 and 1906, respectively, and daughter Carrie received her normal school certificate in 1893.

Carrie's two college graduates excelled in their careers. James received the M. D. degree from Meharry Medical College in 1897. He became a major in the Medical Corps during World War One and was awarded the *Croix de Guerre* from the French government. Annie received certificates in French at the Royal Victoria College of McGill University in Montreal and at the University of Potier in southwestern France.

Carrie White died in Nashville in 1934. Charles White preceded her in 1928.

Emma White Bragg

AVON NYANZA WILLIAMS, JR. (1921-1994)

Throughout his career, Attorney Avon Williams was viewed by many as an ardent, controversial, and feared leader of the local Afro - American community and as one of its most dominant and articulate figures.

Avon Nyanza Williams, Jr., was born on December 22, 1921, in Knoxville, Tennessee, the fourth of five children of Avon and Carrie Belle Williams. He received his primary and secondary education in the public schools of Knoxville and was graduated with an A.B. degree from Johnson C. Smith University in 1940. He later entered Boston University's School of Law, where he received the L.L.B. degree in 1947 and the L.L.M. degree in 1948. In April and August of 1948, he was admitted to the bar in the states of Massachusetts and Tennessee, respectively. Attorney Williams interned with Nashville attorney Z. Alexander Looby and then returned to Knoxville to set up his own law practice.

Avon Williams exhibited an interest in civil rights cases early in his legal career. He had been in solo practice less than a year when he filed suit for four black students applying for admission to the University of Tennessee graduate school. This case, *Gray versus University of Tennessee*, reached the U. S. Supreme Court; the university capitulated and admitted the young men. In 1950, Williams, Looby, and Carl Cowan filed the Anderson County school desegregation case (*McSwain versus Board of Anderson County, Tennessee*), which was the first such public school case in Tennessee.

Williams returned to Nashville in 1953 and went into the general practice of law in association with Z. Alexander Looby, remaining for sixteen years. In 1953, he was admitted to practice in the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, and in 1956, he was admitted to practice in the U. S. Court of Military Appeals. In 1956, he also married Joan Marie Bontemps, the daughter of poet and writer Arna Bontemps. They had two children, Avon Nyanza, III, and Wendy Janette. In 1963, Williams was admitted to practice in the U. S. Supreme Court.



During the turbulent decades of the 1950s and 1960s, Williams involved himself, without remuneration, in various civil rights suits--many of which reached the state and federal supreme courts. These cases involved such issues as school desegregation, public accommodations, employment and housing discrimination, and police brutality.

Avon Williams was instrumental in the founding of two organizations: the Davidson County Independent Political Council, of which he served as president from 1962 through 1966, and the Tennessee Voters Council, of which he was general chairman from 1966. He was elected to the newly created nineteenth senatorial district in 1968. He drafted many legislative bills, including one requiring each school system to include Afro-American studies and one forbidding utility districts to discriminate on account of race in laying water lines.

In 1969, Williams established his own law practice. He became a member of the American Bar Association, the American Judicature Society, the Nashville Bar Association, the Tennessee Bar Association, and served on the boards of a number of community and civic organizations, including Davidson County Citizens for TVA and the Davidson County Anti-T.B. Association. He became a member of the executive committee of the NAACP in 1953; became an elder and trustee of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1956 and 1966, respectively; a member of the Appeals and Review Committee of Meharry Medical College; and a member of the State Democratic Steering Committee for the re-election of President Lyndon Johnson. In 1972, he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. He became in 1969 a cooperating attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and served from 1963 as special counsel for the Jackson-Memphis, Tennessee, and West Tennessee Conferences of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Beginning in 1962, Attorney Williams was counsel for the Community Federal Savings and Loan Association of Nashville and, in 1978, he became counsel for the Citizens Realty and Development Company and its successor, Citizens Bank Building Limited Partnership. From 1966 to 1975, he was a lecturer on dental jurisprudence at Meharry's School of Dentistry, and in 1976, he became a professor at the school.

In 1972, Williams became involved in the Tennessee State University / University of Tennessee at Nashville merger suit as attorney for the plaintiff interveners, successfully persuading the court that U. T. Nashville should be merged into T. S. U. "This became a landmark decision, because this was perhaps the first time in the history of the nation that a major white institution was absorbed by a major black institution." Williams persuaded the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati to stay U. S. District Judge Thomas A. Wiseman's desegregation order for public schools in Nashville. The U. S. Supreme Court refused to lift the appellate court's stay. Throughout his adult life, Attorney Williams was the recipient of numerous civic and professional awards and citations.

Avon N. Williams, Jr., died on August 29, 1994, and was buried in Nashville's Greenwood Cemetery.

Linda T. Wynn

JOHN LEE "SONNY BOY" WILLIAMSON (1914-1948)



John Lee "Sonny Boy" Williamson was born in southwest Madison County on March 30, 1914, to Ray Williamson and Nancy Utley. John Lee's father died when he was a baby, and he was reared by his mother. At age eleven, he received his first harmonica as a Christmas gift from his mother. According to his half-brother, T. W. Utley, when he was not chopping cotton, milking cows, or doing other farm chores, he was teaching himself to play the harmonica by listening to and playing along with records on an old wind-up record player. By the time he was sixteen, Williamson was jamming around Tennessee and Arkansas with guitarist "Sleepy John" Estes and mandolin demon James "Yank" Rachell.

In 1934, Williamson moved to Chicago, where a thriving blues scene was in full swing. An experienced artist, he immediately made his imprint, first as a much-recruited accompanist and, when he began to play his own compositions, as a much-sought-after headliner. Three years after he moved to the "Windy City," Williamson made his first recording, *Good Morning, Little School*, for Victor's subsidiary Bluebird label. This recording introduced his unusual, individualistic, and widely influential instrumental style of "squeezed" notes and "crossed-harp" playing—his distinctive style was imitated by many other musicians. From 1937 to 1945, Williamson recorded for the Bluebird label, sharing many sessions with guitarist Big Joe Williams. From 1945 to 1947, he recorded on the Victor label. When he started recording in 1937, he still maintained his southern roots. With his distinctive vocal style and fluent harp, he sounded like a country boy. "He played with all the rhythmic subtlety of the best country blues, slurring and wailing the harp notes, making the harmonica almost a single entity. . . . But gradually the rural sound changed, as if the country boy was wising up to city ways," wrote Giles Oakley, author of *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues*.

John Lee "Sonny Boy" Williamson helped propel the country blues of his native Southland toward a more exhilarating, urban-blues sound with his blend of originality,

country intensity, and the electrification of his sound with the piano, bass, and drums. His tempo was so overpowering that he placed a pillow under his feet during recording sessions to silence the sound of his feet keeping time to the beat. Pete Welding, on *Blues Classics Album 21*, described Williamson as "a forceful singer, popular recording artist, and the first truly virtuoso blues harmonica player, whose rich, imaginative solo flights resulted in completely re-shaping the playing approach and the role of his humble instrument in the blues." Many of his songs are considered today as blues classics.

In the wee hours of the morning, on June 1, 1948, the blues world lost one of its most influential harmonica players when John Lee "Sonny Boy" Williamson was beaten to death as he left one of Chicago's nightclubs. In keeping with the lyrics he often sung in life, "Now I want to bury my body, 'way down in Jackson, Tennessee," Williamson's body was conveyed to the city of his birth. For forty-two years, his body rested in an unmarked grave, sheltered by the deep shadows of the Jackson woods and covered with a verdant blanket of kudzu. On June 1, 1990, city officials, family members, friends, recording executives, and blues enthusiasts gathered to celebrate "John Lee 'Sonny Boy' Williamson Day" and to dedicate a Tennessee historical marker, placed on Tennessee Highway 18 and Caldwell Road, near the site of the musician's birthplace. RCA Records, whose corporate history includes the Bluebird and Victor labels on which Williamson became famous, presented a rose granite gravestone to mark the resting place of the forgotten blues great.

Since 1937, Williamson's first commercial recording, *Good Morning, Little School Girl*, has been recorded numerous times by artists who include The Grateful Dead and Canned Heat.

Linda T. Wynn

JOHN W. WORK, III (1901-1967)

John Wesley Work, III, was born June 15, 1901, in Tullahoma, Tennessee, to John Wesley Work, II, and Agnes (Haynes) Work. Young John came to Nashville because his father accepted a teaching position at Fisk University. Influenced by the musical background of his family, John produced his first composition, *Mandy Lou*, at age seventeen. He received the A.B. degree in history (1923) and decided to enter New York's Institute of



Musical Arts (Julliard School of Music). After Agnes Work's death in 1927, John returned to Nashville and completed his mother's appointment as a trainer of singing groups at Fisk University, where he remained for thirty-nine years.

Meanwhile, John returned to New York to continue his studies in 1927. He received the Master of Music Education degree in 1930 from Columbia University, received a fellowship in 1931, and obtained a Bachelor of Music degree in 1933 from Yale University. John Work, III, resumed his duties at Fisk, teaching music education and theory. In 1946, he became the director of the Jubilee Singers and reorganized the group into an ensemble of mixed voices.

From 1946 to 1956, John Work, III, published more than fifty compositions. He received an award from the Fellowship of American Composers for his composition, *The Singers*, in 1946. Based upon a poem by Henry W. Longfellow, this cantata was performed first at the 1946 Fellowship of American Composers Convention in Detroit. After spending three months in Haiti, Work wrote a suite for strings centered on Haitian themes. The string symphony performed this suite, *Yenvalou*, at the 1946 Saratoga Spring Festival. He completed a manuscript composition, *Golgotha*, based upon a poem by Arna Bontemps. The Fisk Choir performed this composition during the 1949 Festival of Music and Art.

Work's composition, *My Lord, What A Morning*, was performed for the Festival of Music and Art in 1956 by choruses representing choirs from Germany, Sweden, Great Britain, South America, France, Yugoslavia, Japan, Canada, and the United States. The choir toured the United Nations and performed this composition in Philharmonic Hall for the Festival's Gala Concert.

Although many musicians did not consider black folk songs to have musical credence, John Work, III, gave the Negro folk song a musical form. His book, *American Negro Songs and Spirituals* (1960) made an invaluable contribution to musicology. The book contains 230 religious and secular songs, as well as the origins and nature of the various types of black folk songs.

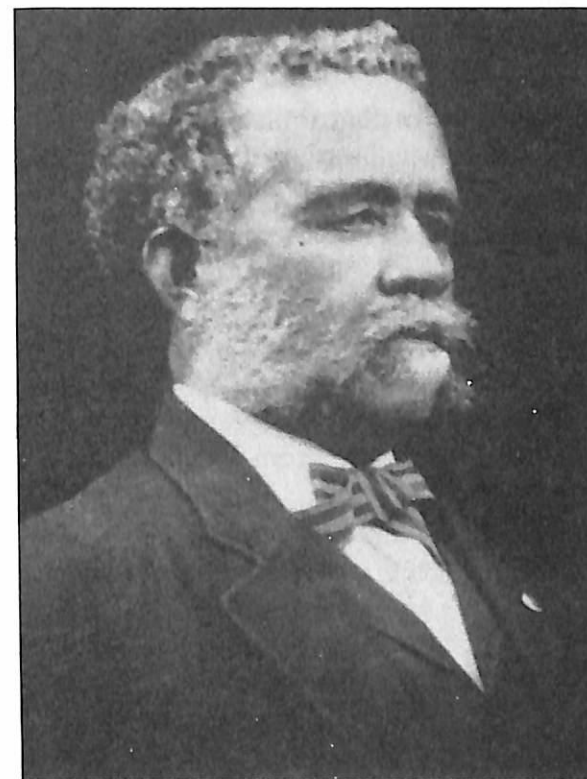
From 1950 to 1957, Work served as chairman of the Fisk University Department of Music, and he continued to direct the Jubilee Singers until 1956. After touring Europe for twelve weeks, his health waned, causing him to relinquish conducting and administrative duties and concentrate on composing, speaking, teaching, and writing. In 1966, he neared retirement and curtailed his teaching to part-time service. The Fisk class of 1941 commissioned artist Aaron Douglas to paint Work's portrait in 1966.

Work was a member of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), among other organizations. He completed more than one hundred compositions, published and unpublished. Not only was he a prolific composer, Work was gifted with talent as an author, lyricist, choral conductor, educator, and ethnomusicologist.

John Wesley Work, III, died on May 17, 1967.

Linda T. Wynn

WILLIAM FRANCIS YARDLEY (1844-1924)



William F. Yardley was one of Tennessee's most outspoken citizens and colorful public officials during Reconstruction times. He was elected to the Knoxville Board of Aldermen, 1872-1873, and to the Knox County Court, 1876-1882. He was a Republican candidate for governor of Tennessee in 1876.

Born to a white mother and a black father on January 8, 1844, in Knox County, he was literally left on the doorstep of the white Yardley family, who took him in and gave him their name. At an early age he was apprenticed to Squire McClannahan to

learn a trade and to read and write. By 1869, Yardley was teaching young black children at the Ebenezer School in west Knox County. He studied law books, read law with a white lawyer, passed the bar, and was licensed to practice law. He became Knoxville's first black lawyer in 1872 at age twenty-eight.

It was during the gubernatorial race of 1876 that Yardley made his reputation as an orator. He was hailed by newspapers across the state for his speech-making abilities on the political trail. He advocated change in the common carrier law, which caused a poor man to pay first class fare and ride second class. He fought the privilege tax on dogs, which was a burden on the poor. He advocated sweeping changes in the labor laws. The election was held on November 7, 1886, and Yardley came in a poor fourth in the four-man race. Some black Republican party brokers, led by Nashville's Randal Brown, opposed Yardley's candidacy because he ran as an independent. Yet, from that day on, people in Knoxville fondly referred to him as "Governor Yardley."

He was considered the dean of the black lawyers in Knox County and taught many aspiring attorneys. He was a member of Knoxville's first fire department and its second assistant chief during 1876-1877.

Partial to wearing Prince Albert coats and derby hats, he represented the Continental Insurance Company of New York and maintained a law office near the heart of downtown Knoxville. Known as an able criminal lawyer "with a quick wit and eloquent speech," he was

characterized by Frederick Douglass, who had been his house guest, as "One of the most remarkable men that I have met."

In 1870, Yardley married Elizabeth Stone, a native Knoxvilleian, who was part American Indian. They had four children. During their golden wedding anniversary celebration in 1920, many prominent citizens, including the mayor and other city officials, attended.

In 1878, Yardley was the publisher and editor of Knoxville's first black newspaper, the Knoxville *Examiner*. In 1882, he organized and published another newspaper, the Knoxville *Bulletin*.

William Francis Yardley died on May 20, 1924.

Robert J. Booker

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