

# Kentucky

Kentucky Humanities Council Inc.  
April 2006

*humanities*



## Standout Attractions *page 13*

This man, visiting Hawaii with his wife Clara, was one of the best-known Kentuckians of the twentieth century. Hint: Ever baked a cake?

## How to Steal an Election *page 3*

In Louisville a century ago, corrupt politicians made an art of election fraud, and even the courts couldn't stop them.

## Instant Landmarks *page 21*

Andrew Carnegie built hundreds of libraries—27 in Kentucky—and they had a major impact on American culture.



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Page 3



Page 13



Page 21



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# Kentucky

April 2006

## humanities

### FEATURES

#### 3 How to Steal an Election

Kentuckians tend to think of eastern Kentucky as the epicenter of election fraud in the state, but a century ago corrupt politicians in Louisville raised election fraud to a high art. Their brazen persistence, even in the face of slap downs by the state's highest court, earned national condemnation. And, as Tracy Campbell reports, the chief criminal never spent a day in jail—the police were in his pocket.

#### 13 Standout Attractions

Living in Chicago and working as a traveling salesman, Duncan Hines had a hobby—visiting and assessing restaurants. He said he was looking for “standout attractions in the culinary department.” His hobby, writes Jonathan Jeffrey, eventually made this native of Bowling Green “America’s Foremost Food Authority,” and one of the best-known Kentuckians of the twentieth century.

#### 21 Instant Landmarks

Believing that libraries were “the best agencies for improving the masses of the people,” Andrew Carnegie built almost 1700 libraries in the United States, including 27 in Kentucky. As Zanne Jefferies reports, Carnegie libraries became instant landmarks on the physical and cultural landscape of the state and the nation, and changed how Americans accessed information.

### DEPARTMENTS

#### 2 Name Game

The people who named and re-named Kentucky’s towns and streams were not thinking of posterity, and that means trouble for names detective Robert Rennick.

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*Kentucky Humanities* is published in April & October by the Kentucky Humanities Council, Inc., 206 East Maxwell St., Lexington, KY 40508-2613 (859/257-5932). KHC is an independent, nonprofit affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, D.C., and provides more than 400 public humanities programs for Kentuckians every year. Supporters of the Council’s programs receive *Kentucky Humanities* by mail. Views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the KHC Board and staff. For information on our very favorable advertising rates, please call Charles Thompson at 859/257-5932.

Cover: Photo of Duncan and Clara Hines courtesy of Kentucky Library and Museum, Western Kentucky University

# Oh, Woe is Me

The names detective has many obstacles, and temptations, to overcome.

**M**y ongoing attempt to track down elusive place name derivations has been, to risk the cliché, fraught with difficulties. Like others of my profession I've been tempted at times to take risks, make assumptions, engage in the time honored but fraudulent practice of assuming that nineteenth-century namers did what I would have done had I been in their place.

I'm thus tempted, in this brief essay, to point out some of the difficulties we name researchers have had in tracing names and finding accurate derivations for them.

I've often been asked how government mapmakers got the names for the features they showed on their maps. Interviews with old timers in a number of Kentucky counties revealed that often the mappers would simply ask persons congregating at the local store what the adjacent stream or hill was called. Knowing that the mapmakers, outsiders all, would never be in a position to check on these, the respondents would often give their own name or some fanciful account of a local incident. And the mappers, in a hurry to get back to their comfortable county seat hotels before nightfall, would record what they thought they heard, not bothering even to check on spellings. Later, other mappers, asking other local persons, perhaps those living further up streams, would get an entirely different name. And thus we can account for so many of our streams and elevations having several different names, even at the same time. (Of course, it goes without saying that changes in residents or property owners would also produce new names.)

Some years ago, in researching school, church, and cemetery names in a certain south central Kentucky county, I learned that most of these features, when not bearing the names of the settlement they served or the streams on which they were located, seemed to be identified by personal names. It wouldn't be too hard, I thought, to track

down these families or individual members and to learn from family histories, census records, and the like when members of that family had owned the property in question or lived there and when their names had been applied to the features. But then I learned from several local historians that it wouldn't be that easy. Or even, in some cases, possible at all. Available records of schools and cemeteries seldom contain dates of establishment or identify the original property owners.

Better records were maintained on individual church properties. Deeds for most of Kentucky's Baptist churches were recorded in organizational minutes and many can still be examined locally. Photostatic copies are also available in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville and the Baptist Historical Society in Nashville. Methodist church records are available in their respective conference files (Louisville for much of South Central Kentucky). The accessibility of early records for the smaller, independent, and shorter-lived sects, missions, and splinter groups, though, is highly varied.

Another thing that makes life difficult for the searcher of place name derivations in Kentucky is the U.S. Post Office Department's long standing rule that only one post office at a time could have a particular name. A community like Maytown in Floyd County had to find another name for its new post office because Morgan County already had a Maytown post office. So the Floyd Countians chose the name of their state legislator (and later U.S. Congressman) John W. Langley for their new office. And it still goes by this name.

After the turn of the last century, most of the suitable names were already in use in Kentucky, and new postmasters were get-

ting desperate. To assist them, postal authorities suggested they submit a prioritized list of names from which the office's name would be chosen. My God, the postmaster-designates complained, how can we come up with several names when we can't even find one or two suitable ones not already in use? It thus got to the point where just about any word or combination of letters would be considered for a name. Even if it made no sense at all. Dictionaries and other state atlases became common sources of post office names which were sometimes randomly selected from provocative words. One would close his eyes and flip through his dictionary, then open them and let his pencil fall upon a certain word and that word would become the name. But it would have no local significance. Unless the namer left some written statement of what he had done there'd be no way a later student of place name derivations would be able to trace the source of the name.

This may well account for the hundreds of post office (and other) names we'll probably never explain, like Duco, Envy, Eugene, Lucy, Ordway, Plutarch, Trixie,

**Most of the suitable names were already in use in Kentucky, and new postmasters were getting desperate.**

and Waldo in Magoffin County. And Camden, Dryden, Ferris, Griffin, Murl, Ritner, Sendie, and Vegaburg in Wayne County. One can guess at a source of each of these, but that's all it would be. The names themselves tell us nothing. Murl sounds like a given name and has been attributed to several persons, though most weren't born by the time the office opened. And Vegaburg sounds Spanish, but it's said to have been named for a city in Germany that no one knows about. Ritner could have been named for the Pennsylvania governor who fostered public schooling in his state. But that too is a guess. ●

**Robert M. Rennick** is coordinator of the Kentucky Place Names Survey

A century ago, corrupt politicians in Louisville raised election fraud to an art, and even the state's highest court couldn't stop them for long.

# How to Steal an Election

In Kentucky's collective political memory, the epicenter of election fraud and systemic corruption is usually considered to be located in the mountains of east Kentucky. The Commonwealth's largest city, on the other hand, is casually perceived as something of a progressive bastion, especially since Louisville was a national pioneer in the use of the Australian (secret) ballot in 1888. Yet the River City's electoral history is not one we should celebrate. In fact, Louisville holds a unique place in the history of American election fraud, and in the early twentieth century democracy was systematically subverted there on an annual basis.

## "The Political Filth of Louisville"

Louisville's path to the secret ballot in 1888 was not necessarily paved with progressive intentions. Rather, it was a reaction to a series of openly fraudulent elections that made a mockery of the democratic process. In 1887, in a notorious mayoral race that *Courier-Journal*

*Operating out of a burlesque theater, John Whallen came up with one crooked scheme after another to fix Louisville elections.*



Fulton Historical Society, Louisville, KY

editor Henry Watterson described as “without parallel in the history of Louisville for fraud and corruption,” a plot was uncovered whereby the names of the candidates on the poll books were purposely situated so close together that corrupt clerks could place a mark in the wrong column without being easily detected. As one insider said, “You must be sure and get the clerks ‘fixed,’ that’s half the battle.” A self-appointed committee called the Commonwealth Club stated that it was “thoroughly disgusted” with the methods traditionally used to manipulate and steal votes in Louisville.

## **In the 38th precinct of the third ward, three armed men simply took the ballot box at gunpoint, loaded it on a wagon and carried it away.**

One of the members of the committee was Louisville state representative Arthur Wallace. After reading an article on the new secret ballot system used in Australia, Wallace approached some area judges to see whether a law mandating such a system could pass constitutional muster in Kentucky. It quietly became law in February 1888, and, in its municipal election of December 1888, Louisville became the first municipality in the nation to use the new voting method. The *Courier-Journal* proclaimed proudly that “the election was a quiet one, and the Wallace law stood its first test very fairly.” A Louisvillian writing in the *Nation* claimed that the election “was the first municipal election I have ever known which was not bought outright.” Yet not everyone was so convinced. The *Courier-Journal* noted that vote selling was still practiced, even with the new ballot. “As to vote buying, there seems to be no solution,” the paper claimed. “The best of men weep over it and wipe their eyes and write a subscription to the election fund.”

This latest installment in election reform made no difference to the acknowledged power broker of Louisville politics, burlesque theater owner John Whallen. In his memoirs, Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist Arthur Krock recalled

that the major decisions in the city were usually made in Whallen’s office. Krock, a Kentucky native who began his career in Louisville, wrote that in most political meetings held by Whallen “it was customary that the Louisville police be represented” because the police “had to know the nominating and electing game plan... and put it into operation. This often required documentary knowledge of the peccadilloes, and worse, of the aspiring politicians, especially those who were Republicans.” This knowledge, Krock understood, “was more powerful than their night [sticks].” Whallen once boast-

ed that the real center of the city’s political apparatus was his burlesque theater, the Buckingham, a place that he once described candidly as “the political sewer through which the political filth of Louisville runs.”

### **The “Audacity of the Steal”**

Whallen insured his control over the city’s election machinery in ways that made him unique among American political bosses. In 1892, when Whallen was confident his handpicked candidate for city chancellor would lose in a party primary, he urged the party to adopt a rather unorthodox method of voting. These primaries, which were exempt from many election laws and the secret ballot, were especially ripe for fraud. Whallen’s new method involved a house-to-house canvass, which he proclaimed as “superior to all other forms of primary elections.” His plan required all voters to be at home on one of two nights for a three-hour period. This method would “remove the crowding of voters into small spaces where liquor, money, and bullying can get in their work.” In effect, the maneuver disfranchised nearly five thousand of the city’s 13,108 eligible Democratic voters due to residence changes or to the fact that they simply could not be located or

were not at home at the appointed times. Even more, door-to-door canvassing had the intended effect of ensuring that a bought vote was appropriately cast, and the threat of losing a city job or services certainly permeated the exchange. A critical newspaper was appalled by Whallen’s hubris, charging that he had “gone a step farther than he ever went before.” If party members wished to participate in “a conspiracy as far reaching as it is shameless, they deserve to be walked upon and spat upon by such men as Whallen.”

After temporarily losing control of city government in the mid-1890s, Whallen reappeared, helping his handpicked candidate win the mayor’s race, due, in large part, to a new method employed by his followers: police intimidation of African-American voters. When a prominent African-American attorney attempted to vote, he was confronted by a police officer who told him, “I have worn out four billies and I will wear this one out on you.” Less violent means, such as clerks slowly checking registration lists, meant those wishing to vote in the heavily African-American ninth and tenth wards often waited hours to cast a ballot. Of course, many found that before they had reached the front of the line, the polls had closed. In one precinct the polls were not opened until after noon. (The *Courier-Journal*, never prone to closely examine allegations of Democratic wrongdoing, blamed the closed polls on a drunk Republican election officer.) The losing mayoral candidate figured he had lost nearly 4,500 votes in these wards alone and concluded, “We were cheated on every side.” Without the strong arm of the police, Whallen’s machine could not have controlled Louisville’s elections.

Whallen’s forces in the Democratic primary of 1899 employed a daring technique to keep the opposition vote down. Pat Grimes, a saloon owner and Whallen crony, installed a “portable voting place”—a polling place to be held in a train car near the convergence of the 11th and 12th wards. The Whallen forces feared a heavy turnout from this area for an anti-Whallen candidate. So, Grimes thought a particularly skillful way to

diminish these votes would be to simply move the car away when long lines of voters developed.

Yet when it became clear that his candidates were trailing on the afternoon of the election, Whallen resorted to an even more audacious tactic. Acting under the auspices of the Democratic Party's central committee, Whallen simply annulled the primary altogether. Following this election, one local blacksmith claimed a member of the self-described "Honest Election League" had given him cash to buy votes. Within the office of the League, according to the blacksmith, were tables full of stacks of money. Lost in the exchange was the irony of who was doling out the funds—Arthur Wallace, the author of Louisville's Australian ballot bill eleven years earlier.

But Whallen was not without opponents among the city's Republican stalwarts, and among Democrats who resented his use of the city's political apparatus to increase his personal wealth and power. An election in 1903 contained more than its usual share of moved precincts, falsely registered voters, duly chosen election officers replaced with Whallen cronies, and stuffed ballot boxes. Eighteen strong Republican precincts were moved on Election Day. Not surprisingly, these precincts returned Democratic majorities such as 243 to 5. In the sixth ward, a Democratic challenger questioned the credentials of nearly 25 African-American men waiting in line. He was soon approached by one police officer who told him, "You damn fool, those niggers you're throwing out isn't Republicans; they're our own repeaters!" Although some members of the Democratic Party had hoped to "put Whallen out of business" with this elec-

tion, their efforts failed. A thoroughly disgusted *Evening-Post* concluded that the "audacity of the steal is its most astonishing feature."

### "We can control them"

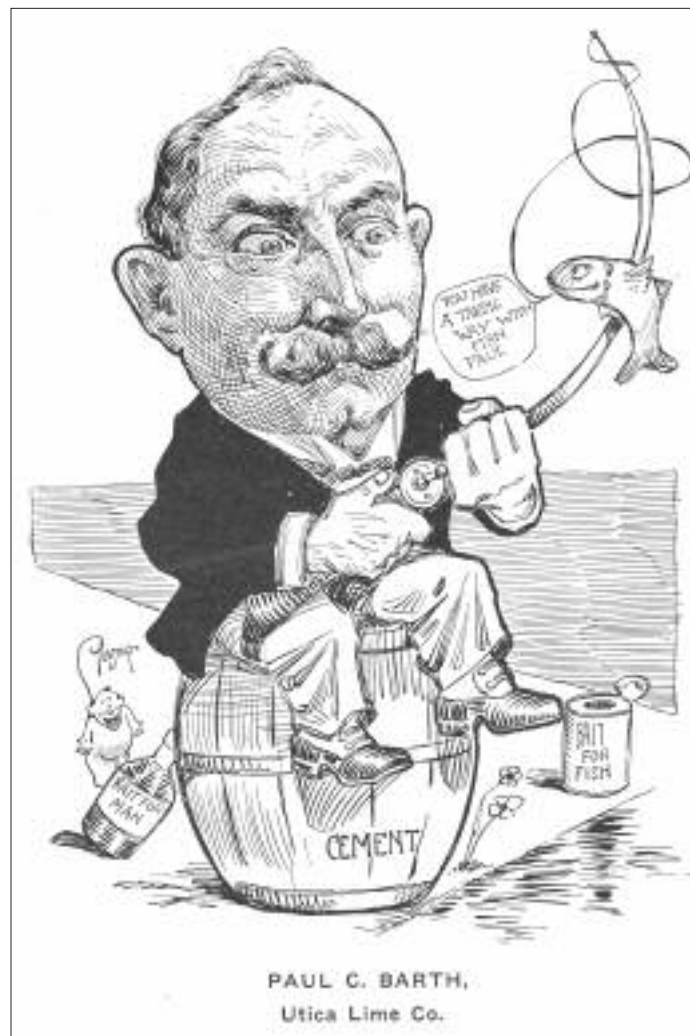
Election Day fraud can begin with registration day fraud. Someone registered illegally can then vote "legally." The

challengers questioned Democratic registrants, a Louisville police officer named Roman Leachman threatened the challengers. Leachman shouted that if an official "refuses to register another man, I will smash him in the head and kill him and I will come and throw his carcass into the street; he doesn't amount to anything." One official meekly inquired if

Leachman was overstepping his bounds, and in revealing language Leachman underscored the reason for the police presence at the registration booths: "To hell with you. This means nothing to your crowd, and means four years for me, and of course I am going to look out for my own interests."

By 1905, disgruntled Democrats had joined with Republicans to challenge Whallen's hold on city politics. This "Fusion" party knew what they were up against. Newspapers in St. Louis warned the citizens of Louisville that eighty "practical politicians" were doing their work, repeatedly registering under false names. The paper stated that the repeaters "would work wonders increasing the population of Louisville." By padding the rolls with thousands of illegal voters, the machine was now prepared to "get out the vote" in November.

Roman Leachman was not the only policeman working during the registration period to steal the election. When Fusionist Arthur D. Allen complained of irregularities in one precinct, officer Jack McAuliffe knocked him unconscious and threw him in jail. A thoroughly unsympathetic *Kentucky Irish-American* alleged that Allen had "made a movement as if to draw a weapon," whereupon Officer McAuliffe gallantly "hit Allen with his club rather than shooting him." Later that day, Allen was convicted of disorderly



*In the fraudulent election of 1905, Paul Barth was elected mayor of Louisville.*

Whallen machine employed area criminals to intimidate African-Americans from registering, and understood that the illegal registration of "repeaters" had a dual effect: it could potentially crowd off the rolls many legal voters, making the job of controlling the election that much easier. The machine also used its control of the police on registration day. When chal-

conduct. In considering how to counter police intimidation, a member of one of the city's leading families suggested "nothing short of revolutionary tactics in Louisville will accomplish the purpose." He favored taking a dozen or so men to the polls on Election Day, armed with "concealed weapons or shotguns."

In the tenth ward, a Fusionist registration officer named William O'Mara discovered the extent to which the Democrats would go to corrupt the registration process. O'Mara claimed that John Keane, a Democratic committeeman for the tenth ward, and a saloon owner, offered O'Mara a glass of lemonade on registration day. Seconds after the first sip, O'Mara recalled, "I found myself whirling around and I thought

**Afterward, Bishop  
burned all his records  
because "Election  
business is not  
good stuff to have  
laying around."**

the house was falling in." After being led to a chair, O'Mara finally grasped what had happened. He had been drugged to make it easier to steal his registration records. After several minutes of dazed confusion, O'Mara was taken outside where he was assaulted and his records taken. When he saw the "official" roll printed in the newspaper, O'Mara discovered that over 65 names had been added to his registration lists.

Charles Schuff, the county sheriff, knew that the key to neutralizing the Republican vote was keeping large numbers of African-American voters away on Election Day. Schuff revealed that over 2,500 African-American registration certificates had been bought and were tucked away in a safe where, in Schuff's words, "We can control them." Money could also be used to purchase someone's non-participation. One African-American resident,

**Election fraud, says historian Tracy Campbell, is a longstanding national scourge, not just a Kentucky problem. And fancy voting technology won't fix it.**

## "We Are Not Alone"

### **Where does Kentucky fit in the national picture?**

I originally envisioned this as a book about Kentucky, but I soon realized that would allow just about everybody outside the Commonwealth to say, "See, that's just what happens in Kentucky." It would just perpetuate that stereotype. I realized I had to enlarge the study, and once I did that you can't imagine how many people, once they found out I was working on a book about elec-

tion fraud, would say, "Well you need to visit X. Boy, are elections there really bad. Let me tell you a story..."

It is not relegated to one time period, or one region, or one party. But where are the pockets that keep popping up over and over again? Large cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis—states like Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Illinois, and of course, Kentucky. Kentucky, it seems to me, is kind of in the middle of the road, really, when it comes to electoral fraud on a national scale. It's something that's endemic to our culture from Pikeville to Paducah. It's also that way from Seattle to Miami. We are certainly not alone.

### **Why does the United States have such a tradition of election fraud?**

Because the payoffs are so great and the penalties are so light. Whether it's steroids in baseball or bribes in politics, if we have that kind of a system set up, you really shouldn't expect anything else. In

electoral politics, when so much is on the line—the power of awarding jobs and contracts, the usual patronage strings—that usually overrides any notion that what's occurring is some kind of a crime.

Far from it. What most people who participate in this think of is that they're doing their duty as participants in a game, to be competitive with their equally corrupt opponents. Once you feel cheated in an election one year, you feel completely justified in using those same methods to

protect yourself the next year. That's been part of the process for over 200 years, which should warn us that it's not going to be easy to eradicate. It's part of who we are, like it or not.

### **Are there periods when vote fraud is more prevalent?**

Yes, when more is on the line. The period preceding the Civil War. During the 1880s and '90s when the South is trying to decide what kind of a political and social makeup it will actually have. The Depression. Those are periods when you see spikes in this kind of activity. I remember looking at the *Courier-Journal*, and inside the paper after an election in 1934 there is a small article that says something like eight people died yesterday in election-day violence in Kentucky. It was almost treated as Memorial Day traffic fatalities are now—a sad part of the process. Whether it's ideological or financial or



*Tracy Campbell, author of Deliver the Vote. The paperback will be out in July.*



just partisan politics, when feelings reach a peak, we're going to see periods in which the methods used to win office often stretch the boundaries of legality.

### Was the 2000 election such a peak?

I think it shows us that as the issues of abortion or stem cell research or the war on terror reach new levels of partisanship, particularly in local races, that drive to defeat people who stand for all the "wrong" things is going to be even greater. This culture of corruption justifies itself as being fully patriotic—that's the real danger, that there's a contempt for the democratic process that underlies the whole thing. What I liked about 2000 was that it showed, in so many ways, the underlying stresses within this system. We've tended to lose ourselves in notions of electronic equipment and vote verification. The real issue about 2000 is absentee ballots which, whether it's Florida or Kentucky, is the new cottage industry of stolen and bought votes.

### How are absentee ballots usually corrupted?

As one election official told me, the key to preventing fraud is like real estate—location, location, location. The moment I mail that absentee ballot out, I lose control of it. What it does is allow the vote buyers to obtain those ballots—to buy them and mark them up and know exactly how they're going to be cast. This is not just something that occurs in Kentucky—it occurs throughout the country. We have vote brokers who receive a certain amount of money for obtaining absentee ballots. In some states we actually tell people when your absentee ballot is actually going to be mailed, so that I can wait by your post office box, particularly if you're in a nursing home and don't know the difference, and obtain dozens if not hundreds every single day. Mark them up, send them in. What it does is, it invalidates the whole notion of a secret ballot the moment that it is mailed out.

**The key to preventing fraud is like real estate—location, location, location.**

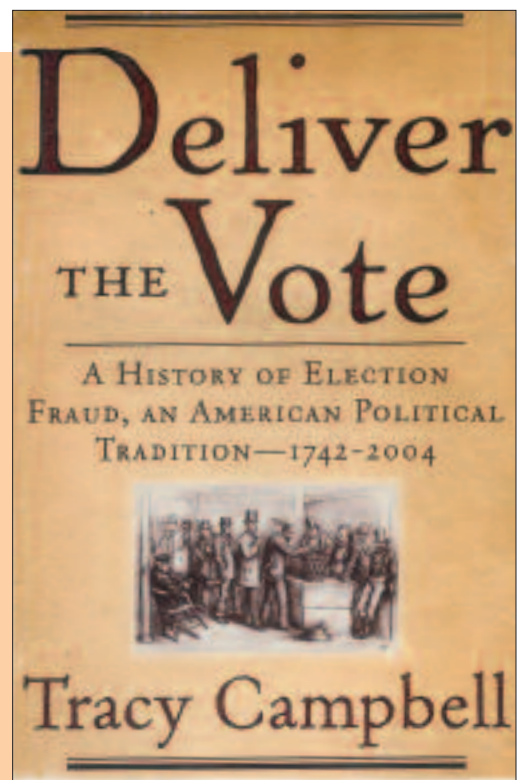
Absentee ballots have an interesting history in our country. During the Civil War, there was a huge argument about whether we should allow soldiers to vote. That's been more or less settled, and that is a legitimate, reasonable exercise of absentee ballots. [But] in some states like California, 25 percent of the entire election is decided by absentee ballot. It's now mostly a means of convenience to try and get people to participate in the process. We've substituted convenience for what used to be a military necessity. Instead of limiting the use of these ballots, they keep growing and growing. In Oregon, for example, you have almost the entire election every year on just mail-in votes, which opens up Pandora's boxes of how you can manipulate, if not outright steal, the count.

### Is going to a polling place and casting a ballot in person the right way to do it?

I'm not trying to be facetious, but when we have a Powerball drawing, people will wait outside in the rain for three or four hours for that one-in-eighty-million shot at being a millionaire. Whereas, we feel so resigned and demoralized that having to wait more than five minutes at the voting booth is just not worth my time. I think it's good for the democratic life of the country for people to actually show up at a schoolhouse or a church or a mall with their neighbors and to vote at those locations. The more we allow you to vote by mail, the greater the risk that your vote is not going to be counted and you're going to live under the false impression that you're participating in the process.

### Is there any effort to address the problem of absentee ballots?

No, quite the opposite. I see moves to make them much more widespread. Several of my suggestions, I know, stand a snowball's chance, like eliminating the electoral college, severely reducing the number of absentee ballots, expanding the



electioneering-free zones around the polls—all of those, we're going in the opposite direction, and we're focusing instead on the actual machines. New electronic machines won't solve our problems. We thought that improved technology throughout American history would solve the problem, and all it essentially did was change the nature of the game, whether it's paper ballots or machines or absentee votes or the Internet.

### What are the consequences of vote fraud?

We see it almost on a yearly basis. Whether it's a matter of who's going to get taxed, who's going to serve in war, where a road's going to be built, all those issues that have such significance in our lives eventually come down to an election. All power in a democracy essentially comes down to who wins the most votes, even judicial power. Judges are either elected or appointed by someone's who's elected. The consequences are grave, and if the basis for exercising power comes from free and fair elections—I wrote this book to show that those elections aren't as sacred as we thought they were. It's painful, and it's rather depressing, but I think it's actually empowering to know the real dynamics of what we're facing rather than simply saying, the numbers are in, let's move on.

William Moore, later testified that he was offered \$2.00 to not register. Reducing the turnout was as critical to stealing the election as intimidating voters and stuffing ballots boxes.

The 1905 election also revealed the dynamics behind the election officers who were supposed to be neutral referees of the city's electoral process. Of 356 election officers in Louisville's twelve wards, 89, or one-quarter, either worked for the city or county, or were listed as having relatives who did. Another 48 workers, or thirteen percent, were listed as "gamblers" or "bartenders." Fusionists knew that if those responsible for insuring the legality of the election had a vested interest in the election's outcome, or owned saloons where much of the electioneering occurred, chances of another stolen election loomed high.

### **"All elections require money"**

In order for all of the corrupt figures in the Louisville election to do their jobs properly, money was a necessity. The 1905 Louisville mayor's race provides a rare opportunity to see how much money was used in a Gilded Age municipal election. Bank records revealed that the Democratic campaign fund had deposits of over \$69,000 between August 31, 1905 and Election Day in early November, nearly three times the amount of the

offices were to contribute ten percent of their current city salary, while police officers contributed according to their rank—the police chief gave \$125; lieutenants, \$50; and patrolmen, \$32. Other city employees were expected to give five percent of their earnings to the fund. Bishop added that no threats were necessary to secure these sums and dismissed suggestions that his efforts served to corrupt the system. "All elections require money," Bishop said. "You can't have an election without it."

The manner in which the campaign fund was spent was instructive. The fund had nothing to do with printing campaign buttons or distributing placards, and everything to do with manipulating votes. The Campaign Committee instructed Bishop on how much to give each ward on the night preceding registration day. Bishop was well-versed in the nuances of conducting elections. Was there a verbal understanding as to how to disburse the money? "No," said Bishop, "it was not necessary to have an understanding at an election," adding that spending large sums "has to be done." Bishop gave one ward captain nearly \$2,500 on election eve. When asked why that particular amount, he casually replied because that ward had "very near 7,000 votes." The larger the ward, the larger the amount given to each ward captain.

## **"As to vote buying, there seems to be no solution. The best of men weep over it and wipe their eyes and write a subscription to the election fund."**

Fusionist fund. Furthermore, those records show that during registration week in early October, \$22,290 was withdrawn, and on Election Day, another \$23,360 was removed from the account. By the end of November, all of the \$72,612.50 which had been in the campaign fund had been withdrawn.

Fred R. Bishop, treasurer of the Democratic campaign fund, later described how he went about raising these funds. Candidates for various city

On Election Day itself, ward and precinct captains returned periodically for more cash. Bishop related that whenever a captain came in, "Whatever they say they have to have I give it to them." What they did with the money was not Bishop's concern. In fact, he never even recorded in his ledger how much he distributed. Afterward, Bishop burned all of his election records because, in his understated words, "Election business is not good stuff to have laying around."

After acquiring the money from Bishop, the ward captains knew what to do with it. They spent part of their money paying city police officers and firefighters to take the day off to perform various chores in helping the Democrats. More than twenty percent of the city's firefighters claimed they were sick on Election Day and were put to use on behalf of the Democratic campaign. The *Evening-Post* reported the degree to which the police force was an arm of the machine. Each officer, the paper revealed, was required to register from his residence three to seven "phantom" voters. All told, 313 illegally registered voters came from the houses of police or firemen. Officer John Quinn boasted he had personally purchased over two hundred registration certificates from the tenth ward.

### **"The wagon that stole our rights"**

On election eve, an estimated 10,000 people gathered at the courthouse to support the Fusionist candidates. The theme of the various speakers was consistent: be alert for election fraud by the Democrats. During the meeting, some angry police officers—obviously in the pocket of the Democrats—waded through the crowd writing down the names of those in attendance as visibly as they could. The Democrats held a simultaneous rally, yet only a handful of voters attended.

When the polls opened, voters in several wards could not vote because of an insufficient supply of ballots. In the tenth ward, voters in the 31st precinct could not vote until shortly before noon because the election commissioners had not arrived. In other areas, legal voters were denied their franchise in apparently "legal" terms. Lucius Alexander, an African-American in the fifth ward, tried to vote but when he approached the poll, "They said the name had done voted, and I couldn't vote." Had he been able to do so, Alexander said he would have voted Fusionist, and added: "I never voted no other kind of ticket but the straight Republican ticket ever since I have been able to vote." More blatant examples existed as well. In the 38th precinct of the third ward, three armed

men simply took the ballot box at gunpoint, loaded it on a wagon and carried it away. Afterwards, one African-American resident of the precinct saw the wagon the culprits used to carry off the box and remarked, in words that poignantly underscored what had occurred, "That looks like the wagon that stole our rights."

In the sixth ward, police officer John Enright refused to allow a number of properly registered African-Americans to vote because they lived in a "disreputable place." When their landlord came to vouch for them, Enright's reasoning changed, and he admitted frankly, "These Negroes ought to be disfranchised." He then did just that by refusing them entry to the polls. Others told Enright that as an officer of the court he was pledged to uphold the law, to which Enright sneered: "To hell with the law, what do I care for the law?" He proclaimed no African-Americans were allowed to vote on his watch: "None of their damn color shall vote here." When pressed that he was exceeding his authority, Enright replied: "By God, I have been through this thing before; I know what I am doing."

In the tenth ward, police officers Lee Speed and James J. Tierney allowed elderly voters brought to the polls from the Little Sister of the Poor Home to vote immediately, at the expense of other voters patiently waiting in line. When some of these voters took ten minutes each to cast their votes, others who had been waiting since shortly before 6:00 A.M. gave up. One observer counted between twenty-five and thirty men who left before voting because they had to get to their jobs. When Tierney was questioned about allowing the elderly voters in ahead of many who had been waiting for nearly four hours, he angrily raised his club and threatened anyone who dared disagree. B.M. Rivers, a Republican challenger in the fifth ward, was shocked when he challenged a voter's qualifications and was summarily ignored by Democratic election officers. Rivers turned to his statute books to cite his legal authority in election challenges. Pat Hartnett, the Democratic challenger,



*Without the persistence of Helm Bruce and his colleagues, the sordid details of the 1905 election in Louisville would never have come to light.*

expressed outright contempt for the statute books in language that underscored the events of the day: "God damn the law, we are Democrats!"

Throughout the day, John Whallen kept a low profile, though he ventured from the Buckingham on at least one occasion. When Republican challenger Tony Giuliano went to his precinct in the sixth ward, he was met by several men, including Whallen, who asked Giuliano to check on another challenger's whereabouts. Upon Giuliano's return, Whallen informed him "We have done swore a man in your place and another man in the other man's place." Giuliano protested,

but Whallen told him, "The best thing for you to do is to get out of here." One of the new election officers Whallen had summarily installed that morning was Roman Leachman, the police officer who had so conspicuously intimidated prospective voters on registration day.

### **"Frauds open and brazen"**

While Fusionists were outraged at the blatant theft, the Democratic *Courier-Journal* glowingly reported the official results of the election the following day: Democrat Paul Barth had beaten Fusionist Joseph O'Neal by 19,645 to 16,557 (the margin eventually expanded

to 4,826 votes). A humble Barth stated he could not attribute the victory to himself, but gave thanks “to the loyal support of the unswerving Democrats of this city.” The election was not without its share of problems, according to the paper, noting that Fusionists were allegedly armed with clubs and ax handles and were committing outrageous acts of violence upon unsuspecting and innocent Democrats. The following day, the *Courier-Journal* editorialized on the results of the election with the kind of prose that marks the end of many stolen elections:

All things considered [the election] was as free of disturbances as could be expected... that the beaten part should cry ‘fraud’ has become a matter of course; the fairest among them, however, and the manlier—con-

## **Finding that the methods used by the Democrats were “abhorrent to the spirit of our civilization and our Government,” the Court summarily overturned the results of the 1905 city election.**

scious of their own shortcomings and seeing both sides of the record—have been disposed to take their medicine and abide by the result.

Yet the Fusionists refused to go away. Calling themselves the Committee of One Hundred, they organized to raise the necessary funds to contest the election and “take the police out of politics.” Leading the Fusionist campaign was Louisville attorney Helm Bruce, who along with James P. Helm, Alex Barrett, and William Marshall Bullitt, began deposing hundreds of witnesses in preparing their case before the Jefferson Chancery Court. Had it not been for Bruce, the 1905 Louisville election would have quickly faded away as another anecdotal episode of vague “alleged election irregularities” in an obscure city election where fraud on one side likely cancelled out fraud on the other. Because of his efforts, the inner-work-

ings of the 1905 race were exposed in graphic detail.

At the beginning of the investigation, a review of the city’s registration lists revealed the extent of the fraud. At least 790 illegal registrants had voted in the mayoral election. The open vote buying was not done discreetly. Thomas J. Godfrey, who owned a tenement house on East Jefferson Street in the first ward, told investigators he had been approached shortly before registration day by four men who offered him \$45 to swear that five men whom Godfrey had never seen lived in the house. The going rate, it seems, for illegal registrations was \$9 per person. One poll official, Walter Peoples, testified he had been offered \$100 in the 15th precinct of the eleventh ward by a Democratic sheriff, Enos Huff. Huff’s offer was to give Peoples \$75, keep \$25

for himself, and for Peoples to give the Democrats a one-vote margin in the heavily African-American and Republican precinct. In the twelfth ward alone, 830 properly registered voters had tried to vote but were unable because no ballots had been supplied.

The Republican *Evening-Post* wrote lyrically of the breadth of the fraud in Barth’s election. There was evidence of

frauds perpetrated by repeaters; frauds due to conspiracies; frauds in the count; frauds consummated only by violence; frauds open and brazen; frauds subtle and silent; frauds in the third, frauds in the tenth; frauds in respectable parts of town and frauds such as one might expect in the Red Light District.

In March 1907, the Jefferson Chancery Court ruled on the election contest. By a 2-1 margin, Judges

Shackleford Miller and Samuel B. Kirby refused to overturn the election, saying that fraud was undoubtedly a major factor in the Democratic victories, but that such corruption affected only nine percent of the vote, not enough to invalidate the results entirely. Judges Miller and Kirby concluded that in the twelfth ward “many of the Democrats behaved very badly, but the place to deal with them is in the criminal and not in the civil courts.” The decision did not lack for political machinations. Whallen had supported Judge Miller in his first election to the Chancery Court in 1897. Miller obliged the following year by deciding a case in Whallen’s favor that allowed the city to purchase land at inflated prices from Whallen for a courthouse annex. Not surprisingly, Whallen had firmly supported Miller in his reelection bid in 1903.

The court’s decision was not surprising to thoughtful observers of Louisville’s court system. In the previous three years, of eighty-seven election cases brought before the Jefferson County Circuit Court, only one resulted in a conviction: the defendant, an African-American, was sent to the workhouse for six months. In some of these cases, police officers involved in the 1905 election, such as Roman Leachman and Martin Donahue, had their charges dismissed. Helm Bruce and his partners appealed the Chancellors’ ruling to the Kentucky Court of Appeals, the state’s highest court, which was composed of five Democrats and one Republican. Throughout it all, Mayor Barth and his cohorts ran the city with little regard for the appeal. As the months went by, the realistic chances of undoing the results of the 1905 election grew increasingly slim.

The court’s actions only verified what some saw as a thoroughly corrupt political system. “We have the best election laws and the worst possible elections in Louisville,” said Lafon Allen of the Municipal Voters’ League. “Such a thing as an honest election is unknown in Louisville.” Allen added that part of the problem was that “it is impossible in our city to have a man convicted for stealing an election. We have no confidence in our judges.”

## The Triumph of Democracy

In April 1907, seventeen months after the election, Kentucky's high court finally heard the case. Arguing for overturning the election, William M. Bullitt asked the court, "Are elections to be carried that way? If we cannot get relief in this case, can you conceive of any election where a court of equity could give relief?" Bullitt concluded:

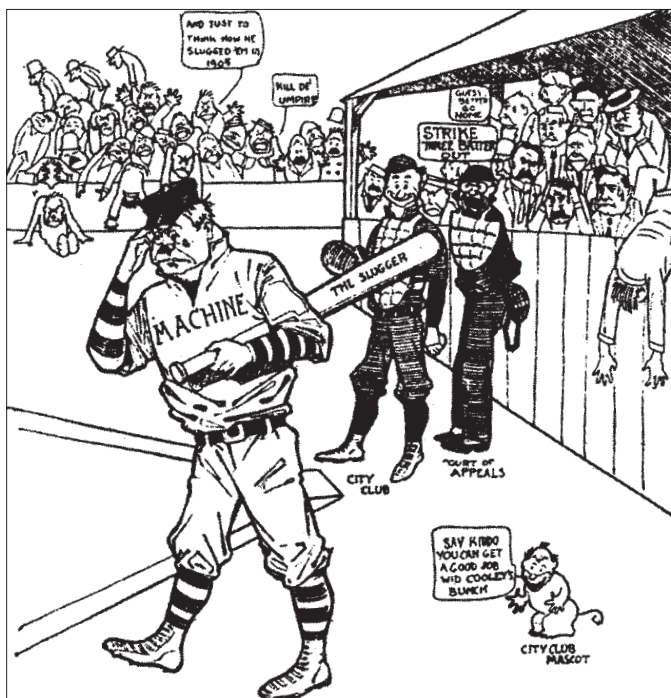
When the Apostle Paul was scourged by the Roman Captain without a trial, he made that Captain quake with fear with the magic words, "I am a Roman Citizen." The citizens of Louisville ask this high tribunal that they should make the word "citizen" in Kentucky as sacred as it was in the days of the Roman Empire... and they ask that you say once and for all that the policemen have no greater right than a Captain of the Roman government had, and that policemen shall be taught once and for all that they are not excused from wrongdoings.

Bullitt presented the Court with a chart he titled "The Rape of the Ballot." In it, he concluded that 6,296 voters had been disfranchised. He was countered by Joe C. Dodd, representing the Democrats, who told the court that the Fusionist campaign had been "designed in fraud, backed up by vilification and abuse." When the court adjourned, Whallenites who had traveled to Frankfort made some "muttered threats" against Bullitt. Yet the "real bosses," according to the *Evening-Post*, "realize that any act of violence at this time would have disastrous results."

On May 22, 1907, the Court of Appeals issued a stunning ruling. By a 4-2 vote, the Court agreed with the Fusionists that the election had been marked by overwhelming evidence of illegal registrations,

destroyed ballots, stolen ballot boxes, alphabetical voting, and police violence. Central to the Court's ruling was overturning the Chancery Court's finding that not enough ballots had been stolen to affect the outcome of the election. The majority opinion, written by Judge John B. Lassing, stated that due to

... the force and violence used by the partisans under the protection of the police; the pernicious activity of the police themselves in and about the



*This cartoon appeared in the Louisville Evening-Post following the Court of Appeals ruling invalidating the 1905 election. The "Machine" has struck out. Someone in the stands yells, "Kill De Umpire."*

polling places, coupled with the large number of illegal votes shown to have been cast, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that a "free and fair" election... was not held.

The Court of Appeals went a step further and agreed with Bullitt that 6,292 voters had been disfranchised in the election, more than enough to overturn the election's results. The Court continued:

We cannot feel that our duty in this case is fully performed without

insisting that it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of a democratic form of government, that the right of suffrage should be free and untrammelled. No people can be said to govern themselves whose elections are controlled by force, fear, or fraud. And the people who do not govern themselves are slaves.

Finding that the methods used by the Democrats were "abhorrent to the spirit of our civilization and our Government,"

the Court summarily overturned the results of the 1905 city election and ordered all Louisville municipal offices vacated immediately. Governor J.C.W. Beckham was given authority to name interim city officers pending a new election in November 1907. Beckham installed Robert W. Bingham, the former county attorney, as interim mayor. A delirious *Evening-Post* claimed that with such a "triumph of democracy," the ruling restored "self government to Louisville." *Outlook* commented that the ruling would "put heart into those everywhere who are fighting against the tyranny of political corruption."

## A City of White People

A Republican won the special mayoral election ordered by the court in 1907, but the real test would come at the next regular election in 1909. With the Court of Appeals decision fresh in the minds of the city's voters, John Whallen could not depend on the usual methods to ensure a Democratic victory. Rather, Whallen reverted to white supremacy to win back the mayor's office. The day before the election, the *Courier-Journal* ran on its front page a letter supposedly written by an local African-American named "Pinky" to other members of a group called the "Young Men's Colored Republican Club." "If the republican party wins this fall we will have everything," the letter said. After a Republican

victory, “Pinky” continued, “People of our color will be on an equality with any dam [sic] white person.” It was an obvious forgery, but such blatant race-baiting worked. The *Kentucky Irish-American*, an instrument of the Whallen machine, posed the case plainly for its readers: “Do you want Negro domination or do you want Louisville to remain a city of white people, for the white people, and governed by white people?” Campaigning

## **“We have the best election laws and the worst possible elections. Such a thing as an honest election is unknown in Louisville.”**

for mayor, William O. Head told a crowd of German-Americans that he had seen a black man in charge of some white workers on a city street. “A negro was bossing them around and was cussing one of the men. Do you want that condition of affairs to continue in this city?”

The following day, Whallen’s candidate won by 2,316 votes, with a majority of nearly 1,700 votes in the twelfth ward accounting for a good part of his victory. On election night, a very satisfied Whallen said: “I went into this fight to win . . . and the good people of Louisville rallied to our support with unswerving devotion.” The jubilant new mayor told Whallen, “The people were with us in this fight and your work has been wonderful.” Then, Whallen and Judge Shackleford Miller, who had decided for the Democrats in 1905, shook hands in victory. Whallen had another reason for smiling. He and his brother had won almost \$10,000 in election wagers. A thoroughly disgusted Robert Bingham reflected that with the return of the “old corrupt and vicious Democratic ring . . . conditions here now are as bad, if not worse, than they have ever been.”

For the African-Americans of Louisville, the 1909 vote taught them everything they needed to know about elections. The state’s highest court may have invalidated election theft in the 1905 race, but race-baiting in 1909 accom-

plished what stolen ballots could not. After winning the mayor’s office, Head and the Democrats kept African-Americans off the city’s payroll and even extended segregation to the city’s jail.

The return to power of the Whallenites also had a tangible impact on the city’s police force. By 1908, of fifty-two officers who had been implicated in some form of election fraud, twenty-four had been dismissed from

the force, and eight more had resigned, among them Roman Leachman. One local newspaper declared that the police themselves were particularly pleased with the new dynamics in city politics since they would no longer have to contribute money to Democratic coffers, or “do humiliating deeds for the *Courier-Journal’s* crowd.” In November 1909, shortly after the Whallenites returned to power, six of the fired officers were suddenly reappointed to their duties. Some, like Frank Buddell, went on to lengthy careers and later received their city pensions. Others suffered no penalties at all for their activities. Officer Steve Wickham, in fact, had been promoted to captain in July 1907. The alliance between Louisville’s corrupt political machine and the city’s police force, which served as a powerful instrument of fraud on Election Day, remained intact.

## **“The crooks don’t always get away with it”**

The 1905 election and its aftermath was merely the latest installment in a long series of stolen elections. And it was certainly not the last. In 1923 and 1925, the same dynamics played out in remarkable fashion, complete with stories of “concentration camps” where repeaters—the “Go Get ‘Em Boys”—were taught their trade by party officials. The Court of

Appeals ultimately threw out the results of both of these blatantly fraudulent elections. With the third judicial rebuke of its elections in two decades, the *New York Evening World* wrote, “No city with any self-respect can indefinitely stand such reflections on its civic integrity.” The *Courier-Journal* disagreed: “Louisville is not a hardened sinner, and neither defends nor condones what took place.” Unlike other cities, the paper noted, at least Louisville could ultimately boast “that the crooks don’t always get away with it.”

Considering all that had happened, the Louisville saga offers the distressing conclusion that the crooks mostly did get away with it. The culture of corruption that permeated city elections could not be curbed by election reform, public exposure, or judicial nullification. John Whallen grew rich at the expense of the city’s demoralized voters, and he never spent a day in jail or paid one cent for his election crimes. When he died in 1913, his funeral procession included over one hundred carriages of mourners, one of the largest in the history of the city. His place as city boss was assumed by his brother, Jim, who continued the family tradition on Election Day. When Jim died in 1930, his funeral also showed the high regard in which the city’s politicians held him. In fact, one of his pallbearers was none other than Arthur Wallace, the reformer who had first brought the Australian secret ballot to the city. ●

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**Duncan Hines was a culinary entrepreneur who made a career of finding good restaurants—what he called “standout attractions.” Then cake mixes turned him into one of the best-known Kentuckians of the twentieth century.**

# Standout Attractions

A wise man once said: “After your death, you’ll be remembered more for your passion than for your personality.” Duncan Hines had a passion for food and its preparation. He demanded the freshest ingredients, insisted that kitchens be spotless, and expected his meals to be artistically presented. Establishments that failed to meet his expectations didn’t make it into his influential restaurant guides. If Hines is not remembered for his passion, he should be, because it raised the level of American cuisine, making it easier for Americans to get good meals in restaurants, and, once he started endorsing supermarket products, to prepare good meals at home. Every day millions of supermarket shoppers still see his name on a line of popular cake mixes. In the pantheon of packaged food icons, Aunt Jemima, Betty Crocker, and Mrs. Butterworth are all fictional characters, but Duncan Hines was very real, a Kentuckian whose name stood, nationwide, for integrity and quality.

Hines, the youngest of the six children of Edward Ludlow and Cornelia (Duncan) Hines, was born on March, 26, 1880 in Bowling Green, Kentucky. When Duncan was only four, his mother died of pneumonia. His father sent Duncan and his older brother, Porter, to live with their maternal grandparents—Joseph D. and Jane C. Duncan—on a Warren County farm about ten miles southwest of Bowling Green. His Grandmother



Duncan taught the young Hines to appreciate good cooking. She was an intuitive cook who didn’t have to measure ingredients to create her delectable dishes. He recalled that fresh eggs and butter heightened the flavor of his grandmother’s cooking, particularly her baking. Before his arrival at his grandparents’ home, Hines said, “Food was just something to fill the hollow space under my ribs. Not until after I came to live with

*Carving was just one of the culinary skills Duncan Hines, billed as America’s Foremost Food Authority, was ready to impart to American cooks.*

Grandma Duncan did I realize just how wonderful good cookery could be.”

Hines attended the St. Columba School, a parochial school run by the



*His restaurant guides established Duncan Hines's credibility as a culinary expert.*

Sisters of Charity in Bowling Green. Upon graduating, he entered Bowling Green Business University (BU), where he spent two years preparing for a commercial career. In 1898, before finishing the BU's academic requirements for graduation, Hines visited the family physician to determine why he had developed "a slight wheeze." His doctor diagnosed the condition as asthma and recommended that the young man move to a dry, mountainous area.

Before leaving his hometown, Hines landed a job with the Wells-Fargo Express Company, whose president also hailed from Bowling Green. He worked for Wells-Fargo in New Mexico and in Wyoming, where in 1900 he met Florence Chaffin, whom he married in

1905. The couple moved to Chicago, where Duncan worked successfully as a salesman for several different printing companies over the next thirty-three years. In the early years he made most of his customer calls by train, but in 1919, at the age of 39, Hines bought his first automobile. He enjoyed the freedom and mobility this new mode of transportation offered. Hines spent most weekdays traveling to manufacturing plants throughout the Midwest and along the eastern seaboard. Like many traveling salesmen, he often endured hours of down time between client calls; he spent these interludes acquainting himself with local eateries in the

towns he visited and dutifully recording information about them in a small notebook.

Since Hines spent weekdays away from his wife, he tried to spend as much of his free time with her as possible. Instead of becoming weekend couch potatoes, Hines and Florence traveled America's highways in their new car. Hines wrote in one of his early guides: "My interest in wayside inns is not the expression of a gourmand's greedy appetite for fine foods, but the result of a recreational

impulse to do something different, to play a new game that would intrigue my wife and give me her companionship in my hours of relaxation from a strenuous and exacting business." From the early 1920s through the late 1930s, the couple drove between 40,000 and 60,000 miles a year.

Everywhere they stopped, they jotted notes in Duncan's little notebook about eating spots that he said "offered standout attractions in the culinary department."

Hines's immense knowledge of roadside eateries soon marked him as an expert on the subject. In a slow but growing crescendo, hundreds of businessmen whom he met in his travels, and their friends, asked him for advice on not only the best places to eat, but also the best places to spend the night. By 1930, the number of good restaurants in Hines's notebook had expanded to approximately 200. His reputation widened when a Chicago newspaper, in 1934, published an article about Hines's hobby. The article's publication generated hundreds of phone calls, and Hines admitted that he felt as if he was becoming the "Dear Abby" of the culinary world. He decided that if he published a list of his restaurant recommendations he might eliminate most of the intrusive inquiries. In November 1935, Hines and Florence compiled a list of what they considered the 167 best restaurants in thirty states and ordered 1000 copies printed on a heavy stock of blue paper. Hines dubbed the card "Adventures in Good Eating," and the couple included it with their Christmas cards that year.

A few weeks into the New Year, Hines was overcome with requests from people asking for copies. When he could no longer afford to absorb the cost of printing the list,

**Of one café he said, "If you get anything after the cockroaches are finished, you're lucky." His first stop in any restaurant was the bathroom, to make sure it was clean.**

he began charging one dollar for each copy. People paid willingly for good advice about restaurants that served satisfying and tasty fare in an attractive, clean atmosphere. Prior to 1950, eating out was not always a pleasure and was occasionally a trial. All too often the menu featured "leaden bis-



cuits accurately called sinkers and antelope steak so tough you couldn't get your fork in the gravy," served up in a smoky, grimy room. It is no surprise that Hines's list was popular. In later years he remembered:

It made me realize that we had done something that had never before been tried in this country—because there were no authoritative and unbiased guides to good eating. I felt that I could perform a real service to the public by giving them an appreciation of fine food and telling them where they could get a decent meal.

The favorable public reaction to his Christmas card enclosure made Hines realize that he possessed the material for a marketable book. In June 1936, he produced the first edition of *Adventures in Good Eating for the Discriminating Motorist*. The title indicates that the featured restaurants were a notch above other eateries and hinted at snobbery. A persistent complaint about the early editions was that a working man and a "discriminating motorist" probably were not financial equals—the average laborer could not afford meals at Mr. Hines's recommended restaurants. Five thousand copies of the 96-page book were printed, which Hines sold for a dollar apiece. The first edition lost \$1500, a considerable sum during the Depression. Hines was not distraught because, like any good salesman, he believed in his product. After the first few editions, the guide found a market and began to turn a handsome profit.

What readers found in Hines's guide pleasantly surprised them. Entries were arranged alphabetically by state and then by city. For each restaurant Hines noted the address, an

average price for meals, and some information about the establishment's history or décor. He paid particular attention to the restaurant's special entrees. Of his favorite Kentucky eatery, the Beaumont Inn in Harrodsburg, Hines wrote:

A white-pillared mansion built in 1847 and for many years the home of the beloved Daughter's College. For the past 20 years it has become known throughout America as the delightful and satisfying Beaumont

didn't write for his readers so much as he talked to them. He peppered his books with random thoughts and homey observations: "Then I filled up with coffee and apple pie, and while I think I could make a better pie myself, it was really quite satisfying." He balanced this with practical information about restaurants: "Not only do their menus provide an almost endless variety of the kind of food women like but there is ample choice of the 'he man' variety for hungry males and special menus provided for children."



*Hines (right) never lost his taste for travel. Here, along with his wife, Clara, and Bob Sebree, he admires his new Cadillac.*

Inn. Here you will find true Southern hospitality at its best. Their food specialties are fried yellow-legged chicken, two-year-old, genuine country-cured, hickory-smoked ham, delicious beaten biscuits, an ample variety of fresh vegetables and their desserts are very, very good.

Along with the book's informational value, readers enjoyed Hines's folksy character. He was a natural storyteller and this translated well in his books; he

Hines's guides were not pretentious. He, like most other traveling Americans, simply wanted a good meal away from home. What Hines earned with each book sale was more than one dollar; he reaped something of far greater long-term value—the reader's trust. Keep in mind that Hines did not invent the restaurant guidebook. Others were available at the time of his publishing venture, but he gave his guide characteristics the others lacked: respectability and integrity. Hines also invited his readers along for the

## And Are They Good!

Although Duncan Hines had relished many of the world's epicurean delights, his comfort foods consisted of such simple fare as country ham, fried eggs, cornbread, apple pie and coffee. When the following recipe for fried eggs was published in 1954 in *Duncan Hines Favorite Recipes*, no one had ever heard of a low-fat diet.

### Fried Eggs

This is the way I cook eggs.

Take a sauce pan and into it put butter or bacon drippings so that when melted there will be about a quarter of an inch of fat in the bottom. Have fat warm, but not hot. Break into the sauce pan as many eggs as it will hold, two, four, six, or whatever your requirements will be. When the eggs are in the pan, baste the yellows constantly with the warm fat until a film forms over them. The reason for the low heat is so that the

whites will not become frizzled and tough before the yolks are done. When they are done, they look like poached eggs, and are they good! If you want to dress them up a bit, sprinkle a little paprika over them.

If you are fortunate enough to have real country ham steaks to fry, cook the pieces so that the fat will brown the bottom of the frying pan. If you want to, you can even put in extra bits of fat and let them frizzle to a crisp. This will aid in making your fat brown. Now, break your eggs into the skillet

but be sure, that it is not too hot. Cook for a few minutes until whites solidify underneath. And then turn them over with a spatula and let cook a few more minutes. Here, too, the fat should not be so hot as to frizzle the whites before the yolks are done. The result will be beautifully brown

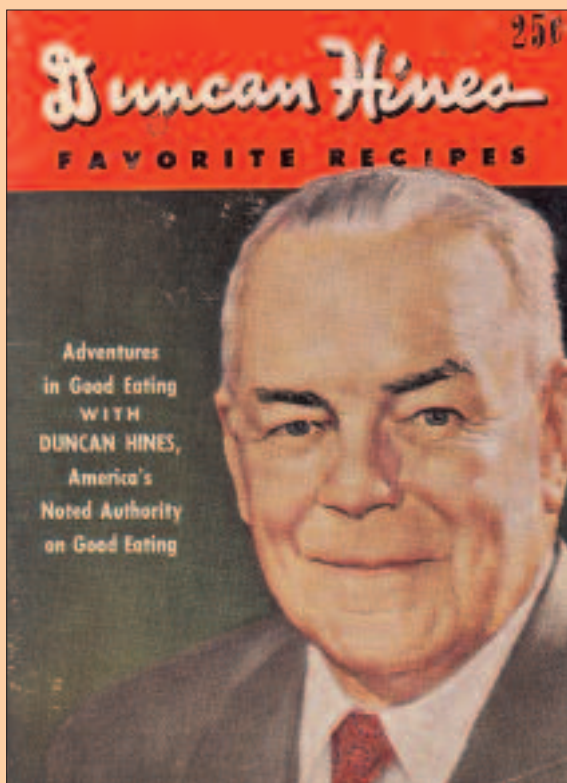
eggs, with a flavor that you will never forget.

Of course, if you do not have butter, bacon drippings, or fried ham fat, then you will have to make do with just any kind of fat, but they just won't be the same, I warn you.

### Apple Pie Filling

Another Hines favorite was apple pie. Although he doesn't provide his pastry shell recipe here, we do know that he often added chicken fat to the crust for added crispness and flavor.

- 1 cup of sugar
- 2 tablespoons flour
- 1/2 tsp. grated nutmeg
- 1/2 cup orange juice
- 3 tablespoons white syrup



*In addition to restaurant guides, Hines published lodging guides, vacation guides and cookbooks.*



*Duncan Hines at work. As far as we know, that's not an official Duncan Hines apron.*

1/3 cup melted butter  
Winesap apples cut into thin slices  
(enough to fill a pie pan)

Mix all but the apples together, then add the fruit and thoroughly mix together. Butter a pie pan heavily before putting in the pastry, then fill with the apple mixture and make strips for the top. Preheat oven. Bake at 400 degrees F. for 15 minutes, then reduce oven to 250 degrees F. and bake for 35 to 40 minutes.

“Adventure.” Each book contained three postcards purchasers could use to inform Hines of eating places that offered “an unusually pleasant and satisfactory experience” and whose “standards of food and service entitle them to honorable mention in the next edition of *Adventures in Good Eating*.” Hines traveled 50,000 miles annually to inspect recommended restaurants. He also employed a group of “dinner detectives”—a close cadre of epicurean adventurers Hines personally recruited to assist him in his quest to find America’s best eating establishments.

Eventually *Adventures in Good Eating* and later spin-off publications—*Lodging for a Night*, *Adventures in Good Cooking* (a recipe book), and a dessert recipe book—paid handsomely. The spin-offs were filled with the same folksy quips as his restaurant guide. In

*Lodging for a Night*’s introduction, he wrote: “What do I care if George

sive quality, he adhered to a strict code of ethics in preparing his guides and in his business dealings. Recommended restaurants that failed to live up to his exacting standards were dropped from the next book. Hines also tried to maintain a low profile, arriving at eateries unannounced and maintaining his anonymity until he had paid for the meal. In addition, he used a 20-year old photograph of himself in his books, which helped mask his identity. Since a recommendation from Hines often meant the difference between poverty and prosperity, it became more difficult to elude restaurant staffs and managers. If he was discovered, Hines received preferential treatment, which prevented him from making an unbiased report.

To enhance his trustworthiness, Hines would not accept even simple gifts from listed restaurants. One New York restaurateur sold homemade candy as a sideline, but the only way Hines would accept any was as a Christmas gift. When a Missouri entrepreneur sent him a 35-pound turkey “to prove Missouri produces the finest turkeys,” Hines retaliated by shipping a like-sized Kentucky ham back “to keep things even.” Hines also refused endorsement schemes, saying, “Once I succumb, I’ve lost my most valuable asset—my independence.”

The American traveling public saw Hines as a crusader earnestly battling for better food preparation and presentation. He felt strongly that good food and good

## In the pantheon of packaged food icons, Aunt Jemima, Betty Crocker, and Mrs. Butterworth are all fictional characters, but Duncan Hines was very real.

Washington slept there? Do they have a nice clean bathroom and do the beds have box springs—that’s what I want to know.” This was the same information that the traveling public desired, and Hines provided it in engaging prose.

Hines’s successful publishing career was predicated on trust. To foster that elu-

health were inevitably linked, and that cleanliness in food preparation was paramount. He often said that no paying customer should be timid about asking for a kitchen tour. In a magazine article he stated:

It calls for some nerve to ask to see the kitchen of public eating places,



but after you have seen one littered with filth, food and garbage exposed to flies, and sloppy cooks dropping cigarette ashes into whatever they are cooking, you find it easy to screw up your courage. I am nearing my second million miles of wayside eating and I still have my appetite and health, but it is only because I have been a fussy busybody and have walked out on thousands of places whose kitchens were dirty or emitted rancid odors.

**“It made me realize that we had done something that had never before been tried in this country—because there were no authoritative and unbiased guides to good eating.”**

Of one café he said, “If you get anything after the cockroaches are finished, you’re lucky.” His first stop in any restaurant was the bathroom, to make sure it was clean. “Sanitation of the whole place,” Hines noted, “is the most important thing.” He would inevitably ask for a table near the kitchen, where he could observe the intermingling of the staff and could scope out the restaurant’s ambience. Of the food, he said, “It must smell good, have eye appeal and taste good.”

Unfortunately, Hines’s partner did not live to see his success; Florence succumbed to cancer in September 1938. Hines was devastated, but carried on. In December 1938 a national magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*, published a flattering article about his work. Hines’s biographer said this laudatory article “transformed” Hines “from an ordinary small-time bookseller into America’s most authoritative voice for the best places to eat.” Shortly after the *Post* article was published, Hines

spent the holiday season with his sister, Annie, in Bowling Green. She asked him to consider moving back to his hometown, where he could pursue his business and where she could look after his personal needs. In March 1939 he did move his fledgling business to Bowling Green.

After occupying several temporary locations, Hines purchased four acres on the Dixie Highway (Highway 31-W) in 1940 and built an attractive house-office to accommodate his business. The

*After moving his business to Bowling Green in 1939, Hines built this office/home on Highway 31-W.*

house’s façade was a diminutive replica of the back porch of Mount Vernon, George Washington’s estate overlooking the Potomac River in Virginia. Adjacent to a busy thoroughfare, the new structure attracted a steady flow of friends and tourists. Besides visitors, Hines received up to 600 letters a day from fans. There were occasional complaints about his recommendations, and he claimed that he, or someone from his band of dinner detectives, investigated all grievances. Most of the letters, however, were favorable. Many requested information about honeymoon spots, special places to hold receptions and events, or included recipes or recommendations for new restaurants and hotels to include in his books. Like any celebrity, Hines also received correspondence with quirky requests such as, “What should we name our baby?”

During World War II, Hines’s business—for that matter, all travel related business—was seriously curtailed, but the economic boom after the war and the ubiquitous automobile assured his financial success. Although his business was booming, his personal life took some jolts during this period. He had a short mar-

riage to one of his secretaries, Emelie Tolman, who was sixteen years his junior and had moved to Bowling Green with him from Chicago. Their marriage lasted from 1939 to 1945. Shortly after the divorce was finalized, Hines married a

**Duncan Hines had better name recognition than fellow Kentuckian Alben Barkley, the sitting vice president of the United States.**

family friend, Clara Wright Nahm, who lived in Bowling Green and enjoyed travel.

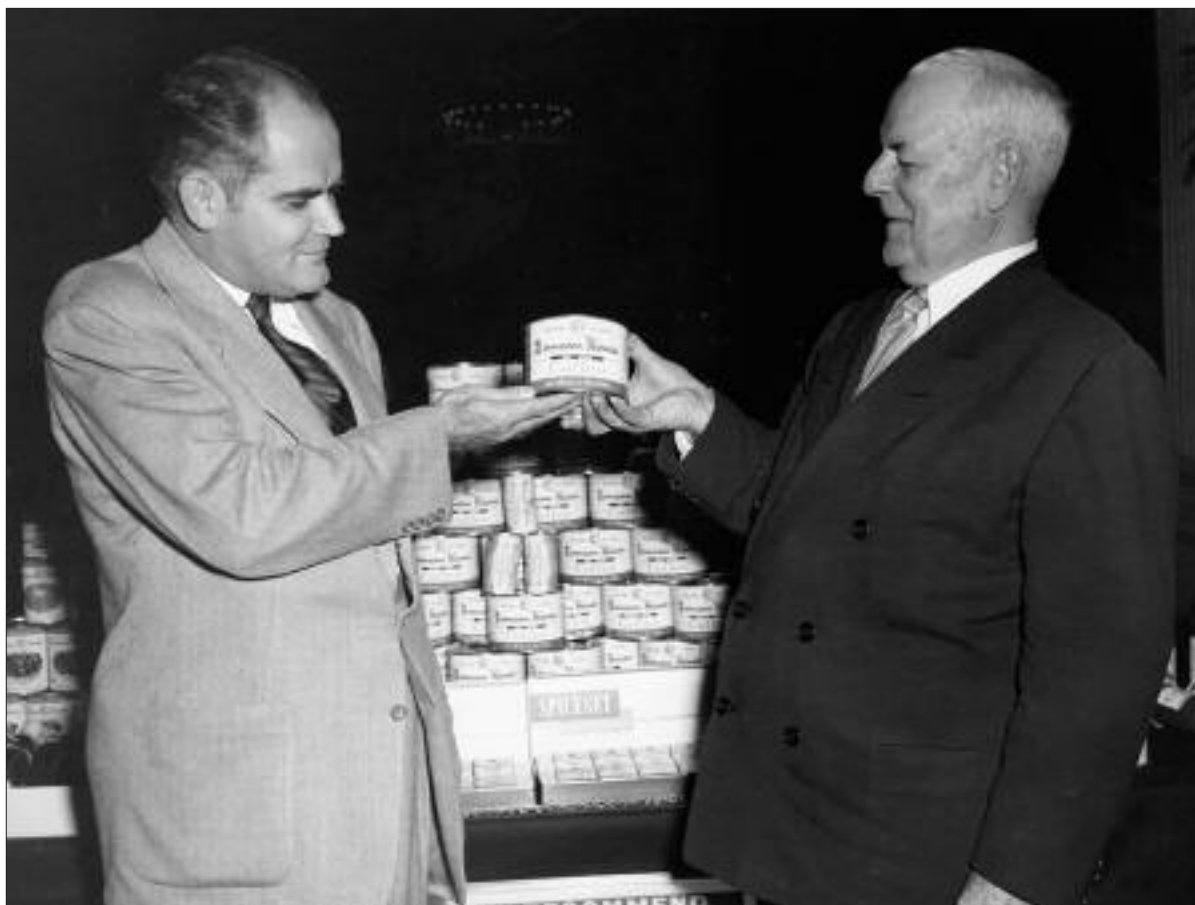
With his business and personal life on track, Hines might have gone on simply occupying the position he had carved out for himself—trusted arbiter of the American dining scene. Then opportunity knocked in the person of Roy H. Park, who operated an advertising agency. One of Park's clients—the Grange League Federation Exchange—wanted to get into the rapidly developing packaged food industry. To compete successfully, they knew they needed a logo or brand name that grocery shoppers, chiefly women, would link with superior quality. After extensive surveying, analysts found that the name most housewives associated with quality food was—Duncan Hines. In fact, Hines had better name recognition than fellow Kentuckian Alben Barkley, the sitting vice president of the United States.

*Hines and his business partner, Roy H. Park (left), at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City in 1951. They were promoting Duncan Hines coffee, one of dozens of products to bear his name.*

Upon meeting Roy Park in November 1948, Hines acidly quipped, “So, you’re going to make me a millionaire.” Park was keenly aware that Hines was more interested in protecting his reputation and independence than in becoming a packaged food mogul. Artfully massaging the culinary chieftain’s pride, Park suggested that he actually wanted to initiate a line of high quality food products in Hines’s honor. “By making your name more meaningful in the home,” Park said, “you can upgrade American eating habits.” This appeal impressed Hines, and led to the formation of Hines-Park Food Incorporated in 1949.

Ice cream was the first product marketed under the Duncan Hines name. Advertised as a “company dessert that is elegant but easy to serve,” it was an instant success. Across the country scores of dairies produced the frozen confection using a pre-

scribed recipe. This created a uniform product, a necessity in the packaged food business. The ice cream’s success led to the marketing of numerous other food products bearing the Hines name, including coffee, condiments, ice cream toppings, pickles and relishes, sliced bread, mushrooms, cooking and seafood sauces, and salad dressings. At its peak, the Duncan Hines brand name adorned at least 157 different foodstuffs. Eventually, his name also graced kitchen utensils and appliances, pots and pans, and china. When grilling became the rage in the 1950s, the Hines name was emblazoned on grills, utensils, and special barbecue seasonings and sauces. Despite Hines’s reputation, Hines-Park Foods was not an instant financial success. It was only after Hines became actively involved in marketing the products that the company began to turn a profit. To help the company, Hines returned to his favorite activity: traveling. From mom and pop store openings to national sales meetings, Hines proved that he was still a great salesman. Everyone involved in the process agreed that his grassroots involvement was vital to the company’s success.





*Of all the products sold under the Duncan Hines name, cake mixes are the most enduring. A grocery store in Evansville, Indiana mounted this display in 1952.*

Perhaps the best known product of this marketing strategy was a variety of cake and baking mixes introduced in 1951. Only three years after their introduction, Duncan Hines white, yellow, and devils food cake mixes captured ten percent of the national market, and their share grew steadily. One reason for the popularity of the mixes was that they called for the addition of fresh eggs rather than using dehydrated eggs like other mixes. New mixes—for cookies, brownies, pancakes, pizza dough, and muffins—were eventually added to the Duncan Hines line. Thanks to cake mixes, Hines is still a household name.

With his public relations work mounting and his energy waning, Hines realized in the summer of 1953, at the age of 73, that he no longer possessed the physical stamina necessary to run Adventures in Good Eating, Inc., the publishing arm of his empire. He handed the reins of the concern over to Roy Park, who changed the company's name to the Duncan Hines Institute and moved its operations to Ithaca, New York, where it joined Hines-Park Foods. With Hines effectively out of the decision making loop and Park's communications empire consuming more of his time, the future of Hines-Park Foods seemed ten-

uous; it merged in 1956 with Proctor and Gamble. Pinnacle Foods Corporation now produces the popular cake mixes.

In January 1958, Hines fell ill while visiting friends in Florida. The diagnosis was lung cancer. Despite poor health, he continued to visit with friends, relatives, and fans who stopped at his home. On March 15, 1959, Hines died at home in Bowling Green and was buried in that city's Fairview Cemetery. That Hines should meet his demise as the result of lung cancer was not a total surprise. One his secretaries commented, "I almost never saw him without a cigarette in his hand."

After Hines's death, the Duncan Hines Institute published the guidebooks for several years, but in November 1962 issued a statement saying they were no longer necessary. This ended a 26-year publishing venture. The millions of guides sold since 1936 were a lasting legacy. Of far greater importance to Hines was the trust he had earned from those who purchased his books; this consumer confidence built a name that is still marketable. Hines has a special niche in the history of the food and hospitality industries. One chef noted: "Hines did more to lift the level of American cuisine than all the cooks had done in the previous 40 years." We can thank him for cleaner kitchens and better food in restaurants, and think of him each time we're in the supermarket and reach for what many say is still the best cake mix there is: Duncan Hines. ●

Jonathan Jeffrey is Special Collections Librarian at the Kentucky Library and Museum at Western Kentucky University. He presents a talk on Duncan Hines through the Kentucky Humanities Council Speakers Bureau. He is the author of *Bowling Green* in the Images of America series.

Photos courtesy Kentucky Library and Museum, Western Kentucky University.

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**Andrew Carnegie built almost 1700 libraries in the United States, including 27 in Kentucky. They were instant and influential landmarks on our physical and cultural landscapes.**

# Instant Landmarks

**A**ndrew Carnegie, whose exploits in the steel business made him the world's richest man, often remarked that "The man who dies rich dies disgraced." Heeding his own advice, Carnegie had managed to give away \$350 million by the time of his death in 1919. He was most famous as a benefactor of libraries. Carnegie grants totaling more than \$40 million built 2507 libraries around the world, more than half of them in the United States. It was one of the most important acts of philanthropy in the history of this country.



Credit on page 27

*Andrew Carnegie, who gave away \$350 million, was best known as a benefactor of libraries, which he considered essential to "improving the masses."*

Carnegie libraries were instant landmarks on the physical landscape and on the landscape of learning. They are a prominent feature in the built environ-



ment of the United States. At least 377 Carnegie libraries have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, the largest group of buildings, by function and funding, to be so honored. Walking through the front doors of a Carnegie library, for many Americans, was the moment in their lives when they first entered the world of information and imagination offered by reading. Many

*This Carnegie library in Corbin was built in 1916 and is now owned by a church.*

Kentuckians had such an experience—Kentucky was home to 27 Carnegie libraries. Nine of them were in Louisville, which holds a distinguished place in the Carnegie annals.

The first Carnegie libraries were built in 1886, the last in 1917. Carnegie grants built 1,679 library buildings (in 1,412 towns and cities) in the United States, and another 828 around the world. The grants were limited to English-speaking countries. According to George Bobinski, Andrew Carnegie

was the American Library Association (ALA), founded in Philadelphia in 1876. Historian Michael Harris wrote that the ALA “provided librarians with the long-needed organizational structure and public forum required if the library profession was to develop professional cohesiveness and philosophical consistency.”

first half of the nineteenth century, but the Boston Public Library gave real impetus to the public library movement. Across the nation, cities and towns began to pledge tax support, often supplemented by private donations, to the creation of public libraries. By 1913, the U. S. Office of Education counted some 3,000 public libraries with collections of at least 1000 volumes.

Courtesy Henderson County Public Library



Andrew Carnegie had built many of those libraries. Carnegie believed, along with other library advocates, that public libraries played an essential role in creating the educated citizenry democracy requires, and also served as an antidote to social ills. Michael Harris quotes Carnegie as saying in 1900:

I choose free public libraries as the best agencies for improving the masses of the people because they give nothing for nothing. They only help those who help themselves. They never pauperize. They reach the aspiring, and open to these the chief treasures of the world—those stored in books. A taste for reading drives out lower tastes.

*This Carnegie building, recently renovated, still serves Henderson County as a library. According to the library’s official history, Andrew Carnegie agreed to fund a library in Henderson during a round of golf with Henderson Journal publisher Edward Jonas. (A birdie for Mr. Jonas!)*

believed that “Great Britain and America were great sister republics struggling with the same problems of capital and labor, laws regulating commerce and manufacture, taxation, improved housing for the poor, and education of the people. Also, the voice of the people counted in these countries.”

Carnegie’s library project was one of three developments, all coming during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that helped launch the modern library. The second development

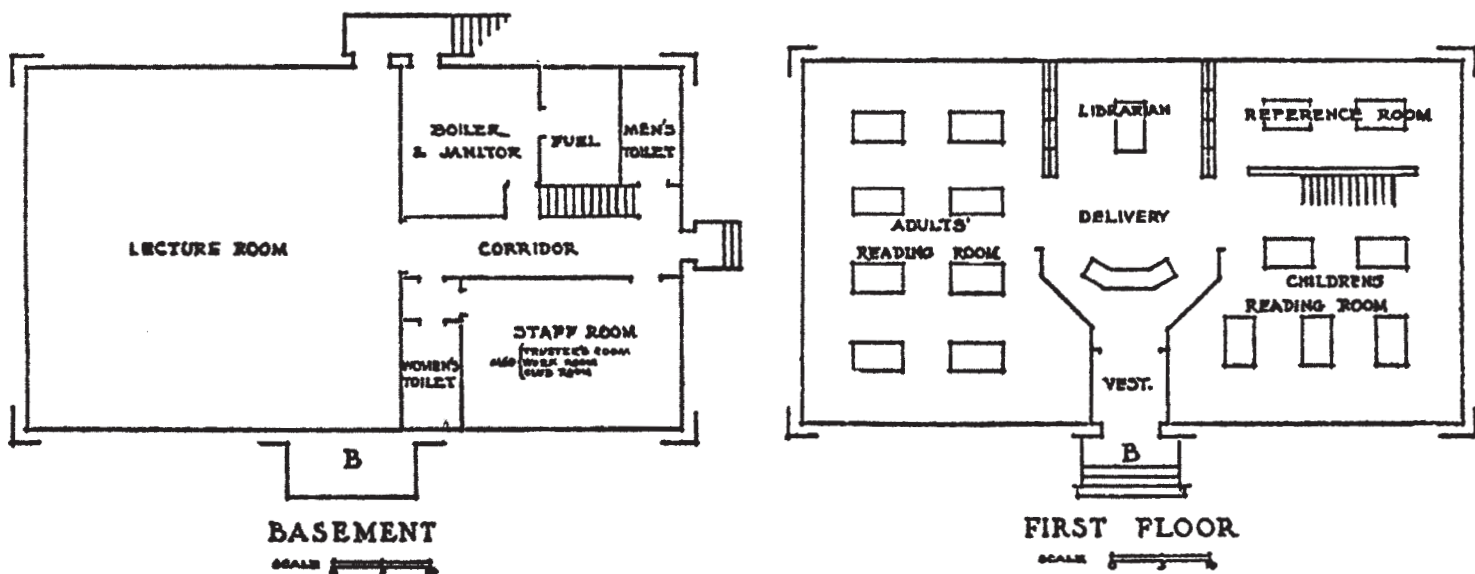
And the third was the publication in 1876 of the *Report on Public Libraries in the United States of America* and the establishment of the *Library Journal*. These two publications provided professional guidance and inspiration to librarians.

These developments established the public library in American life (along with a fourth factor that came later: federal support). They built on the momentum generated by the opening of the Boston Public Library in 1854. A few New England towns had true (government supported) public libraries in the

Carnegie’s endowments went to large cities as well as small towns. Despite the fact that the program was never formally announced or highly publicized, communities discovered the grants through a variety of sources. One of these sources was the state library commission, which sent representatives from town to town to encourage interest in libraries and in the Carnegie program.

Hundreds of colleges and universities also had Andrew Carnegie to thank for new libraries and, in some cases, library schools. It was during this time that the library became a more integral part of the university as the new buildings





The Carnegie Corporation insisted on open floor plans for libraries it funded. In *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries in American Culture*, Abigail Van Slyck writes that the open floor plan helped promote several important changes in public library practices:

- It allowed patrons into the stacks to fetch their own books. Previously, most libraries had barred patrons from the stacks.
- It led to the equal treatment of women readers, whom some libraries had segregated.
- It made libraries welcoming to young readers. Many libraries had banned children under twelve.

The Carnegie model's emphasis on speedy and efficient delivery of materials also, says Van Slyck, encouraged libraries to ignore how patrons used borrowed materials, leading to the public library's current stand as an adamant foe of censorship.

were designed for function as well as architectural magnificence.

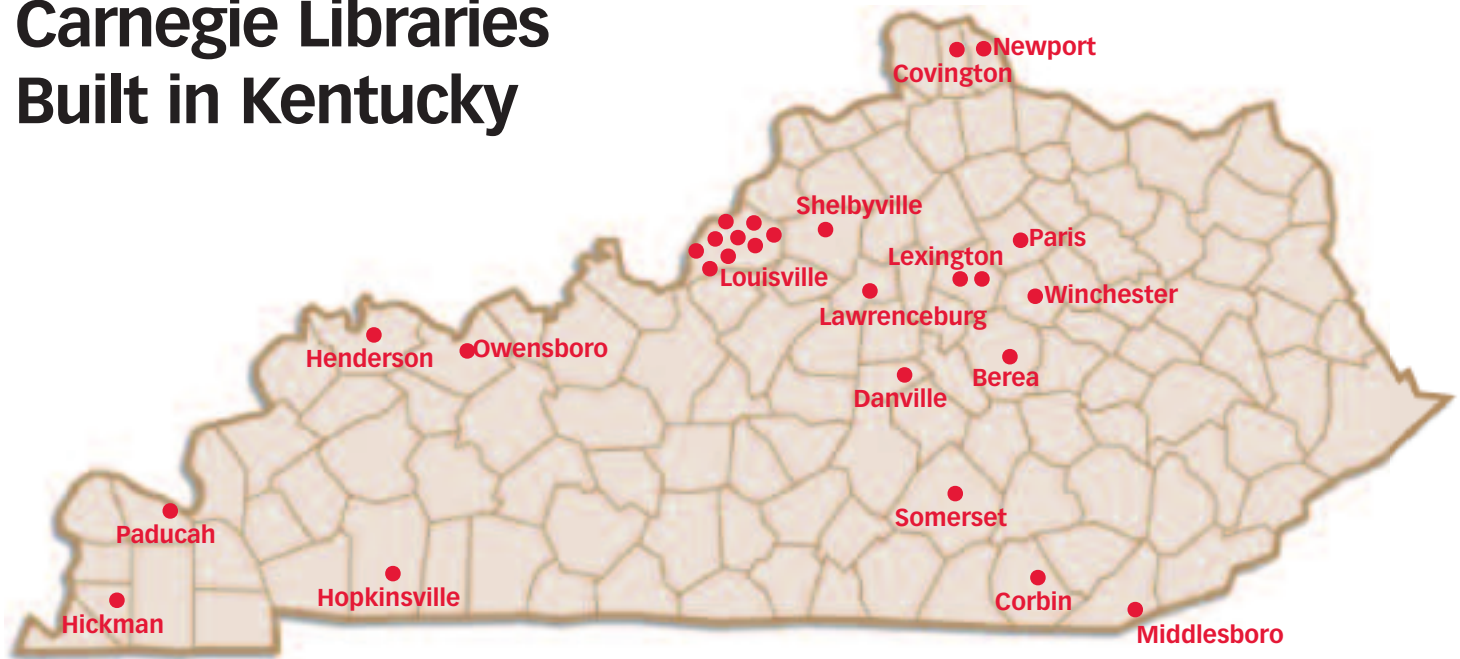
Initially, Carnegie's guidelines for grant approval were uncomplicated. A community had to demonstrate a need for a public library, provide a building site, and agree to support library services and maintenance with tax funds equal to ten percent of the grant amount annually, with a minimum of \$1000 per year. Generally, if these requirements were met, the grant was awarded. The amount was based on the last United States census, with two dollars per capita as the standard measure.

From 1886 until 1904, libraries funded by Carnegie were built without much supervision. From 1904 to 1910, James Bertram, Carnegie's secretary, reviewed plans, offered suggestions, and sometimes insisted on changes. By 1911, Bertram had concluded that there was considerable waste in library construction and that there was a need for general specifications and sample floor plans. His guidelines were included in a pamphlet called *Notes on the Erection of Library Buildings*, which assisted small communities and their architects with the design process. These Notes were



The Carnegie library in Middlesboro is now the home of the Bell County Historical Society and Museum.

# Carnegie Libraries Built in Kentucky



used in library planning until World War II. The Notes promoted the open-plan library, featuring a centrally located charging desk with a reading room on each side. Bertram's goal was to maximize useable space; he made it his responsibility to personally approve an architect's plan for each building.

stated that "confirmed readers would find the library wherever it was located, but the library had to attract groups of less eager readers and one way to accomplish this was to locate it in the center of the business district which all the inhabitants frequented." This plan worked well for a small town. In a large city, a downtown

building. "A Carnegie library was commonly seen as an award of cultural merit or the answer to a need of a deserving community," wrote Theodore Jones. "Carnegie libraries became integral to a community's prestige and the style had to celebrate this significance." When building a Carnegie library, communities intended "to construct a library of such distinction that it would become an instant landmark," which explains why almost 400 have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. In Kentucky, fourteen Carnegie libraries have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, either alone or as a contributing structure in a Historic District.

Across the country, Carnegie libraries were built in every imaginable style, including Beaux Arts, Italian Renaissance, Classical Revival, Carnegie Classical, Spanish Revival/California Mission, Prairie, and Tudor Revival. The most common styles found in Kentucky are Classical Revival and Beaux Arts.

## Carnegie Libraries in Kentucky

Twenty-seven Carnegie Libraries were built in Kentucky using grants that totaled \$896,800. Twenty-four of these

## In 1926, the Carnegie Corporation gave the University of Kentucky an endowment of \$100,000 for the support of a library school.

In 1915, the Carnegie Corporation hired Alvin S. Johnson, an economics professor at Cornell University, to survey and report on a select group of Carnegie libraries. Johnson recommended extending the scope of the grants to include educating librarians and establishing four-year university degree programs in library science. In 1926, the Carnegie Corporation gave the University of Kentucky an endowment of \$100,000 for the support of a library school.

Part of Johnson's report addressed the placement of Carnegie libraries. He

location could be a major disadvantage, especially for small children. So library branches in larger cities, such as Louisville, were placed in neighborhoods and near public schools.

In 1917, the Carnegie Corporation suspended grants for library construction due to a shortage of materials and manpower caused by World War I. The grants never resumed.

## Architecture

At the turn of the twentieth century, the public library was a new type of civic

*This Carnegie building served as the Highlands Branch of the Louisville Free Public Library until 1994.*



landmarks continue to stand. Three libraries—the Somerset School and Carnegie Library, the University of Kentucky Carnegie Library, and the Paducah Carnegie Library—have been razed.

Four of Kentucky’s Carnegie libraries were located on college campuses.

- University of Kentucky Carnegie Library, built in 1909 and razed in 1967.

- Centre College Campus Carnegie Library, built in 1913. It currently houses the college’s Career Services office. It was listed on the National Register in 1984.

- Berea College Carnegie Library, built in 1905-06 and listed on the National Register in 1981.

- Kentucky Wesleyan College library,

built on the college’s campus in Winchester in 1915. Kentucky Wesleyan moved to Owensboro in 1951. This building now houses the Winchester campus of the Bluegrass Community and Technical College.

The Classical Revival style of architecture was a very common style in the design of Carnegie libraries in Kentucky.

- Corbin, built in 1916. Until the 1960s it was the major library in the area. Listed on the National Register in 1986, it is now owned by a church.

- Hopkinsville, built in 1914, listed on the National Register in 1977. The building is now vacant.

- Lawrenceburg, built in 1908, now the home of the Anderson County History Museum, and a contributing structure in the historic district within which it stands.

- Somerset, built in 1906 and believed to be the first public library in the United States to be connected to a public school. Listed, along with the school, on the National Register in 1978. (Razed)

Many early twentieth-century public buildings—post offices, train stations, banks, and libraries—were built in the Beaux Arts architectural style. That includes a number of Kentucky Carnegie libraries.

- The Carnegie Library and Auditorium in Covington, built in 1902-1904, placed on the National Register in 1971. It was one of the first libraries in



*The Portland Branch of the Louisville Free Public Library is distinguished by its curved corner.*

the South to provide racially integrated services. It is now The Carnegie Visual and Performing Arts Center.

- Paris Carnegie Library, built in 1904. It is still the city library.
- Newport Public Library, built in 1902. It is no longer a library.
- Middlesboro, built in 1912. This building is now home to the Bell County Historical Society and Museum.
- Owensboro Carnegie Library, added to the National Register of

- Shelby County, built in 1903 on the site of a church destroyed by fire. It is one of two examples of Carnegie libraries built in a graveyard. The building is Roman Revival in style, still used as a library, and was placed on the National Register in 1983.

- Hickman, built in 1908, Colonial Revival in style, placed on the National Register in 1990. It is now the home of the Hickman Chamber of Commerce and a planned museum.

- Main Library, 1908: The prominent national architects Pilcher and Tachau of New York designed the second Carnegie free public library built in Louisville. William Tachau was a native of Louisville. Lewis Pilcher had served as State Architect of New York and designed Sing-Sing Prison. They created an outstanding example of Beaux-Arts Classicism which is still used as a library. The famous landscape architecture firm, the Olmsted Brothers, designed the landscape plan. The library was listed on the National Register in 1980.

- Crescent Hill Library, 1908. It is still a branch library, and is a contributing element to the Crescent Hill National Register District.

- Parkland Branch Library, 1908. This building—a contributing element to the Parkland National Register Historic District—now houses government offices.

- Western Colored Branch Library, 1908. The fifth Carnegie library built in Louisville, and still a

library. It was the first (segregated) public library in the nation for African Americans. More than 400 people were present at the opening ceremony as Mayor James F. Grinstead referred to the new “opportunities afforded the colored people of the city to secure knowledge and wisdom.” The architects, McDonald and Dodd, were prominent local architects who were the ‘architects-of-choice’ for both public and private works at the time. Dodd had trained with Major William LeBaron Jenny, who was considered to be the inventor of the structural steel skyscraper.

This library was notable for its head librarian, Thomas Fountain Blue. Thomas Blue was the first African American to head a public library, and his



*The Western Branch of the Louisville Free Public Library was originally known as the Western Colored Branch.*

Historic Places in 1990. It has had several uses, and is currently the Museum of Fine Art.

A few Kentucky Carnegie Libraries were built in architectural styles other than Classical Revival and Beaux-Arts.

- Lexington, constructed in 1904, Roman/Greek Revival in style. It currently houses the Carnegie Center for Literacy and Learning.
- Henderson, built in 1904, Italian Renaissance in style. It was placed on the National Register in 1981 and is still a library.

### Louisville

The city of Louisville was home to nine Carnegie libraries—the main library and eight branches. Because of its size, Louisville was suitable for branch libraries. One Louisville library, the Shelby Park Branch, was built in the Renaissance Revival style. The rest are either Classical Revival or Beaux-Arts.

- Highlands Branch Library, 1908. It was the first Carnegie-endowed library to be built in Louisville, and was used as a library until 1994. It is now a private office building.

## Before Boston Public

The opening of the Boston Public Library in 1854 marked the start of the public library movement in the United States, but from the beginning there were private libraries in America. Some ran to thousands of books, but most were small. The first college library was at Harvard, founded in 1636. In 1638, the Reverend John Harvard gave the new college 280 books, a small endowment, and his name.

In the eighteenth century, the social library appeared. The first was the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731. The social library depended on voluntary support from a select group of subscribers. Some were open to anyone willing and able to pay for the privilege—they were called mercantile libraries and a few still exist. Readers who wanted the popular fare of the day could rent books from circulating libraries run by booksellers in large cities.

The social library was the direct predecessor of the public library. Social libraries that were donated to or purchased by towns and cities formed the core of many early public libraries.

*(Information from Michael H. Harris, History of Libraries in the Western World)*

entire staff was African American. Blue said “the library does more than furnish facts and circulate books, it forms a center from which radiate many influences for general betterment.” One of the many important programs that Blue initiated was librarian training for blacks. Through this program, he introduced library science to trainees from Evansville, Houston, Memphis, Cincinnati, Roanoke and Lynchburg, Virginia, and many other cities.

• Shelby Park, 1908, is significant because it was the only library in the system that was constructed in the middle of an Olmsted Brothers-designed park. Now used for government offices, the building was listed on the National Register in 1980.

• Jefferson Branch Library, 1913. Residents of this area were so determined to have a branch that they raised the \$1375 needed to purchase the lot on which the library was built. The money was raised by selling one-half-inch square lots for \$1.25 each. This building is now vacant and for sale.

• Portland Branch Library, 1913, is a contributing element to the Portland National Register District (1980) and is

distinguished by a curved wall at the corner. It’s still a library.

• Eastern Colored Branch Library, 1914. This was the second free public library in Louisville for African Americans, making Louisville one of the few cities in the South that had two public libraries for black readers. Now a community center, it is a contributing element to the Smoketown National Register District, which was listed on the National Register in 1997.

The long-term impact of the Carnegie Library Program on the nation and the Commonwealth of Kentucky is very evident. Carnegie libraries defined the function of the library as the speedy and efficient delivery of books to readers, and that principle still holds in today’s world of digital communications. As technological advances create increasingly efficient and quick information distribution systems, some may question the need for the public library as a physical space. Certainly, libraries are now much more than book repositories, as a walk through the new University of Kentucky library vividly shows.

Some Carnegie libraries have not continued to function in the capacity for which they were originally built, while others are excellent examples of adaptive re-use. As we observe them today, we can see them as “welcome journeys into the past” on the one hand, but on another level, writes Abigail Van Slyck, “they open unexpected vistas into the future.”

“The public library remains one the last bastions of democratic space in America,” writes Kenneth Breisch. Our library tables “are shared by the homeless and the immigrant, the scholar and the schoolchild.” It is with these thoughts in mind that we must recognize the far reaching scope of Andrew Carnegie’s philanthropy, which greatly influenced the cultural history of the United States by transforming library design and redefining the nature of library use. The Carnegie libraries standing today are monuments to the redefining of the role of reading in our culture, the reinvigoration of social interaction in public spaces, and the reinventing of the public library as an American institution. ●

Zanne Jefferies is the Director of Preservation and Education Programs at the Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation in Lexington, Kentucky.

Photo of Andrew Carnegie: Davis & Sanford, N.Y., circa 1905. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

Library photos (except Henderson County) by Zanne Jefferies

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Joanne Weeter, “City-Owned Carnegie Libraries of Louisville”

## Three New Members Join KHC Board

The Kentucky Humanities Council has welcomed three new members to its Board of Directors. They were elected by the standing Board to three-year terms renewable for three more years. In addition to representing the Council in their home areas, these new members will help set policy, review grant applications, and raise money for the more than 400 public



Carole A. Beere



Rebecca Eggers



Sandra J. Jordan

humanities programs KHC supports every year.

**Carole A. Beere** (Villa Hills) has been Associate Provost and Graduate Dean

at Northern Kentucky University since 2001. Beere holds a doctorate in educational psychology and has published three books and numerous scholarly articles.

**Rebecca Eggers** (Owensboro) has taught art history at Kentucky Wesleyan College since 1992. Eggers graduated with “high distinction” from the University of Kentucky, and holds a Master’s in history from Western Kentucky University. She has also served on the boards of numerous Owensboro organizations.

**Sandra J. Jordan** (Murray) is Associate Provost of Murray State University. She also holds the rank of professor of art history. Jordan joined Murray State as Dean of the College of Humanities and Fine Arts in 2000. She has a Ph.D. in art history from the University of Georgia.

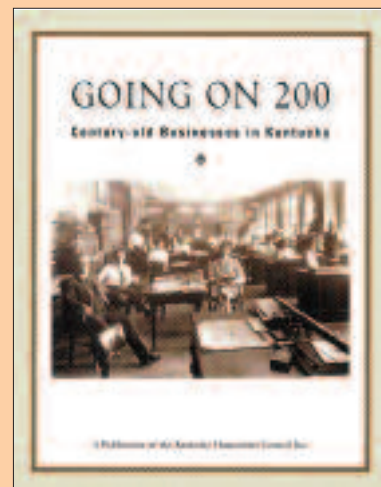
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Bringing History to Life requires more than just looking the part. Sounding it is vital too.

**W**hen you go to a Kentucky Chautauqua performance featuring Danny Hinton as Dr. Thomas Walker, you'll be struck by how much Hinton looks like an eighteenth-century adventurer. And by how much he sounds like one. Hinton's authentic language helps the centuries melt away, making it easy for his audience to jump back more than 250 years to a time when Kentucky was pristine wilderness.

Dr. Thomas Walker led the first organized English expedition into what would become Kentucky in 1750. He didn't come here for his health. This Virginian was a man of business as well as a man of medicine—the purpose of his expedition was land speculation. The Loyal Land Company, in which Walker held stock, had acquired a grant for 800,000 acres of land in the west. He came to Kentucky hoping to find farmland suitable for settlement. Lucky for us, he kept a journal, and that's how we know he didn't find what he was looking for.

After passing through the Cumberland Gap, Walker and his companions wandered for several weeks. Instead of farmland, they found mountainous country, well-watered and heavily timbered, teeming with game. It was wonderful for hunting, Walker noted, but not for farming. The explorers pushed as far north as present-day Irvine in Estill County—not quite far enough to reach the Bluegrass country, the fertile, gently rolling land they saw in their dreams.

Disappointed, Walker returned to his home in Albemarle County, Virginia, where he was a citizen of substance. Born in eastern

**Walker didn't come here for his health. This Virginian was a man of business as well as a man of medicine.**

Virginia, he attended the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, then trained in medicine and surgery with his brother-in-law, Dr. George Gilmer, a graduate of Edinburgh University. He served in the Virginia House of Burgesses and was friend and physician to Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas Jefferson. After

Peter's death in 1757, Walker became one of fourteen-year-old Thomas's guardians.

Walker returned to Kentucky a number of times, perhaps most notably in 1779-80. He headed the Virginia surveying party



*Danny Hinton as Dr. Thomas Walker, Pioneer Physician  
(Photo by Larry Neuzel)*

that extended the Virginia-North Carolina line—the southern border of our future Commonwealth—all the way to the Tennessee River. Despite the dangers of the frontier, settlers had begun streaming into the Kentucky country. If Walker longed for the peace of the unspoiled wilderness he had first seen thirty years before, he also knew that those days were lost forever. In just a few decades, Kentucky would be frontier no more.

When we say our mission is Telling Kentucky's Story, we're talking about Danny Hinton as Dr. Thomas Walker and our many other great Chautauqua performers. To learn more about Kentucky Chautauqua, please visit our web site: [kyhumanities.org](http://kyhumanities.org). ●

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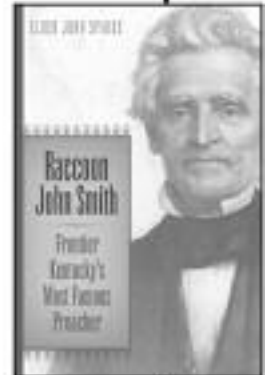
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