

EAST END AND DAVIS BOTTOM:  
A STUDY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND LANDSCAPE CHANGES OF TWO  
NEIGHBORHOODS IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

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MASTER'S PROJECT

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A Master's Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of Master of Historic Preservation  
in the College of Design at the University of Kentucky

By

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# ABSTRACT OF MASTER'S PROJECT

## EAST END AND DAVIS BOTTOM:

### A STUDY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND LANDSCAPE CHANGES OF TWO NEIGHBORHOODS IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

This master's project focuses on two separate neighborhoods in Lexington, Kentucky. Davis Bottom and the East End were predominately as post-Civil War African American urban clusters. The boundaries of the two chosen study areas were located within those two neighborhoods and based on size, location, and past, current, and future threats. The goals within the project are: to conduct in-depth archival research on the histories of selected areas within Davis Bottom and the East End; to use that research to expand on existing historic contexts and background research for each neighborhood; to survey all historic resources within each study area in accordance with State Historic Preservation Office standards; and to describe the current condition of the two neighborhoods.

An important aspect of this project is the further development of the historic contexts of each study area. To expand the histories, primary documents such as census records, city directories, deeds, maps, and newspapers were consulted. Together all of these provided statistical data of the demographics and infrastructure of the Davis Bottom and East End study areas. Another large part of this project is a survey of all extant historic buildings and structures within the determined study areas. This survey was coordinated with the Kentucky Heritage Council and produced survey forms that are held on file at their office in Frankfort. This aspect of the project was used in conjunction with the primary archival sources to analyze how these threatened neighborhoods arrived at their current condition. The historic and current statistics of the Davis Bottom and East End study areas were used to compare and contrast the each area.

**KEYWORDS:** East End, Davis Bottom, Urban Clusters, Post-Bellum, Lexington  
Neighborhoods, Historic Preservation

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## Introduction

In her book *The Battle for Gotham*, Roberta Brandes Gratz described the deterioration experienced by the SoHo district when Robert Moses, a New York City planner, targeted the neighborhood for demolition to make way for the Lower Manhattan Expressway in the 1950s. Gratz explains that the proposed project, should it have gone through, would have destroyed SoHo even though “scores of thriving businesses still filled the buildings that were so functionally flexible.” It was only when the planning department determined that the district would be blighted that the neighborhood truly began to suffer; she describes it as a “death knell.” This concept is one Gratz terms “the death-threat syndrome,” and is described in her quote by Jane Jacobs:

Businesses leave when they see the handwriting on the wall or don't even try to establish themselves in such a location. Property owners hold out for the lucrative buyout. It's a miracle when a place ...keeps on improving and people keep putting money in when the death sense hangs over it. They can only do it with the courage of knowing they aren't going to allow that death sentence. Or being totally ignorant that it exists. But the bankers are never ignorant about it and stop giving loans. When there's a death sentence like that on an area, you always have to work around it and get odd bits of money and so forth, which can make a very good area in the end, if it's done.<sup>1</sup>

Although Gratz and Jacobs are referencing the Lower Manhattan Expressway project and its looming effect on the blighted SoHo district, this idea and concept apply to urban neighborhoods across the country. The poorer areas of town are often compromised by large transportation projects; therefore, it is in those neighborhoods that the death-threat syndrome is most likely to occur. Roberta Gratz, Jane Jacobs, and the other New Yorkers who fought for SoHo against Robert Moses and the Expressway were rewarded with success. The redevelopment project was defeated in court and SoHo was named a historic district that thrives today. Not all threatened neighborhoods are preserved and

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<sup>1</sup> Roberta Brandes Gratz, *The Battle for Gotham* (New York: Nation Books, 2010), 97.

many times they are lost to development. Because not every neighborhood will be saved from the wrecking ball, it is necessary for citizens, communities, the preservation community, and government officials to learn their histories and document what is there before they are lost forever. The alternative is to use this knowledge to save them or construct appropriate new growth.

In the United States it is common for cities to constantly expand and grow as advances in construction and transportation technology continue to develop. Often times, within large urban cores neighborhoods and enclaves change or are engulfed by expansion, which can occur for a variety of reasons. These individual areas can, and often times do, develop their own name, identity, and culture. In some cases neighborhoods can gain national recognition and become known for their individuality within a larger city such as Greenwich Village in New York City and the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco.

Lexington, Kentucky, is situated in the central part of the state. It is the second largest city in Kentucky and is composed of several locally well-known upper-class neighborhoods such as Gratz Park, Ashland Park, and Chevy Chase. These are recognized for their sometimes lavish architecture or as the residence for prominent individuals and families. Historians, city officials, and preservationists rarely disagree about the necessity to save and protect areas such as these.

Lexington also has modest neighborhoods, some of which have been marginalized by developers, units of government. The people as well as the development of the landscape of those early neighborhoods, however, speak just as much to the history and creation of the city as the large, upscale neighborhoods. It is easy to overlook these

areas because they can be run down, labeled as dangerous, and written off as eyesores. In the early decades of the preservation movement, it was typical for marginalized neighborhoods to receive little attention from those who document historic landscapes; the neighborhoods were targeted as good locations for demolition and new development. Through this common practice, such areas, despite their potential to yield historic information, were removed and demolished. Because their importance, both architecturally and historically, is not known these marginalized areas are often targeted for demolition. While Lexington, Kentucky, has several well-known, up-scale neighborhoods, the city also has many other historic neighborhoods built for the less affluent that are in danger of being lost through a combination of absentee ownership, deterioration, neglect, demolition, and large-scale new development.

The East End and Davis Bottom are two such neighborhoods in Lexington; East End is located on the northeast quadrant and Davis Bottom is situated on the southwest quadrant of Lexington (Figure 1, p. 6). Developers and landowners created each, for the most part, in response to the housing needs of African Americans after the Civil War, on what was then the outskirts of the city and adjacent rail yards and other industrial areas, or in less-desirable environments, including low-lying marshy grounds. The predominant architectural forms found in these neighborhoods, such as shot gun, T-plan, and L-plan houses, are not unique or elaborate; rather they conform to trends in similar places throughout the American South in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The built landscape in both of these postbellum neighborhoods helps tell the story of African Americans in Lexington as well as lower income citizens in Lexington as a whole.

Until recent decades, architectural historians and preservationists rarely documented whole vernacular, working-class landscapes; and when they did this it often in response to a posed threat to the neighborhood. This lack of documentation is a serious oversight because the historic fabric in neighborhoods such as the East End and Davis Bottom is rapidly being lost. Unfortunately the buildings within these neighborhoods lack the individual documentation that identify and evaluate their significance. This typically means the resources are not part of the public record and often do not play a contributing role in the understanding of Lexington's history despite the large impact the residents of these two neighborhoods had on the city. There are four goals for this Master's in Historic Preservation Project:

1. To conduct in-depth archival research on the histories of selected areas within Davis Bottom and the East End;
2. To use that research to expand on existing historic contexts and background research for each neighborhood;
3. To survey all historic resources within each study area in accordance with State Historic Preservation Office standards; and
4. To describe the current condition of the two neighborhoods.

It is my hope that the data gathered during this project will be of use to the general public, students, local non-profits, businesses, developers and planners, and the local and state government.<sup>2</sup>

I selected two neighborhoods in the East End and Davis Bottom as study areas for this project (Figure 1, p. 6). The East End study area is bounded by East Third Street on the north, North Eastern Street on the west, the Midland Avenue/ North Eastern/Main Street intersection on the south, and Ann Street and Midland Avenue on the east (Figure 2, p. 7). The Davis Bottom study area is bounded by Pine Street on the north, High Street

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to this master's project on file at the University of Kentucky, the survey forms of the historic individual resources will be on file at the Kentucky Heritage Council in Frankfort Kentucky.

on the west, railroad tracks on the south, and South Spring Street and South Broadway on the east (Figure 3, p. 7). I chose those specific boundaries because the size was appropriate for the level of study I wanted to accomplish and the two areas are historically comparable in terms of size, landscape, buildings, structures, people, and development patterns. The study areas are also currently threatened by development and have uncertain futures. In addition, the buildings within the chosen study area boundaries are mostly undocumented by the State Historic Preservation Office.

Although I will record and analyze the neighborhoods' current condition, I will not discuss potential plans or suggestions for preservation in the future, nor will this work yield a nomination for these areas to the National Register of Historic Places. I have made this decision to limit the project's scope because I believe the first step in any preservation effort is documentation, which will be a large undertaking in itself. I hope that the information I gather will be a stepping stone and basis for future preservation efforts in these neighborhoods and others like them.



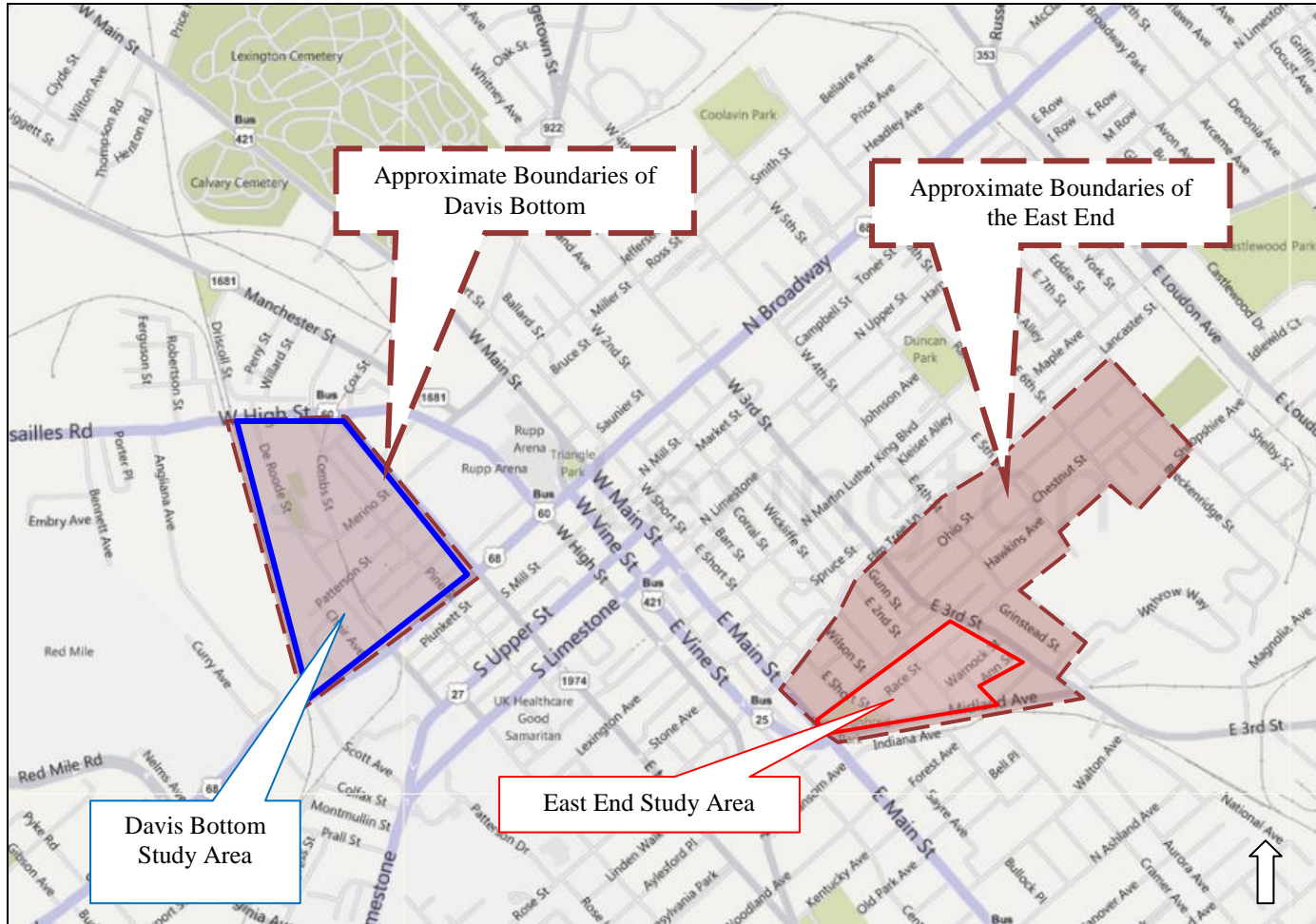


Figure 1: The Study Areas on a Map of Lexington, Kentucky.

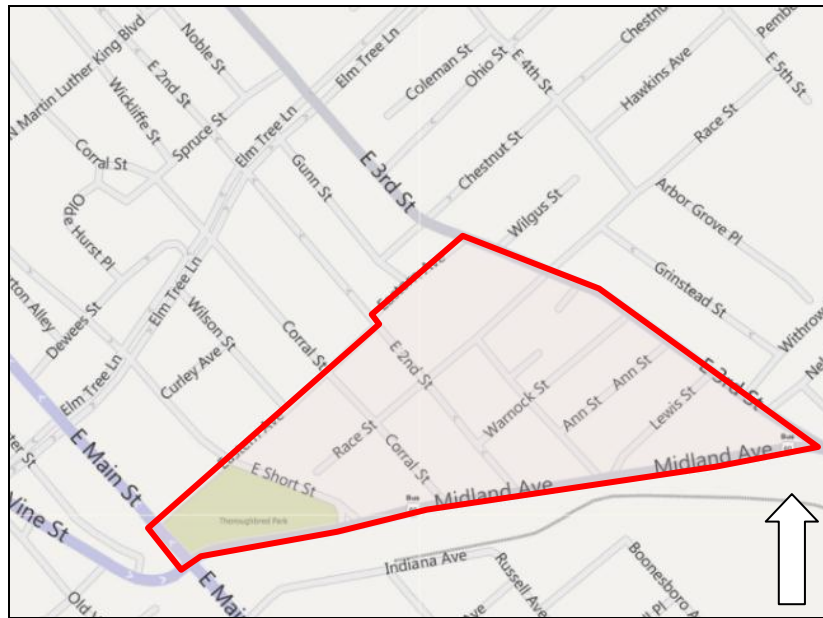


Figure 2: Detail of the East End Study Area, Lexington, Kentucky.

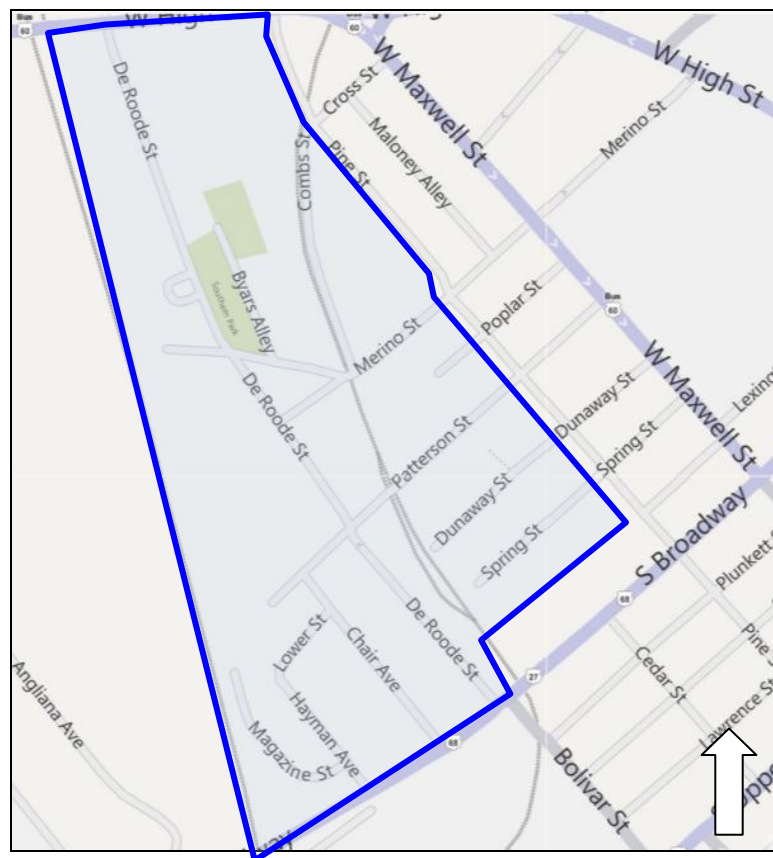


Figure 3: Detail of the Davis Bottom Study Area, Lexington, Kentucky.

## Methodology

One of the primary goals is to create a historic context for two study areas in Lexington, Kentucky, and analyze the current condition of both areas. I wanted to choose two project areas located within inner-city neighborhoods whose historic fabric and integrity are either threatened or largely lost. I wanted to look at more than one neighborhood for the purposes of comparing and contrasting their development over time, broader trends, demographics, and infrastructure. I picked the areas known as Davis Bottom and the East End because they exhibited the qualities I was interested in and chose smaller study areas as a sampling of the larger neighborhood.

I conducted archival research for each neighborhood. I performed an analysis of the study areas using a variety of sources, each of which provided a different perspective on their particular historic sections of Lexington (Table 1, p. 8).

Table 1: Sources Used During This Project.

Source	Dates/Locations Consulted	Information/Data Provided	Recorded Format
City Directories	1887, 1898, 1902, 1923, 1931, 1948	Profession, name of occupant, rough racial distribution, approximate number of households	Excel Document
Census Records	1880 (Davis Bottom only), 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930	Name of members in household, relationships, sex, race, age, number of children, occupation,	Excel Document
Chains of Title	521 E. Second Street, 500 E. Third Street, 234 Eastern Ave., 527 Goodloe St., 224 Race St., 243 Race Street, 501 Caden Court, 418 De Roode, 603 De Roode, 708 De Roode, 516 Patterson, 610 Pine	Development trend patterns, name of owner, length of time the owner owned the property	Table in a Word Document
Maps	Sanborn Maps, City Maps, Plats	When used together they show development changes over time	JPEG
Newspapers	Various dates of Lexington newspapers	Birth and death notices, pictures, various articles	JPEG

When attempting to gain a well-rounded understanding of an area it is essential to combine the archival data with remaining infrastructure on the existing landscape; the information gathered during the archival research is enhanced by the extant buildings and structures within the study area and vice versa. In order to obtain a more thorough comprehension of Davis Bottom and the East End, I augmented my research with a reconnaissance survey of all historic properties in each study area. According to the State Historic Preservation Office [Kentucky Heritage Council] in November, 2010 there are 18 previously-recorded buildings in the two neighborhoods. Five previously-surveyed resources were located within the Davis Bottom study area; however none are currently extant. Two were associated with the railroad corridor: the Southern Railway Passenger Depot (FASB 35) built in 1906–1908 and designed by H. Harrington, was a brick, Georgian Revival Building, and the Cincinnati Southern Railway Freight Depot (FAS 13), which was a two-story, stuccoed building. One of the resources, the Central District Warehouse #60 (FASB 36) was situated at 527 South Broadway and associated with the tobacco industry. The remaining two previously-recorded resources within the Davis Bottom study area were single-family houses: the Robert E. (FAS 59) and the Isaac E. (FAS 60) Hathaway Houses, situated at 760–764 Pine Street and 766 Pine Street respectively. Both buildings were associated with the life of African American sculptor Isaac Scott Hathaway (Table 2, p. 11).

Thirteen structures within the boundaries of the East End study area were previously surveyed. A majority of those thirteen resources are single family houses; the KHC previously determined that two of those houses meet the criteria for the National Register of Historic Places. The house is situated at 216 N. Eastern Avenue is a two-story brick

building inhabited by Abraham Perry, the successful African American horse trained. Similarly, 234 North Eastern Avenue was named for Edward D. Brown. Brown was a well-known African American horse trainer; he and his family lived at that house for nearly two decades. The third is the Thomas J. Danahy Family Grocery and Residence (FANE 246) situated at 500 and 502 East Third Street. In addition to single-family houses, the John G. McFadden Grocery and Store (FANE 244) situated at 400 East Third Street is a previously-recorded two-story commercial building. Three previously-surveyed resources are no longer extant and they include the Purity Filling Station at 413 East Main Street (FANE 228), which was an early-twentieth century gas station situated at the southern tip of present-day Thoroughbred Park, the house at 527 Warnock Street (FANE 265), and two of three Goodloe Townhouses (FANE 252), which included three two-story brick buildings on Goodloe Street. The two located at 520 and 522 are no longer extant; however the building situated at 527 Goodloe is still standing (

Table 3, p. 11).

I surveyed and documented the study areas between October 2010 and January 2011. Some properties in Davis Bottom had to be surveyed early (October) as part of a combined documentation effort with the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet. These same properties were demolished in late-November/early-December. The majority of the documentation in each project area was conducted in January 2011. The survey I performed was composed of several parts and included a reconnaissance in-field assessment of each property over 50 years old (the age at which a building is deemed historic by the National Historic Preservation Act). I took a digital photograph of each

historic building or structure within the study area boundaries. Each documented resource was given a Kentucky Heritage Council [KHC] site number and all the information gathered in the field was compiled onto Kentucky Heritage Council survey forms, which were then submitted to the KHC. These forms are on file at the KHC headquarters in Frankfort, Kentucky.

Table 2: Previously-Recorded Resources Within Davis Bottom Study Area  
According to Current KHC Records.

<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Historic Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Current Status</b>
FASB 35	Southern Railway Passenger Depot	701 S. Broadway	Demolished
FASB 36	Central District Warehouse #60	527 S. Broadway	Demolished
FAS 13	Cincinnati Southern Railway Freight Depot	569 S. Broadway	Demolished
FAS 59	Hathaway Houses (Robert E.)	760-764 Pine	Demolished
FAS 60	Hathaway Houses (Isaac S.)	766 Pine	Demolished

Table 3: Previously-Recorded Resources Located Within East End Study Area  
According to Current KHC Records.

<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Historic Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Current Status</b>
FAE 1	Overview East Main St. Midland	400 E. Main	Undetermined
FADT	Purity Filling Station	413 E. Main	Demolished
FANE 213	Abraham Perry House	216 N. Eastern Ave	Meets N/R Criteria
FANE 214	Edward D. Brown House	234 N. Eastern Ave	Meets N/R Criteria
FANE 215	Rev. Henry H. Lyttle House	223 Race	Undetermined
FANE 216	House	224 Race	Undetermined
FANE 217	Lyttle/Martin/Wendell House	228 Race	Undetermined
FANE 218	Henry Mack House	232 Race	Undetermined
FANE 244	John G. McFadden	400 & 403 E.	Undetermined

	Grocery	Third	
FANE 245	Alex Y. Walker House	408 E. Third	Undetermined
FANE 246	Thomas J. Danahy Family Grocery and Residence	500-502 E. Third	Meets N/R Criteria
FANE 252	Goodloe Townhouses (Three Buildings)	520-522 Goodloe	Undetermined/Partially Demolished
FANE 265	House	257 Warnock	Demolished

## Early Settlement of Kentucky and the Establishment of Lexington

In the mid-eighteenth century, the land now known as Kentucky was still mainly inhabited by Native Americans and undeveloped by western cultures.<sup>3</sup> There were many early Anglo-Americans who traveled to the Kentucky region in the mid-eighteenth century. At that time many white settlers considered the area west of the Appalachian Mountains the “wilderness.” In 1750 a group scouted out present-day Kentucky; the scouting party consisted of Dr. Thomas Walker, Christopher Gist, John Lederer, Gabriel Arthur, Abraham Woods, Thomas Batts, and Robert Fallam.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the Anglo-American colonists, French and Spanish explorers were also present in the Kentucky region during this time. These groups of people engaged in a large amount of trading with the natives in the area; this competition eventually led to the French and Indian War because of the rivalry between the French and the British.<sup>5</sup> Explorations of Kentucky were limited until the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763. This “wiped away many of the political barriers to Anglo-colonial expansion in the land beyond the Appalachian highlands.”<sup>6</sup> Kentucky experienced many changes in the decades that followed the Treaty of Paris; American pioneers began to openly explore, survey, and divide the land into large tracts. In 1776 it became Kentucky County of Virginia (Figure 4, p. 14).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> John E. Kleber, editor, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Kleber, *Kentucky Encyclopedia*, xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.





Figure 4: Early Map of the Colonies.<sup>8</sup>

On April 19, 1774 Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia issued a 200-acre land patent to James Buford, who was in the Virginia Militia during the French and Indian War. A little over a year later on August 5, 1775 Thomas Jefferson commissioned John Floyd to complete a survey of this tract and described it as being “near the head of the middle fork of the Elkhorn and adjoining the tract of John Maxwell.”<sup>9</sup> According to the *History of Pioneer Lexington, 1779–1806* by Charles Staples, the 200 acre lot “was transferred by Buford to James Cowden and by the latter to Charles Cummins, who sold it to John Floyd.”<sup>10</sup> John Floyd eventually sold the parcel in full to John Todd, a Pennsylvania native who later moved to Kentucky.<sup>11</sup> He worked as a surveyor and was one of the first two Kentucky representatives in the Virginia legislature as well as an officer in General George Rogers Clark’s Illinois expedition. After observing his efforts

<sup>8</sup> Giles Robert de Vaugondy, “Partie de l’Amérique Septentrionale,” (Data on file at the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky).

<sup>9</sup> Charles R. Staples, *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779–1806*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1939).

<sup>10</sup> Staples, *Pioneer Lexington*; Lexington-Fayette County Urban Government [LFUCG], Circuit Court, Deed Book 14, page 248.

<sup>11</sup> LFUCG Deed Book 14, page 248.

during that expedition, Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, appointed John Todd the first governor of the Illinois Territory.<sup>12</sup> In December 1776, the Virginia General Assembly created Kentucky as a county in Virginia and just four years later, Kentucky County was divided into three separate counties: Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 5: 1800 Map of Kentucky.<sup>14</sup>

In 1781, five trustees for the Kentucky settlement were elected; they were: Levi Todd, David Mitchell, Robert Patterson, Henry McDonald, and Michael Warnock.<sup>15</sup> In a document dated May 6, 1782, Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, granted 640 acres of Virginia land to the trustees. John Todd's 70-acre tract is also mentioned in this document and it is possible that he was in the process of selling the land to the above mentioned trustees.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, Colonel John Todd died on August 19, 1782 during the Battle of Blue Licks, one of the last battles of the Revolutionary War.<sup>17</sup> After his

<sup>12</sup> Kentucky Historical Society, "John Todd," accessed December 1, 2009, <http://www.lrc.ky.gov/record/Moments09RS/web/Lincolnpercent20momentspercent2010.pdf>,

<sup>13</sup> Kleber, *Kentucky Encyclopedia*.

<sup>14</sup> Scoles, "The State of Kentucky with the Adjoining Territories, from the Best Authorities," (Data of file at the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky).

<sup>15</sup> University of Kentucky, "Lexington, Kentucky Board of Trustees Records, 1781–1854," (Data on file at Special Collections at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Kentucky Historical Society, "John Todd."

death, Todd's daughter, Mary Todd Russell, completed the sale started by her father and sold 70 of the 200 acres to the Trustees of Lexington.<sup>18</sup> After the acquisition of this piece of the Todd tract, the trustees had a 710-acre parcel of land, which became known as the Lexington Tract.<sup>19</sup> They began to subdivide the tract into inlots and outlots, thereby creating the original town plat of Lexington.<sup>20</sup> About a decade later on June 1, 1792, Kentucky became the 15<sup>th</sup> state of the United States.<sup>21</sup>

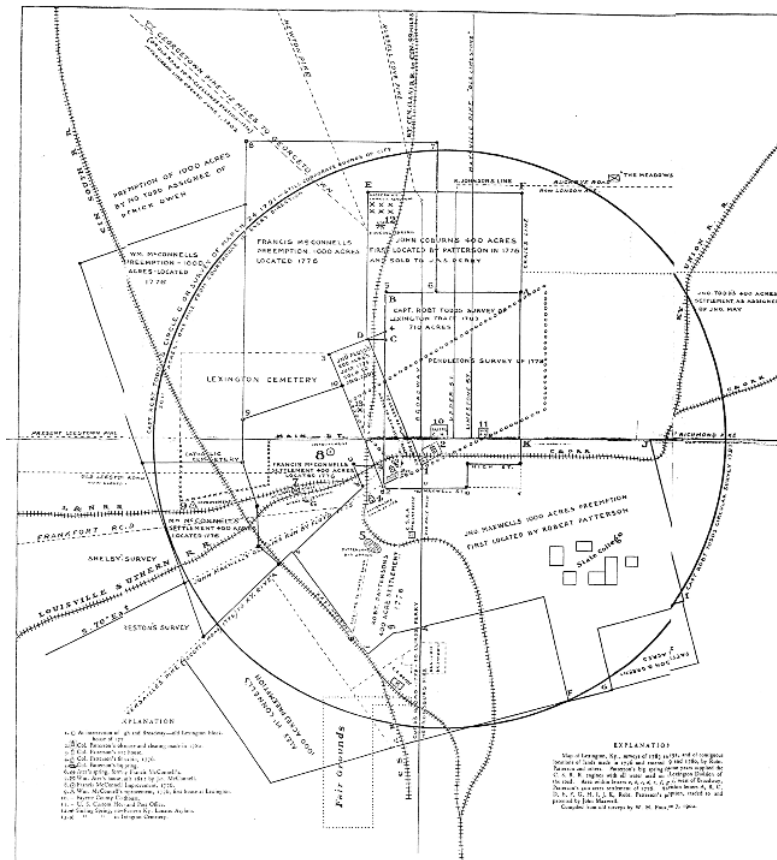


Figure 6: Map of the Early Tracts of Lexington.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Staples, *Pioneer Lexington*; Kentucky Historical Society, "John Todd."

<sup>19</sup> Staples, *Pioneer Lexington*; Carolyn Murray Wooley, *The Founding of Lexington: 1775–1776*, (Lexington: Lexington-Fayette County Historic Commission, 1975).

<sup>20</sup> Kentucky Historical Society, "John Todd."

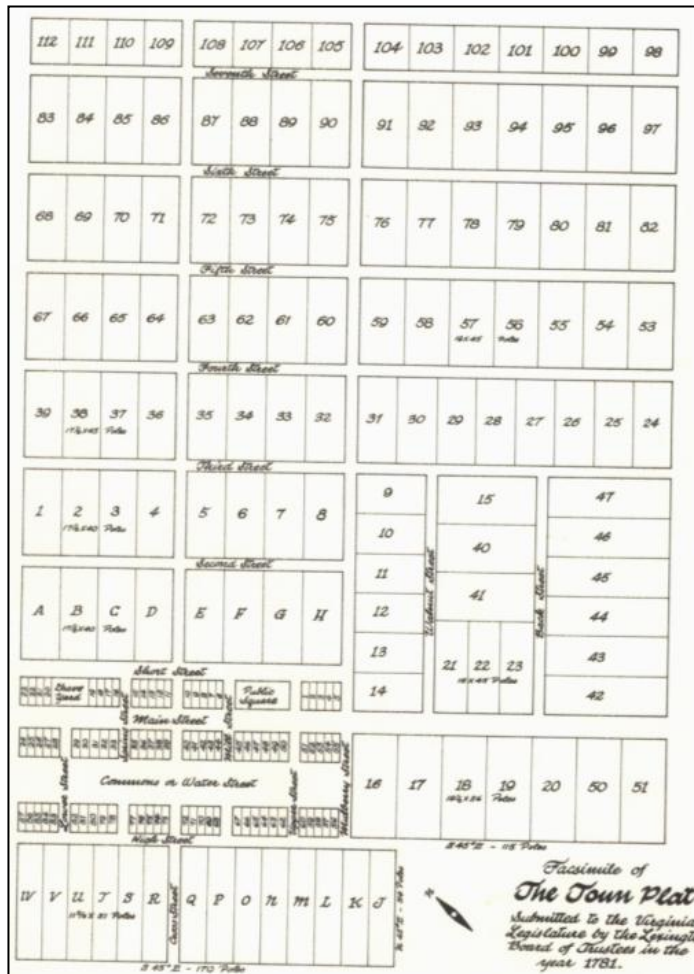
<sup>21</sup> Kleber, *Kentucky Encyclopedia*.

<sup>22</sup> W. H. Polk, *Lexington 1776–1791 Surveys*, Map, (Lexington: 1992, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

# African American Residential Development in Lexington in the Nineteenth Century

## Antebellum Lexington

As previously mentioned, early settlers laid out Lexington on a 710-acre tract of land astride the Elkhorn Creek. At the core of the newly-platted town was a series of



graze or were “the basis for creating two- to ten-acre suburban estates” on the outside of town.”<sup>25</sup> The areas south and west of the core of Lexington were mostly rural in nature in the early-nineteenth century.

Even before Lexington was incorporated as a city, slavery was a major institution in the Bluegrass Region. The town “was notorious for its sordid slave market: men, women, and children frequently sold at public auction.”<sup>26</sup> The location of the slaves’ residences varied by household and owner. Slave housing during the first half of the nineteenth century included live-in housing, live-out housing, and the barracks.<sup>27</sup> To “live-in” meant to reside on the same property as the owner, either in the house itself or in housing located along the edge of the property. Many times the land owners cut an alley through the property and built slave housing—often shotgun or T-plan houses—along it.<sup>28</sup> “Living-out” was a privilege given to some slaves by their owners; the slaves were allowed to live beyond the confines of their master’s property and return during the day for working hours. It was common for those with this opportunity to live in houses near the freed slaves in the area.<sup>29</sup> Another location of slave housing, according to John Kellogg, were the barracks in Lexington, as seen on the 1855 map of Lexington.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the large number of slaves in Lexington during the early- to mid-nineteenth century, there were also a small number of freed slaves within and around the city limits.

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<sup>25</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 40.

<sup>26</sup> Faberson, “Archival History,” 7.

<sup>27</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 29; Tayna A. Faberson, “An Archival History of the Proposed Newton Pike Extension-Small Area Development Plan, City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky,” (Lexington: Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., 2006), 7.

<sup>28</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 29; Faberson, “Archival History,” 7.

<sup>29</sup> Faberson, “Archival History,” 8.

<sup>30</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 29.

Even as early as 1792, the year Kentucky became a state, a handful (0.2 percent) of freed African Americans lived in Lexington; by 1860, the number had risen to 4.52 percent.<sup>31</sup>

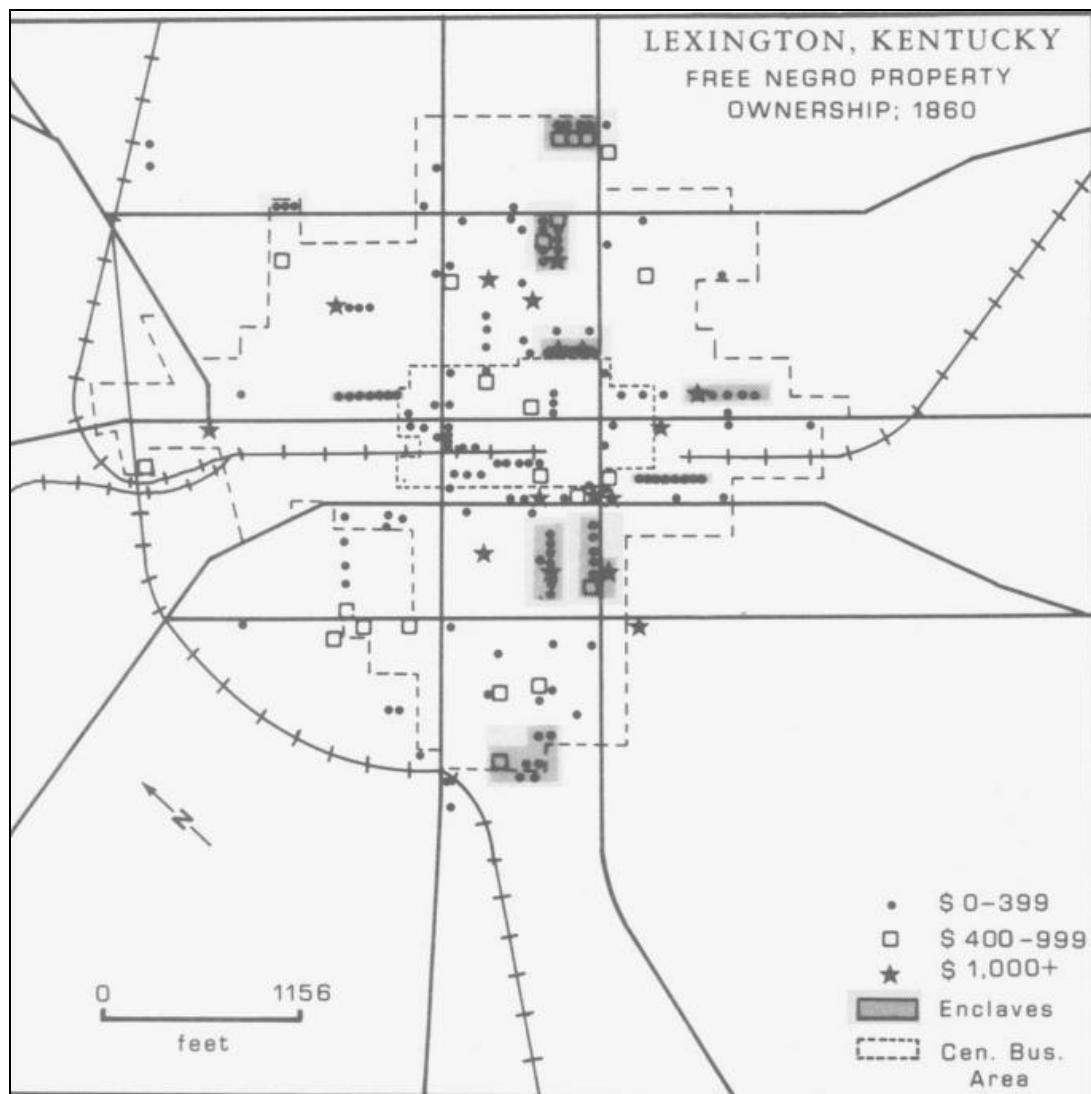


Figure 8: The Location of Antebellum Black Enclaves in Lexington in 1860.<sup>32</sup>

The slaves who purchased or were given their freedom represented a portion of the skilled and unskilled labor force in the city. They worked as, but were not limited to, laundresses, masons, cooks, factory workers, and seamstresses.<sup>33</sup> After they gained their freedom, many former slaves stayed in Lexington either by choice or because it laws and

<sup>31</sup> Faberson, "Archival History," 8.

<sup>32</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 28.

<sup>33</sup> Faberson, "Archival History," 8.

the postbellum culture made it difficult to leave. A majority of the white inhabitants looked down upon blacks and thought of them as an inferior race.<sup>34</sup> Although it was difficult for freed blacks to earn money, especially when compared to what their white counterparts earned for the same amount of work, in times of labor shortages it was possible for many of them to obtain employment.<sup>35</sup> As a result, by the beginning of the Civil War, Lexington and Louisville housed a majority of the freed African Americans in Kentucky.<sup>36</sup>

Because they did not have a master who required them to live on or near their property, freed African Americans were able to live elsewhere in the city. Their options were limited, however, by the small amount of money they earned and general sentiments of the white landowners in Lexington. In some cases the freed blacks formed small, compact enclaves that provided a sense of protection and community. With the 1855 Map of Lexington as a base, Kellogg used 1860 Federal Census Manuscript Return data to show the location of Lexington African American enclaves. The modern map shows that the enclaves were almost always located in areas that were less desired by the wealthy, upper-class residents of Lexington. The neighborhoods were situated near railroad tracks, factories or warehouses, prostitution districts, cemeteries, or set in low-lying areas that were prone to flooding.<sup>37</sup> The less-than-favorable location of many of these enclaves did not diminish the bond felt by the people living within the neighborhood. Their sense of community is evidenced in part by their heavy

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<sup>34</sup> Nancy O'Malley, "The Pursuit of Freedom: The Evolution of Kinkeadtown, an African American Post-Civil War Neighborhood in Lexington, Kentucky," *Winterthur Portfolio* 37:4 (2002).

<sup>35</sup> Faberson "Archival History," 8; Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky, From Slavery to Segregation, 1760–1891*, (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003), 110–111.

<sup>36</sup> Faberson, "Archival History," 8.

<sup>37</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 28.



involvement in the several local churches found within these areas; they were not only used as places of worship, but were seen as important community centers.<sup>38</sup>

### **Postbellum Lexington**

Lexington was directly affected by the Civil War. In addition to the men and women who fought and devoted their time and effort to the war, the everyday day lives of the citizens in the city were disrupted because Union, and for a brief period, Confederate soldier encamped within Lexington at different times throughout the War. The Civil War's effects on the city lasted long after the fighting ended. Like many southern towns in the United States, the decades after the war led to many changes in Lexington, including a large shift in demographics and increased development. After emancipation, many recently freed blacks in rural areas migrated to towns and cities in an attempt to get away from their rural and hostile environment. They were also in search of new opportunities and their rural, hostile environment.<sup>39</sup> The federal government created the Freedmen's Bureau, an organization whose purpose was to assist freed blacks as they searched for jobs and housing, in Lexington, Frankfort, and several other locations throughout Kentucky and the United States.<sup>40</sup> The presence of the Bureau, as well as the idea of additional jobs, made Lexington and Louisville very appealing to former slaves.<sup>41</sup> As a result, Lexington experienced a substantial demographic shift; the African American population more than doubled between 1860 and 1870.<sup>42</sup> By 1870, there were

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<sup>38</sup> Faberson, "Archival History," 9.; J. W. Joseph, "White Columns and Black Hands: Class and Classification in the Plantation Ideology of the Georgia and South Carolina Low Country," *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes* (2000): 114-115

<sup>39</sup> Gerald Alvey, *Kentucky Bluegrass Country*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1992), 71.

<sup>40</sup> Alvey, 74.

<sup>41</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 30.

<sup>42</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 30.



approximately 7,171 blacks within the city limits, or nearly 50 percent of the city's population.<sup>43</sup>

As the number of recently freed blacks migrated to Lexington continued to increase, it quickly became evident that additional housing was needed. What occurred was a postbellum development pattern that happened in cities throughout many of the southern states. "Urban clusters," which consisted primarily of blacks, began to spring up along the edges of the city limits on or near what was considered some of the least-desirable land in Lexington.<sup>44</sup> According to John Kellogg in "The Formation of Black Residential Areas in Lexington, Kentucky, 1865–1887," there were three primary factors that determined the locations of African American residences in the two decades after the Civil War.<sup>45</sup> As previously discussed, the first factor was the large shift in demographics within the city. There was a large increase in the number of blacks, especially in comparison to the marginal increase in the white population. The second factor was location; in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Lexington resembled what was termed a "pedestrian city." The wealthiest people in Lexington owned the highest quality houses, which were situated immediately around the core of the town, also known as the central business district. Because the primary mode of transportation in urban areas was by foot, it was most desirable to be adjacent to the city's center where the jobs, entertainment, and shopping were located.<sup>46</sup> Living in close proximity to the central business district was a luxury that only the wealthiest could afford and this meant those that were not as wealthy were forced to live farther beyond the core. This trend continued

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<sup>43</sup> Alvey, 74

<sup>44</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 33

<sup>45</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 34.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

until the 1890s when the streetcar was introduced in Lexington.<sup>47</sup> Kellogg continues the “location” argument by stating that, although Lexington had many of the qualities of a pedestrian city, it also had additional characteristics that made it different. The first was a large concentration of high-quality houses along main thoroughfares such as Broadway, Main, and Limestone. The second was what Kellogg terms “institutional amenity/nonamenity,” which is the location of better homes around what are often considered nice amenities, such as churches, universities, and parks. In contrast, it was common for lower-quality homes to be situated near slaughterhouses, jails, or cemeteries.<sup>48</sup> The third point that separates Lexington from the quintessential pedestrian city is a trend he calls “relative location.” Lexington naturally has a rolling topography with points of high elevations as well as low-lying areas. The “bottomlands” were prone to flooding and disease and as a result people often avoided those areas if they could afford to live elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> According to Kellogg, the third factor that determined African American residential location was social, and was heavily influenced by the racial attitudes of the citizens in Lexington at the time. Overall there was a very negative attitude on the part of the white population towards African Americans. This was seen in many aspects of the every-day lives of the black citizens of Lexington. One example is the overall sentiment that whites did not want to live close to African Americans. Sometimes developers took extra steps to ensure the segregation of neighborhoods by either specifically stating that blacks or other minorities were not allowed to purchase

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 34-35

<sup>49</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 34-35

land in an area or by making it easier and cheaper for blacks to buy a house in a certain area.<sup>50</sup>

The combination of these factors resulted in the formation of several postbellum black neighborhoods to provide housing for the growing African American population at the end of the Civil War. Although the neighborhoods tended to be dispersed around Lexington, they had several similar qualities. The post-war black urban clusters were almost always located around the edge of the city limits. In addition to the distance from the central business district, they were also situated in and around some of the least-desirable locations in the city, such as low-lying bottomlands, railroad tracks, cemeteries, prostitution districts, and industrial corridors.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 42

<sup>51</sup> Kellogg, "Black Residential Areas," 39.

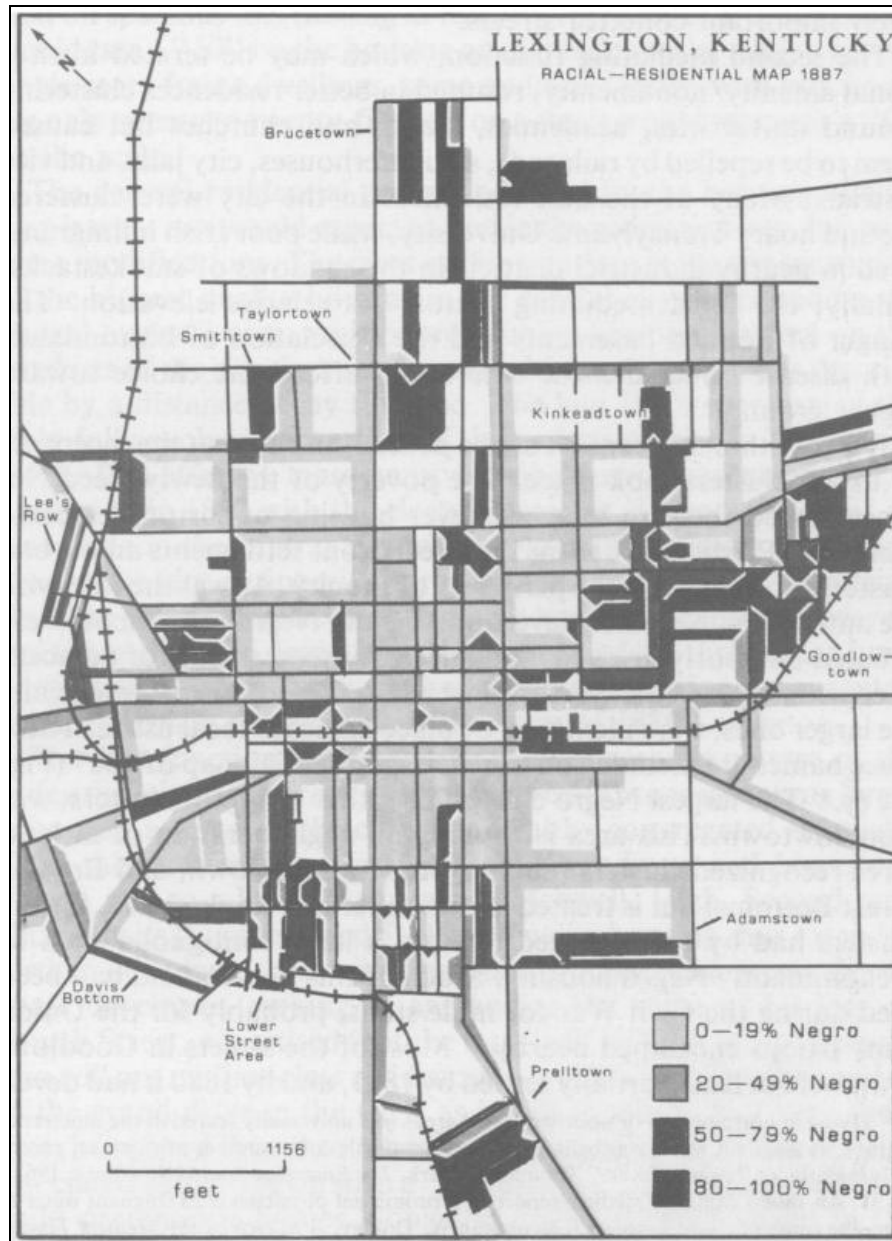


Figure 9: Racial Distribution in Lexington in 1887.<sup>52</sup>

The residential clusters were often composed of frame houses, usually with a shotgun plan set on lots approximately 28 feet wide and 80 to 100 feet deep.<sup>53</sup> A shotgun house is simply defined by Virginia and Lee McAlester in *A Field Guide to American Houses* as a “one-room deep, hall-and-parlor plan of the rural South turned

<sup>52</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 36.

<sup>53</sup> Faberson, “Archival History,” 16

sideways to accommodate narrow urban lots.”<sup>54</sup> The form of the shotgun house allowed developers to fit more houses on a piece of land; overall the houses varied in size, setback, and shape. Developers constructed the buildings to tightly line side streets and alleys that cut through the neighborhood.<sup>55</sup> Despite the small size of the houses, it was common for two or more families to live under the same roof.<sup>56</sup>

The postbellum urban clusters differed from the antebellum enclaves in several ways. According to John Kellogg, the neighborhoods constructed after the Civil War were bigger, had a greater number in each household, had older heads of the household, and overall had a much higher percentage of ownership.<sup>57</sup> By the late-nineteenth century the Lexington African American community had established eleven black churches—four of which dated to before the Civil War—schools, their own main street on the east end of Vine and Water streets that included stores, barbershops, and restaurants. In many cases, however, unlike the enclaves established before the war, the individual post-war black urban clusters did not have churches, schools, or other community organizations of their own for the first few decades. This suggests that during the late-nineteenth century the black community in Lexington was not so much neighborhood-based, rather it was city-wide and centered around the central business district.<sup>58</sup> This is not to say, however, that the neighborhoods were not unified; in fact, many were given distinct names by locals, such as Gunntown, Pralltown, Goodloetown, and Davis Bottom.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 90.

<sup>55</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 39.

<sup>56</sup> Alvey, 76.

<sup>57</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 42-48

<sup>58</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 49-51

<sup>59</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 35.

## Study Areas

Both of the study areas are examples of postbellum African American urban clusters. The histories of the East End and Davis Bottom study areas reflect the typical postbellum residential development that was previously discussed. Each neighborhood is unique, however, and has its own story; this is what makes them an interesting aspect of Lexington's history. The neighborhoods deserve to be recorded, documented, and made available to all interested parties.

### East End Study Area History and Development

#### *Pre-Civil War*

The East End study area was relatively undeveloped from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. It was an open, grassy area on the eastern outskirts of Lexington. Back Street, which became known as Deweese Street, was the easternmost street for the first part of the nineteenth century. A majority of city development was concentrated within the city plan and around the central business district. In the early-nineteenth century the area that is now considered the East End study area was bordered on the north by the Winchester Turnpike (currently East Third Street), a road that connected Lexington to Winchester, and on the south and southeast by Town Fork of the Elkhorn.<sup>60</sup>

One of the earliest developments in the East End of Lexington was a race track. On July 29, 1826 Lexington citizens formed the Kentucky Association “to improve the

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<sup>60</sup> John Lutz, *Plan of the City of Lexington*, Map, (Lexington: 1835, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

breed of horses by encouraging the sport of the turf.”<sup>61</sup> A few months later in October the Kentucky Association held the first race at Williams Race Course, which was located near the city’s cemetery. Over the course of six years, beginning in 1828, the Kentucky Association purchased a total of 65 acres northeast of Lexington at the corner of present-day Fifth and Race Streets.<sup>62</sup> They constructed a grandstand in addition to several other buildings along with a mile-long track that was one of the earliest developments in the area. Although the grandstand and some of the other buildings were replaced over time, this track was in continual use throughout the nineteenth and into the early-twentieth century.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> J. Winston Coleman, *The Squire’s Sketches of Lexington*, (Lexington: Henry Clay Press, 1972), 34.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.



Figure 10: 1835 Plat of Lexington.<sup>64</sup>

By 1855, just before the start of the Civil War, land owners began to divide the area east of Back (Deweese) Street into large tracts of land and construct buildings on those parcels. The downtown core was quite dense by this time and the infrastructural development was spreading beyond the original town plat in all directions, especially to the north and east.<sup>65</sup> Immediately west of the Town Fork of the Elkhorn, near the intersection of present-day Race Street and Corral Street, was a quarry. Also by the mid-nineteenth century the Lexington and Big Sandy Railroad was constructed near the east end of the city. It was incorporated in 1852 as a railroad to connect Ashland and

<sup>64</sup> Lutz, *Plan of the City of Lexington*.

<sup>65</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*, Map, (Louisville: 1885, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).



Lexington. The piece of the line in Lexington followed the east side of the Town Fork of the Elkhorn from the center of town outward along Winchester Road.<sup>66</sup> The railroad company abandoned the project in 1860.<sup>67</sup> This railroad sparked a development pattern that greatly affected the landscape of the east end. Although the railroad company did not complete the project, other railroad companies and industrial businesses followed in their path and developed along the Town Fork between Main Street and Winchester Road (present-day Third Street). The physical and social divide that was originated by the creek and reinforced by the railroad played a large role in the development of the East End.

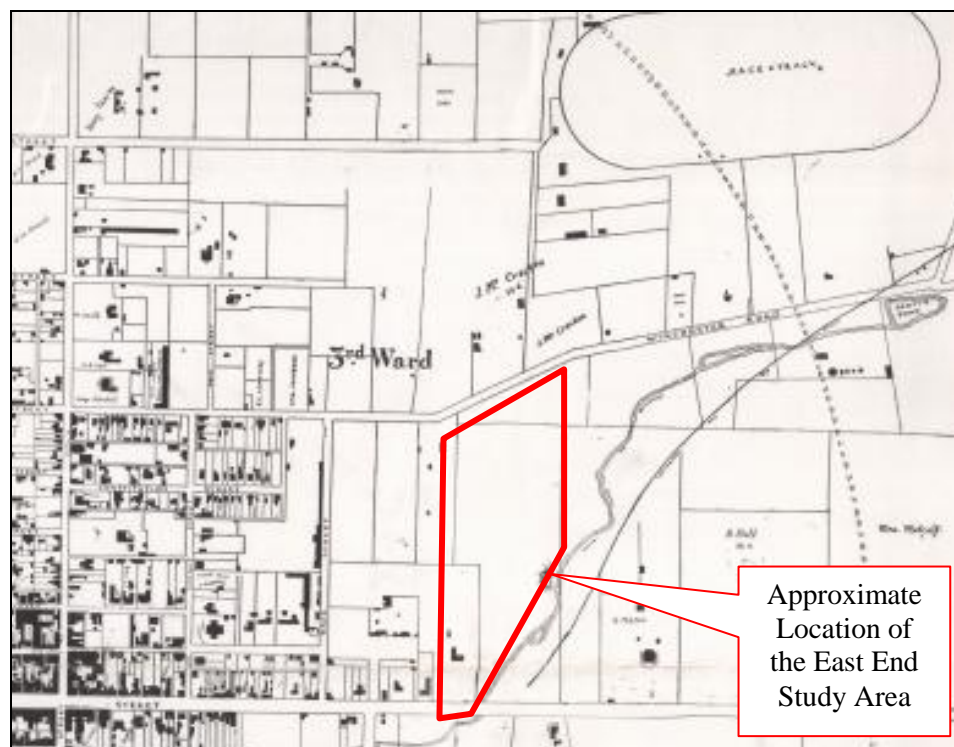


Figure 11: 1855 Map of Lexington.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Coleman, *Sketches of Lexington*, 37; Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, 1855.

<sup>67</sup> Coleman, *Sketches of Lexington*, 37.

<sup>68</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, 1855.

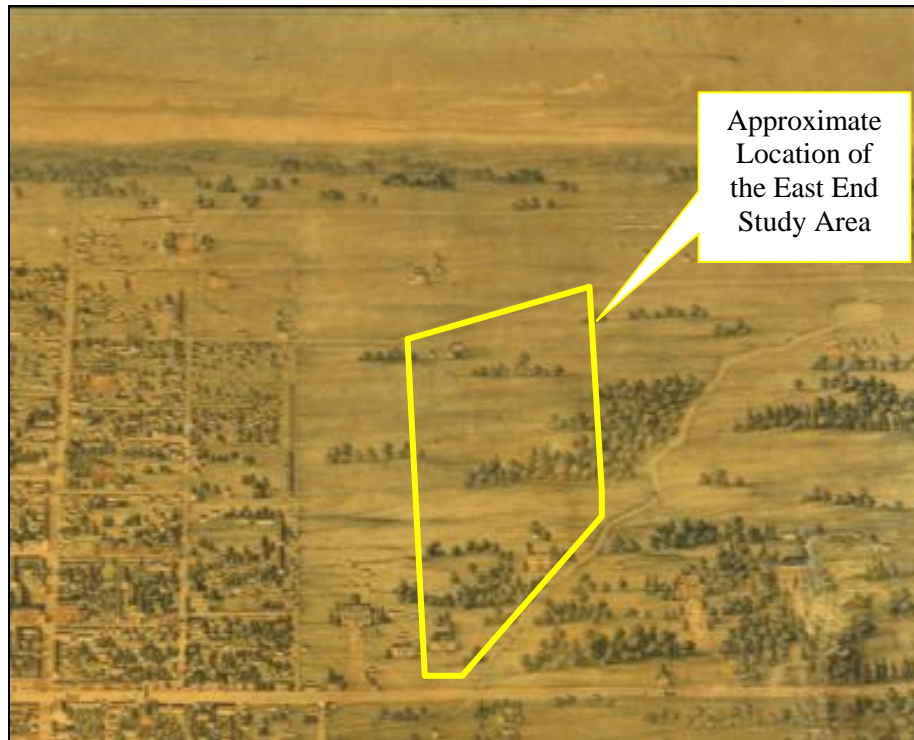


Figure 12: The 1857 Birds'-Eye View of Lexington.<sup>69</sup>

### *Post-Civil War Through the End of the Nineteenth Century*

Like many rural areas in Lexington, the onset of the Civil War marked the beginning of great change in the east quadrant of the city. The city experienced a rapid increase in its African American population as the recently-freed slaves migrated to urban areas from the countryside. In response to this influx, land owners and developers created urban clusters to house the high number of blacks in the city. In 1865 Winn Gunn purchased 14 acres along Winchester Road from William Monaghan.<sup>70</sup> Gunn

<sup>69</sup> Middleton, Wallace, -, Thomas, *View of the City of Lexington, KY*, Map, (Cincinnati: J. T. Palmatary, 1957, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

<sup>70</sup> LFUCG Deed Book 41, page 182; Gunn was born in Caswell County, North Carolina, grew up in Tennessee, and by 1833 he married Matilda Winlock, a Kentucky native. In 1860 Winn and Matilda Gunn lived in Shelby County, Kentucky, and at least seven years later the two had moved to a house on Winchester Street (present-day East Third Street) in Lexington. United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1860 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com); Olt Miami Printing & Publishing Co., *Lexington City Directory*, (Cincinnati: Olt Miami Printing & Publishing Co., 1867).

noticed there was an immediate need for housing for the recently-freed African Americans in Lexington. He saw an opportunity to make a profit on his land, which was located on the outer edge of Lexington and was in close proximity to the quarry and railroad corridor. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, developers laid out the grid-like streets as an extension of the original Lexington core made up of in-lots and out-lots; for example, Lincoln Street (later renamed Race Street) was being constructed in June, 1870.<sup>71</sup> Winn Gunn subdivided much of the land he owned surrounding his residence during the period between 1867 and 1889, the year of his death.<sup>72</sup> Developers laid out lots in the area, most of which were narrow, rectangular parcels located along the streets including Lincoln Street, Winchester (now known as East Third Street), Goodloe, Warnock, and Constitution (now known as East Second Street) Streets.<sup>73</sup> Winn sold many of the lots to African Americans in need of a place to live.<sup>74</sup> Another large land owner in this part of Lexington at the time was David S. Goodloe, a local physician. Although Goodloe sold many narrow parcels of land during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, his heirs received many small lots as well after his death in 1903.<sup>75</sup> Both Gunn and Goodloe were extremely influential in the development of this neighborhood; two adjacent black urban clusters were named after them, Gunntown and Goodloetown. During the 1880s, this area was the largest black neighborhood in Lexington and by 1887 Goodloetown, Gunntown, and Bradley Street Bottoms merged into a single community that “was home to about 290 blacks.”<sup>76</sup> By 1887, most of the people living within the

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<sup>71</sup> LFUCG Deed book 48, page 361.

<sup>72</sup> Lexington-Fayette County Urban Government [LFUCG], Circuit Court, Grantor/Grantee Index.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

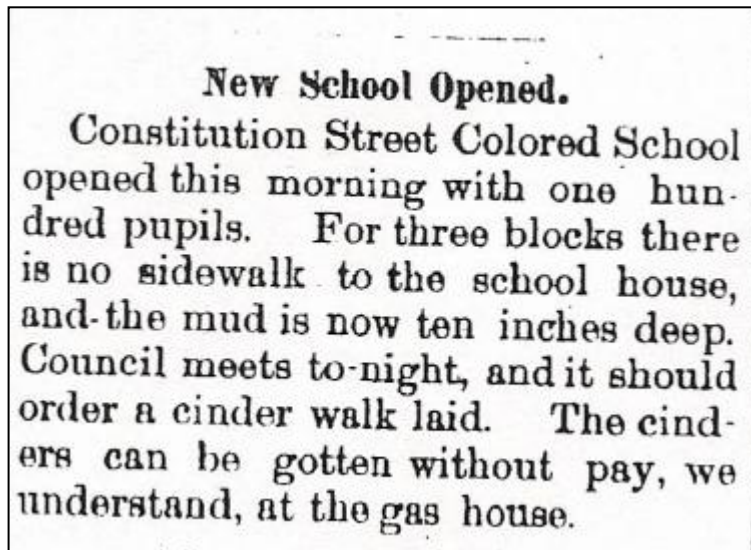
<sup>74</sup> Ibid; Various Lexington City Directories

<sup>75</sup> Lexington-Fayette County Urban Government [LFUCG], Circuit Court, Will Book 9, page 46.

<sup>76</sup> Kellogg, “Black Residential Areas,” 37.

East End study area boundaries were African American (72 percent), although there was a notable number of whites as well (28 percent). Third Street, the major thoroughfare in the area, had the highest percentage of whites.<sup>77</sup> The area was predominately residential (92 percent) with approximately eight businesses, a majority of which were grocery stores such as the ones run by Timothy Foley at 296 East Third and Ernest B. Tingle at 21 Goodloe Street.<sup>78</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the racial divide was even more apparent in the area. Some streets such as Vertner and Megowan still had a similar proportion of



whites to blacks. Other streets such as Race, Constitution, and Goodloe experienced an increase in the number of blacks, whereas the number of whites either remained the same or greatly decreased.<sup>79</sup>

Figure 13: *The Lexington Daily Transcript*, April 10, 1883

Overall, the percentage of African Americans in the East End study area increased from 72 percent (108 people) in 1887 to 81 percent (169 people) in 1898. Landowners in that area rapidly began constructing buildings in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Residential buildings

<sup>77</sup> Based on data gathered from the 1887 City Directory, which primarily listed the head of households only. Although the data is slightly skewed because only one member of the household is typically shown, it does give an idea to the number of households and the racial makeup of those households during that year.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Based on data gathered from the 1898 City Directory, which primarily listed the head of households only. Although the data is slightly skewed because only one member of the household is typically shown, it does give an idea to the number of households and the racial makeup of those households during that year.

made up approximately 92 percent of the standing infrastructure within the study area in 1887 and non-residential buildings, primarily grocery stores, made up 5 percent of that total. Although the percentage of dwellings decreased to 89 percent in 1898, the overall number of buildings greatly increased; the number of residential structures increased from 150 in 1887 to 208 in 1898, the number of non-residential buildings increased from eight to eighteen.<sup>80</sup> In 1883 the city of Lexington built the Constitution Street School, also known as the “Colored School No. 2” on the south side of Constitution between Race and Warnock Streets.<sup>81</sup> The student population was so dense and growing at such a rate that a four-room brick addition was needed by 1896. Lexington officials awarded the project of designing the addition to the architect Martin Geertz. He designed an addition with four, 25 by 35 foot rooms at a cost of \$5,400.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, Map. (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1902).; Transylvania Press, *The Bluegrass Directory of the City of Lexington, Kentucky*, (Lexington: Transylvania Press, 1902).; *The Lexington Daily Transcript*, April 10, 1883, page 1, column 2.

<sup>82</sup> *The Herald Leader*, April 28, 1896, page 5, column 4.



Figure 14: 1877 Beers Map of Lexington, Kentucky.<sup>83</sup>

By 1898 several industrial buildings sprang up where Megowan Street (now North Eastern Avenue) intersected with the railroad and Main Street. The W. Bush Nelson hemp factory and the Kentucky Copper Works & Iron Foundry occupied two two-story brick warehouses and several frame secondary buildings. Both of these factories took advantage of the railroad tracks and installed spurs that extended off the main line and ran directly adjacent to the building.<sup>84</sup> Also by this time, Megowan Street (also known as Grant Street during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century), became a centralized location for prostitution. Houses, mostly one- and two-story frame buildings (listed as “female boarding” on maps), lined both sides of the street immediately north of

<sup>83</sup> D. G. Beers & Co., *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, KY*, Map, (Philadelphia: D. G. Beers & Co., 1877, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

<sup>84</sup> Emerson and Dark, *Emerson & Dark's Lexington Directory*, (Munice: Emerson & Dark Publishing Co, 1898).; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, Map. (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1898).



the warehouses and the railroad tracks.<sup>85</sup> Although the railroads, factories, and prostitution had a negative impact on the residential aspect of the neighborhood they were in contrast with the Liberty Baptist Church on Goodloe Street, and other community-strengthening establishments that came to the neighborhood.

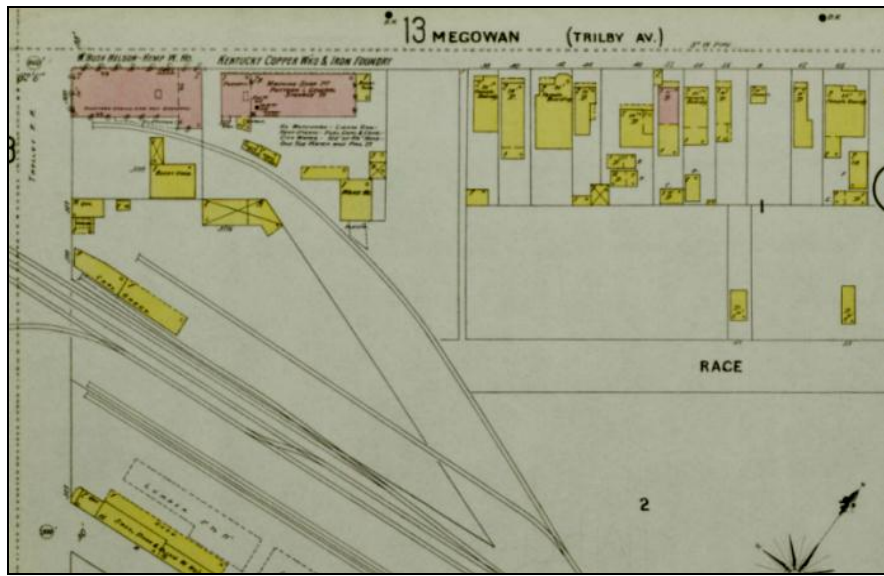


Figure 15: 1898 Sanborn Map of the Southern Tip of the East End Study Area.<sup>86</sup>

### *Twentieth Century*

The turn of the twentieth century brought with it continued growth in the East End. For the most part the streets were fully developed by the end of the nineteenth century; however, there were still several tracts of land that were not subdivided or built upon. In 1900 there were approximately 252 dwellings, an increase from 223 in 1898. The population in the East End study area at the turn of the century was approximately 864. By this time several of the alleys, such as Flad's Alley and Powell Alley, had buildings on them; Flad's Alley had houses, whereas Powell Alley had a long row of

<sup>85</sup> Emerson and Dark, *Lexington Directory*, 1898; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1898.

<sup>86</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1898.

tenement buildings.<sup>87</sup> The population was not racially homogenous; in 1902, 71 percent of the East End Study Area was African American and 29 percent were white. Several of the streets were heavily segregated, such as Constitution, Corral, Foler Alley, Powell, Race, and Warnock, all of which were almost entirely, if not completely, inhabited by blacks. Other streets such as Goodloe and Ann Streets were predominately black but with whites scattered throughout (Goodloe: 86 percent black, 14 percent White; Ann: 82 percent black, 18 percent white).<sup>88</sup> A majority of the white population was concentrated on Third Street and Megowan Street; a majority of the prostitutes on lower Megowan Street were white. Of the approximately 218 households listed in the 1900 Census, a large proportion (156) rented their residence and only 68 owned their land. Almost 12 percent of the population in the East End Study Area were boarders who rented rooms in the house. The area continued to be primarily occupied by renters into the twenty-first century. Singles represented a majority of the people in the study area at the time; every street had more singles than people who were listed as married.<sup>89</sup>

There were several businesses in the area including groceries such as the ones at 200 Race Street, owned by William Tingle; 230 Vertner Avenue, run by John J. Galvin, and 400–402 E. Third Street owned by Fred Luigart, to name a few. There were also three saloons, one at 479 Goodloe Street, run by Henry Mitchell, and two others that were combined with groceries (501 Goodloe and 431 Constitution). These saloons often had “colored wine rooms” attached to the rear.<sup>90</sup> By 1902 the owner of the parcel at 224 Race Street constructed a two-story, wood frame hotel—noted as the “Negro Hotel” on the

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<sup>87</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1902.

<sup>88</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>89</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census.

<sup>90</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, November 24, 1904, page 4, column 3.



1902 Sanborn Map—at the southeastern corner of the intersection of Goodloe Street and Race Street. In later years locals referred to this black-only business as the “East End Hotel” and owners constructed a one-story dwelling on the east (rear) elevation. The building still stands today; however, the owners in recent decades altered the building and it lost a majority of its exterior historic fabric. In 1903 the City purchased a lot on the south side of Constitution Street, known as the Cockrell lot, to construct a new school. In 1904 a two-story, brick school, known as Constitution School, replaced a cluster of existing houses.<sup>91</sup> In 1935, with financial help from the Project Works Administration, the Board of Education constructed a large one-story, rectangular auditorium-gymnasium addition on the west elevation that extended to Race Street.<sup>92</sup>

In the *1902 City Directory* and 1900 Federal Census, census takers listed many of the men in the area as “laborers,” which likely included a variety of occupations. Other jobs included carriage trimmer, grocer, musician, teacher, horseman, butcher, carpenter, barber, and dairyman, to name a few.<sup>93</sup> The men that lived in the East End of Lexington predominately worked in factories, such as the Lexington Lumber & Manufacturing Co., Lexington Lumber Co., Nelson’s Hemp Factory, etc. But several worked at other non-industrial locations such as the Phoenix Hotel and S. S. Crawford, Sick and Accident Insurance Company. Census and City Directory compilers noted that many women in the East End were cooks, servants, dressmakers or seamstresses.<sup>94</sup> Other early-twentieth

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<sup>91</sup> *The Lexington Herald*, March 3, 1903, page 1, column 2; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, Map. (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1907–1920). Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, Map. (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1934–1958).

<sup>92</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, January 13, 1935, page 16, page 5.

<sup>93</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census; Transylvania Press, *Directory of the City of Lexington*, 1902.

<sup>94</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census.; Transylvania Press, *Directory of the City of Lexington*, 1902.

century infrastructure changes in the area included the railroad track laid by the Lexington and Eastern Railroad Company. In 1903, the City passed an ordinance permitting the company to construct tracks along the existing Cincinnati & Ohio Railroad and under Megowan Street. By 1904, the L & E Railroad Company completed the installation of railroad tracks, constructed an iron bridge, and made grade changes along the street. This change segregated the tip of the East End study area from the rest of the district; the southern portion of Megowan (south of the Corral Street intersection) remained an industrial district with a concentration of brothels.<sup>95</sup>

Development in the area continued over the next several decades. Although there was a slight increase in the number of households from 1900 to 1910, there was an 11 percent decrease in the number of people.<sup>96</sup> Dwellings made up 84 percent of the building infrastructure in the East End study area in 1910; businesses were the next largest category at approximately 10 percent of the total.

The decade between 1910 and 1920 brought an increase in the number of people and rate of building construction to the East End study area. There was a large increase (13 percent) in the number of households in the neighborhood, according to the 1910 and 1920 Census Records. By 1920, the study area was made up of a population of approximately 882 people and 270 buildings, 233 of which were residences with an average of 3.9 people living in each dwelling. A majority of the neighborhood occupants rented their homes; only 47 (12 percent) of the households owned their homes, whereas 211 households (82 percent) rented from a landlord.

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<sup>95</sup> *The Lexington Herald*, April 10, 1903, page 10, column 3; *The Lexington Leader*, August 28, 1904, page 5, column 6.

<sup>96</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census.; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1910 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

The 1910 and 1920 Censuses differentiated “black” from “mulatto” on the population count; it was left up to the census bureau employee to determine the race of the people within the house. According to the 1910 Census Instructions given to the surveyor, “For census purposes, the term “black” (B) includes all persons who are evidently full-blooded negroes, while the term “mulatto” (Mu) includes all other surveyed persons have some proportion of perceptible trace of negro blood.”<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, the 1920 Census Record instructions for the enumerators specifically state that a “person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood. Both black and mulatto persons are to be returned as Negroes, without distinction.”<sup>98</sup> Despite the specific instructions not to distinguish between what were then classified as “negroes” and “mulattoes,” the Census Bureau employees in Lexington who gathered the 1920 data did continue to make that distinction. The subjectivity of this procedure affects the racial distribution data for 1910 and 1920. It is evident that the area was still predominately inhabited by people of color in 1920; in fact, their number increased slightly from 1910 (723 people or 83 percent). The number of whites decreased to 141 (16 percent); there were also 11 mulattos noted (1 percent). By 1920, the only large concentration of whites was found on Third Street; all the other streets and alleys were predominately black, sprinkled with white and mulatto families.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Instructions to Enumerators*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 28.

<sup>98</sup> Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Instructions to Enumerators*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 26.

<sup>99</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)

As at the turn of the century, a large concentration of businesses such as groceries, saloons, and bakeries was located along Third Street; however, a substantial number were scattered along the secondary streets throughout the East End. Lexington congregations constructed additional churches during the 1910s, including the Liberty Baptist Church (African American) at 515 Goodloe Street, a “Colored Church” at 542 Constitution, and a two-story “Negro Church” at 425 Corral Street.

Lexington officials started to crack down on prostitution along Megowan Street in the 1910s; the practice was well on its way to being terminated by 1920. Although the 1907–1920 Sanborn Map notes several houses as being “Female Boarding,” the 1920 Census Shows that there were more families living on that street and, apart from a few houses such as 154 and 156 Megowan, most do not have the large numbers of female lodgers, as they did in previous decades.<sup>100</sup> A shift in that street is also suggested by the name change. People began to complain that the value of their house suffered because people associated Megowan Street with prostitution and it was the “recognized center of the segregated district.” In 1917 the street name was changed to Grant Street, which is what it was called before 1881.<sup>101</sup> These changes on Megowan/Grant Street also likely account for the decrease in difference between the number of males and females for the East End study area as a whole; in 1920, there were 51 percent (446) women and 49 percent (429) males, as opposed to 1900 when 61 percent were females and 39 percent were males. The 1920 Census is also the first to record a higher number of married

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<sup>100</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1907–1920; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census.

<sup>101</sup> *The Lexington Herald*, July 21, 1917, page 8, column 6; *The Lexington Morning Transcript*, June 6, 1881, Page 4, column 2.

people (430) than singles (346); the number of widows (92), stayed very close to what it was in 1900 and 1910.<sup>102</sup>

Crime and violence were rampant in the southern portion of the east end during the first few decades of the twentieth century. Fatal and non-fatal shootings and stabbings occurred on many of the streets, including Constitution (Second), Warnock, and Megowan Streets, which were often noted in the local newspapers as being located in the “iniquitous East End.”<sup>103</sup> One corner in particular, the intersection of Warnock and Goodloe Streets, became notorious in Lexington.<sup>104</sup> Journalists noted the location as being particularly dangerous, and “one of the bloodiest locations in Lexington.”<sup>105</sup> The danger was likely partially associated with a rowdy saloon (sometimes called “Wood’s Saloon”) situated at the northeast corner of Goodloe and Warnock Streets.<sup>106</sup> The situation became so bad that leaders of the black community organized a “racial meeting” at the Goodloe Street Baptist Church in April 1930. According to the notice placed in *The Lexington Leader*, “the crime wave is so high among our group we are requesting every citizen in the race to be present.”<sup>107</sup> In addition to crime, fires were also a problem in the East End such as the one in 1901 that destroyed five houses and damaged one on Goodloe (No. 9, 11, 13, 15, and 17 Goodloe Street were lost, No. 19 was badly damaged). Fires were prevalent because of the open fire places, gas stoves, and wood frame construction of the buildings.

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<sup>102</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1907–1920

<sup>103</sup> Various entries in local newspapers on file at the Lexington Public Library, to note a few: *Lexington Daily Leader*, March 27, 1905, page 4, column 4; the quote comes from *Lexington Daily Leader*, March 23, 1907, page 1, column 3.

<sup>104</sup> There are several newspaper articles that mention brawls, murders, and injuries at the intersection, to name a few: *Lexington Daily Leader*, September 30, 1900, page 1, column 4; *Lexington Daily Leader*, August, 13 1900, page 2, column 4.

<sup>105</sup> *Lexington Daily Leader*, March 31, 1901, page 1, column 5–6.

<sup>106</sup> *Lexington Daily Leader*, April 15, 1907, page 1, column 7.

<sup>107</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, April 5, 1930, page 10, column 5–6,

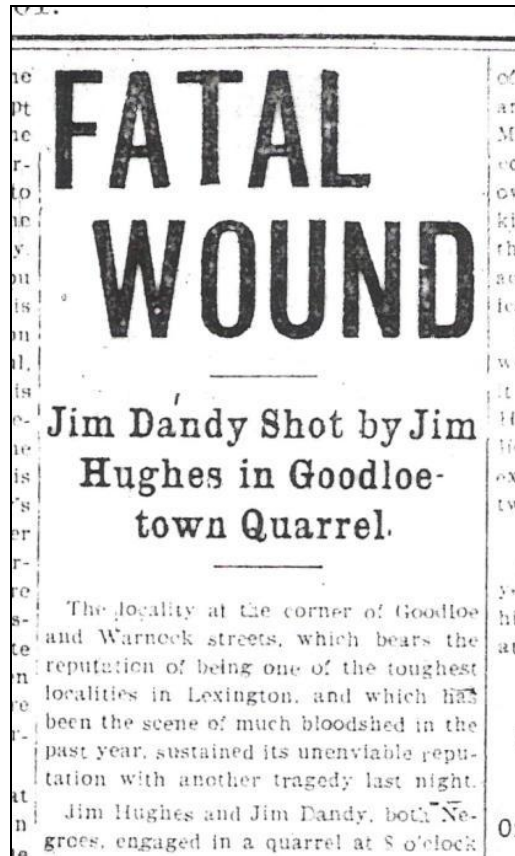


Figure 16: *Lexington Leader* article, March 3, 1901.<sup>108</sup>

By the 1930s the East End Study Area had more standing structures than it ever had before with a total of 314 buildings; however, according to the 1930 census there was a 14 percent decrease in the number of households from 1920 (258) to 1930 (222).<sup>109</sup> The City of Lexington constructed new streets and alleys including Gold Alley, located on the southern part of the study area and extending eastward off Race Street, and Holbrook Court, which extended southward off East Third Street between Race and Warnock Streets. The population also decreased 28 percent from 882 in 1920 to 665 in 1930. The neighborhood remained primarily residential in nature (277 of the 314

<sup>108</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, March 3, 1901, page 1, column 5–6.

<sup>109</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1930 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

buildings). Segregation of the neighborhood and streets was even more apparent by 1930 than it had been in previous decades.<sup>110</sup> According to the census of that year, as well as the *1931 City Directory*, all of the streets (Ann, Corral, Flad's Alley, Goodloe, Grant/Eastern, Race, Vertner, and Warnock) were almost entirely inhabited by African Americans. The only streets where white people lived were Powell Alley, East Third Street, and Holbrook Court.<sup>111</sup> There were 25 businesses within the study area in 1934, a large increase from the four that were there in the 1920s.<sup>112</sup> Of those businesses, saloons, stores, groceries, and bakeries were still concentrated along East Third Street. The southern section of North Eastern Avenue where it intersects with Main Street, was still heavily industrial, occupied mostly by Louis des Cognets & Co, who sold coal and building supplies.<sup>113</sup>

The decades between 1934 and 1958 marked a transition in demographics and building stock in the East End study area.<sup>114</sup> By 1958 several frame buildings had been demolished. New business owners replaced many structures with new commercial buildings. The city school board razed several residential buildings to make way for a large two-story gymnasium-auditorium addition to the Constitution School. Other changes in the neighborhood suggest an overall shift in land use in the neighborhood as well as the city of Lexington as a whole. At the end of the 1950s, the industrial core at the southern end of the study area was almost completely gone. The corner of US 60 (present day Midland Avenue) and US 25 (Main Street) became a new entrance to Lexington's downtown core and a new car-oriented strip of filling stations, auto sales

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<sup>110</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1907–1920; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934.

<sup>111</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1930 Census.

<sup>112</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1907–1920; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934.

<sup>113</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934

<sup>114</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map* 1934–1958.

lots, and vehicle repair shops replaced the factories and warehouse. Under the Public Works Administration program, Midland Avenue was constructed between the C & O Railroad tracks and what used to be the L & E tracks. The project cost around \$60,000.00.<sup>115</sup> Both of these seemingly small changes in the East End represent the physical evidence on the landscape of a diminished dependence on the railroad system and the ever-increasing dominance of the automobile and a more defined line of separation between the East End and the white-occupied neighborhoods such as Bell Court and Mentelle Park.

By 1970, the neighborhood was fully immersed in a multi-decade long transformation. Many cities across the United States invested in urban renewal projects that focused on beautifying neighborhoods or cities in general. To many the overarching goal was to improve the area and this mentality likely influenced the development of the East End throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. While the city had already removed much of the railroad in the area, neighborhood layout changes continued to occur, including the city's decision to completely remove all of the Lexington & Eastern Railroad and the yards associated with it. Lexington officials extended Short Street to Midland Avenue in the railroad's absence.<sup>116</sup> In 1970, only 163 buildings remained in the study area, which means that nearly half (49 percent or 152 buildings) were demolished between 1958 and 1970, a majority of which were frame, single-family homes that lined the streets. Sixteen businesses and three churches were still extant in the

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<sup>115</sup> Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Map 1934–1958.; “Thoroughbred Park,” Herald Leader, May 25, 1992, Supplemental Section.

<sup>116</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky*, Map. (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1958–1970).



area.<sup>117</sup> The Constitution school still stood; however it became a vacant building in the late-1970s. In 1977 the city ordered the addition to be demolished and the remainder of the building to be boarded up. Several people in the area, such as pastors at local churches, wanted the building to be converted into a community center as a central, positive place to bring the neighborhood together.<sup>118</sup> The remainder of the school was razed during the 1980s. By the 1970s, the automotive and repair-related industries became a dominant presence on the southern tip of the East End. The owners constructed new one-story buildings, such as the Auto Sales and Service Station located in the triangle made by Midland, Eastern, and Short Street, and the one-and-a-half story, concrete block auto repair store at 546 Goodloe Street.

In 1983, Woolpert, Inc. was hired by the Lexington Fayette Urban County government to develop a plan for the redevelopment of the East End neighborhood with the use of federal money. This was a “direct outgrowth of federal programs such as Urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s, and Community Development Block Grants, in the 1970s.”<sup>119</sup> Beginning in the late-1980s and throughout the early part of the twenty-first century, the city made additional attempts to “clean-up” the neighborhood in the form of demolishing or letting the existing buildings fall down, and replacing them with new buildings. One of the organizations more frequently involved in this redevelopment effort was Habitat for Humanity. In the late-1980s the organization began buying parcels of land and once acquired they demolished the existing buildings. As part of their mission, the organization built a new home in its place. Streets such as lower-North

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<sup>117</sup>Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1958–1970.

<sup>118</sup> *Lexington Leader*, April 11, 1977, C-1, column 1-3

<sup>119</sup> Katherine Jones, “Envisioning the East End: Planning, Representation, and the Production of Urban Space in Lexington, Kentucky,” Dissertation, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2003).

Eastern, Corral, and Warnock Streets have gained a large number of these one-story, vinyl-clad replacements. During the mid-1980s, Lexington city officials began to discuss the idea of a park in the East End. By 1988 the Triangle Foundation, a local group composed of members of Lexington's business and civic community, announced they were in full support of a park. This idea came on the heels of Triangle Park, constructed in 1982 at the intersection of West Main and West Vine Street. The city and the Triangle Foundation felt that the East End needed a "catalyst," and a park would fit the bill.<sup>120</sup> The chosen site was a 3.1-acre parcel at the southern tip of the East End, bounded by Short Street, Midland Avenue, East Main Street, and North Eastern Avenue.<sup>121</sup> To construct the park, it was necessary for the city to obtain several lots of land, often by condemnation suits; houses and businesses, including a rare house-form Pure Oil Station, were razed as part of this project.<sup>122</sup> SWA Group designed the \$8 million Thoroughbred Park project and completed it in 1991. Design elements included a wall made of local stone, life-size bronze horse and jockey statues, grassy knolls with grazing bronze horse statues, a reflecting pool, and plaques honoring influential individuals in the horse industry.<sup>123</sup> The park currently obscures from view the remaining buildings in the East End from the people entering Lexington from the southeast on Main Street.

#### *Current Status of the East End Study Area*

Today, in 2011, the neighborhood is a mixture of modern, Habitat for Humanity infill, small clusters of historic buildings, unused and boarded up commercial buildings,

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<sup>120</sup> *The Herald Leader*, September 27, 1988, B1, column 5–6.

<sup>121</sup> *The Herald Leader*, October 19, 1988, B1, column 2–3.

<sup>122</sup> *The Herald Leader*, May 25, 1992, special section.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

and vacant lots. As of January 2011, only 85 buildings are extant in the East End Study area, 61 of which are considered historic or over 50 years old. Only 63 buildings remain of the 163 buildings that were on the 1970 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, which means that 100 buildings were demolished between 1970 and 2011—a 61 percent decrease. Twenty-three of the buildings currently standing in the East End study area are less than 50 years old and, by those in the preservation field, are considered modern. Of those 23 modern buildings Habitat for Humanity constructed 61 percent (14 buildings). Other new developments include a two-story apartment complex on the block bordered by Race, Corral, and East Second Street, and an electric transformer station on the block bordered by North Eastern, Race, Corral, and Short Streets. Although several of the commercial buildings that once lined East Third Street are still extant, they are all boarded up and vacant and are showing signs of deterioration and neglect. The area that retains many historic homes is the 200 block of Race Street between East Second and East Third Street. This is one of the only places in the East End study area that retains its late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century integrity—a tightly-developed street lined with shotgun and T-plan houses that continues to have its historic community feel.



Figure 17: 238 Warnock Street, Constructed by Habitat for Humanity.

Future threats include the overall continuing decline of the condition of the buildings in the area. One of the causes of the poor and deteriorating condition of the houses may be the high number of renters in the area. Historically, it was common that the people in the study area were renters. The owners often owned more than one rental property in Lexington and, in many cases, within or immediately surrounding the study area itself. This owner/renter situation is still present in the East End study area today. This trend can often lead to neglect on the part of the renter or owner and the deterioration of a house over time. As the houses in the community continue to become less stable and livable, it is only understandable that those who live in them hope for and require living arrangements that are safe and comply with the housing codes. It is at that point that organizations such as Habitat for Humanity purchase the land and house from the owner. Typically Habitat for Humanity demolishes the run-down dwelling and replaces it with modern and more livable house, which is then often inhabited by a former renter. The key to preserving what is left of this community is to fix and maintain the buildings before they get to a state of disrepair. In 2011, 61 historic resources were

surveyed in the East End study area (Table 4, p.51). Of those 61 resources, 10 buildings (FANE 213–218; 244–246, 252) were listed as previously-recorded and had data on file at the Kentucky Heritage Council. Fifty-one of the resources were newly recorded and were given KHC numbers (FANE 674–723).



Figure 18: Shotgun Houses on the 200 Block of Race Street.



Figure 19: L-Plan House at 417 East Second Street.

Table 4: Surveyed Historic Resources within the East End Study Area.

KHC #	Address	KHC #	Address
FANE 213	216 Eastern	FANE 695	241 Race
FANE 214	234 Eastern	FANE 696	242 Race
FANE 215	223 Race	FANE 697	243 Race
FANE 216	516 Goodloe	FANE 698	244 Race
FANE 217	228 Race	FANE 699	245 Race
FANE 218	232 Race	FANE 700	247 Race
FANE 244	400 Third	FANE 701	248 Race
FANE 245	408 Third	FANE 702	249 Race
FANE 246	500 Third	FANE 703	250 Race
FANE 252	527 Goodloe	FANE 704	251 Race
FANE 674	508 Third	FANE 705	253 Race
FANE 675	516 Third	FANE 706	254 Race
FANE 676	536 Corral	FANE 707	235 Powell
FANE 677	204 Eastern	FANE 708	232 Warnock
FANE 678	208 Eastern	FANE 709	237 Warnock
FANE 679	228 Eastern	FANE 710	239 Warnock
FANE 680	200 Race	FANE 711	243 Warnock
FANE 681	202 Race	FANE 712	244 Warnock
FANE 682	204 Race	FANE 713	246 Warnock
FANE 683	206 Race	FANE 714	260 Warnock
FANE 684	211 Race	FANE 715	511 Goodloe
FANE 685	212 Race	FANE 716	519 Goodloe
FANE 686	213 Race	FANE 717	408 Second
FANE 687	214 Race	FANE 718	417 Second
FANE 688	215 Race	FANE 719	418 Second
FANE 689	216 Race	FANE 720	422 Second
FANE 690	219 Race	FANE 721	425 Second
FANE 691	227 Race	FANE 722	427 Second
FANE 692	229 Race	FANE 723	517 Second
FANE 693	233 Race	FANE 724	519 Second
FANE 694	235 Race		

## Davis Bottom Study Area

### *Pre-Civil War*

The Lexington landowners developed the area south of the downtown core at a slower pace than those north and east of the city. Streets such as Lower, Spring, Main-Cross (Now Broadway), Mill, Upper, and Mulberry (now Limestone) Streets extended southwest just beyond Maxwell Street, but according to Lutz's 1835 Plan of Lexington, there was little infrastructure southwest of that street.<sup>124</sup> Fifteen years later the area southwest of Maxwell and Broadway Streets experienced some development. The Lexington and Danville Railroad was the first railroad that cut through this section of Lexington.<sup>125</sup> The railroad bisected Versailles Road south of Pine Street and continued diagonally to Broadway across from Bolivar Street; near the latter intersection the railroad company constructed the depot and other buildings associated with Lexington and Danville Railroad. In the mid-1840s, the land between the railroad and Pine Street—the northern part of the study area—was partially developed into a grid pattern with straight streets that intersected at right angles, forming rectangular blocks. The developers subdivided these blocks into narrow lots of land that extended back to an alley that bisected the parcel.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Lutz, *Plan of the City of Lexington*.

<sup>125</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*.

<sup>126</sup> Hart and Mopther, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*; LFUCG Deed Book 22, 474-475.



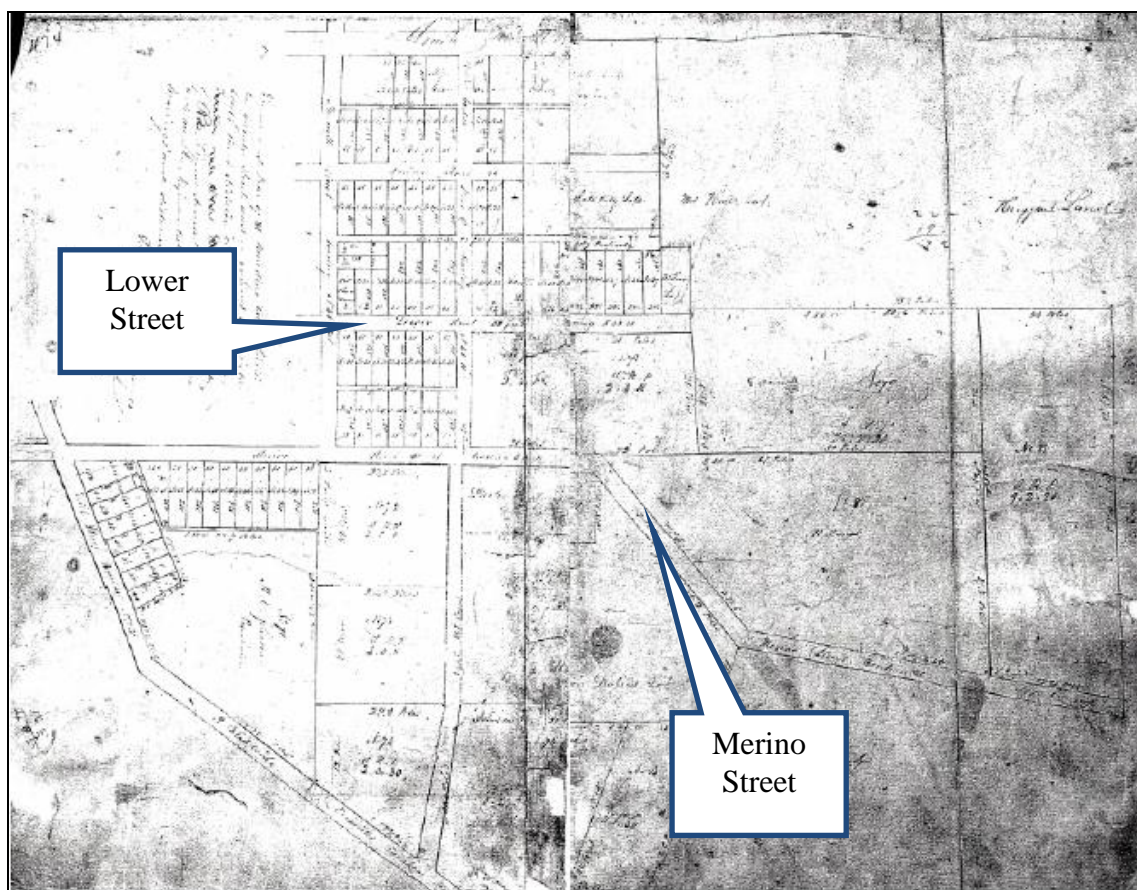


Figure 20: 1840s Plat of Southwest Lexington, Deed Book 22, page 474

According to the 1855 Map of Lexington, almost none of the lots were developed. A quarry was located south of the Lexington and Danville Railroad west of Merino Street.<sup>127</sup> Other than the quarry, the area south of the Lexington and Danville Railroad and west of Broadway Street remained relatively undeveloped; landowners divided it into large lots without streets or alleys.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*.

<sup>128</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*.





Figure 21: 1855 Map of Lexington by Hart and Mapother.<sup>129</sup>



Figure 22: 1857 Bird's-Eye Map.<sup>130</sup>

### *Post-Civil War Through the End of the Nineteenth Century*

The land south of the Lexington and Danville Railroad is part of a natural depression along a tributary of the Elkhorn River that ran parallel to present-day De Roode Street and crossed Broadway approximately where Chair Avenue currently

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Middleton, Wallace, ?, Thomas, *View of the City of Lexington, KY.*

intersects with it. This low-lying area of Lexington was, and still is, prone to flooding. Because of its location on the outskirts of town and its tendency to flood, residential and some commercial development, this part of Lexington was almost non-existent in the years before the Civil War. Like many postbellum black neighborhoods, much of the Davis Bottom study area is situated on some of Lexington's least-desirable land and has many of the negative qualities described by John Kellogg. In addition to literally being in a "bottom," the area that would later be known as Davis Bottom was on the south side of the railroad tracks on the city periphery. There were also several factories located within the area, including the quarry, a brick yard owned by G. D. Wilgus, and the J. M. Baker Coal Yard.<sup>131</sup>

Willard Davis lived in Lexington on Jefferson Street between Second Street and Short Street and was an attorney with an office on Short Street between Mill and Broadway.<sup>132</sup> By October, 1865, Davis had started to subdivide land. The city extended roads—such as Merino and Lower (now Patterson) Streets—south from the core of town and built new ones, including Brisben (now part of De Roode). Davis divided land into 43 narrow lots on Brisben Street that extended deep into the block; most of the lots were approximately 25 to 30 feet wide along the street.<sup>133</sup> Willard Davis was one of the earliest large scale residential developers in this part of the city and as a result, the area became known as Davis Bottom. He also developed several other parts of Lexington, including the land around Wickliffe and Colfax Streets. He quickly sold off the narrow, rectangular lots of land on Brisben Street between 1865 and 1867 to individual families.

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<sup>131</sup> Hart and Mapother, *City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, 1855*; D. G. Beers & Co., *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, KY*.

<sup>132</sup> Maydwell's Lexington City Directory 1867.

<sup>133</sup> LFUCG, Deed Book 44, page 58.

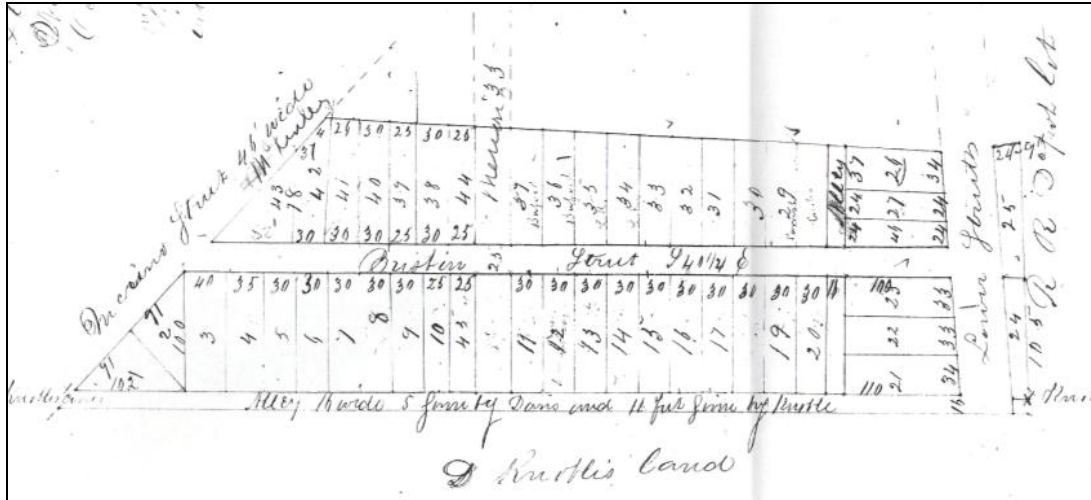


Figure 23: Plat of Willard Davis's Subdivision.<sup>134</sup>

On June 21, 1867, Rudolph De Roode purchased 25 parcels from Willard Davis.<sup>135</sup> De Roode was born on May 17, 1835, in Rotterdam,

Holland. He went to a private school where he focused on science, foreign languages, and music and graduated early at the age of 15. In 1851, his aunt, Mrs. Robert Wickliffe, Jr. invited Rudolph to move with her to Lexington, Kentucky, after the death of her husband. Once he arrived, he began to make a career in the music industry by teaching private

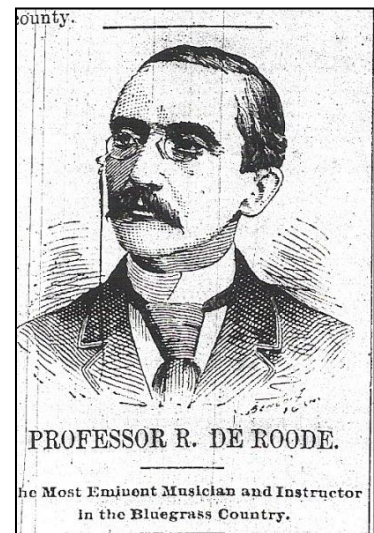


Figure 24: R. De Roode, *Kentucky Leader*, April 30, 1892

lessons in Paris, Kentucky. Over the next four decades, De Roode made a name for himself as a composer and teacher of music in and around Lexington. He specialized in “sacred offertory songs being sung in churches from New York to San Francisco.”<sup>136</sup> He opened his own piano store in

<sup>134</sup> LFUCG Deed Book 44, page 58.

<sup>135</sup> LFUCG Deed Book 44, page 59.

<sup>136</sup> *The Kentucky Leader*, April 30 1892, page 23.

downtown Lexington and was elected president of the Music Teachers' National Association in 1879.<sup>137</sup> During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, De Roode purchased large amounts of land throughout Lexington and was responsible for dividing several of them, including Curds lot and what would be called De Roode Street. De Roode Street extended westward from the intersection of McKinley (at that time Merino Street) and Brisben Street to Versailles Pike. He bought the tract of land from Philip Gormley, executor of the will of Thomas Gormley—both Irish immigrants—on May 15, 1867 for \$287.00.<sup>138</sup> He sold the land to family members and others throughout the last half of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century (Figure 25).

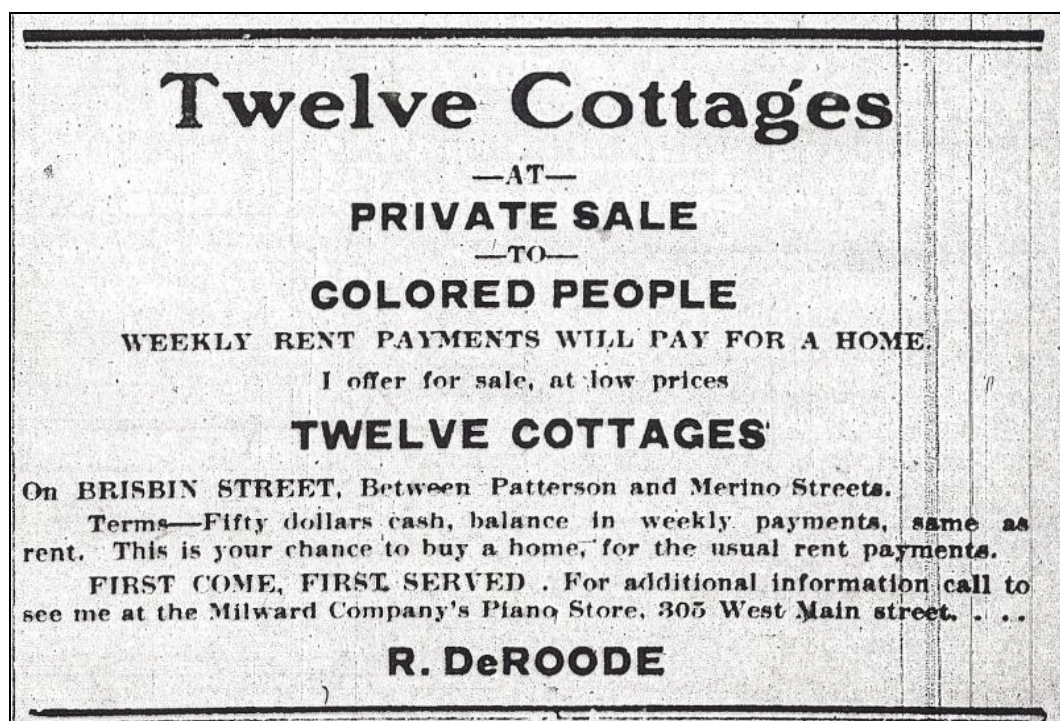


Figure 25: Advertisement for Houses on Brisben Street.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> LFUCG Deed Book 44, page 23.

<sup>139</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, June 4, 1911, page 5, column 5–6.

By 1871 landowners had already constructed moderately-sized houses on rectangular lots on the northern part of the Davis Bottom study bound by Pine Street and the railroad tracks.<sup>140</sup> An 1877 map of Lexington depicts much of the land subdivision done by Willard Davis and Rudolph De Roode. It shows the triangle purchased and laid out by Willard Davis along Brisben Street, bordered by Lower and McKinley (historically known as both Merino and Blackburn) Streets with rectangular shaped lots on both sides and the division of land on De Roode Street. The lots varied in size and were concentrated on the southern and northwestern sides of the street.<sup>141</sup> Also by this time the Cincinnati and Southern Railroad Company constructed a second set of railroad tracks on the southern end of Davis Bottom (the southern boundary for the Study Area).<sup>142</sup> With the installation of another railroad line the lower part of Davis Bottom was almost entirely encircled by the railroad industry. There was little development in the eastern half of the study area, specifically around Broadway south of the railroad. Although development was slow in the years immediately following the Civil War, the last decade of the nineteenth century proved to be one of growth and change in Davis Bottom.

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<sup>140</sup> A. Ruger, *Bird's Eye View of the City of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky 1871*, Map, (Cincinnati:Ehrgott & Krebb, Lith., 1871, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

<sup>141</sup> D. G. Beers & Co., *Atlas of Bourbon, Clark, Fayette, Jessamine, and Woodford Counties, KY*.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.



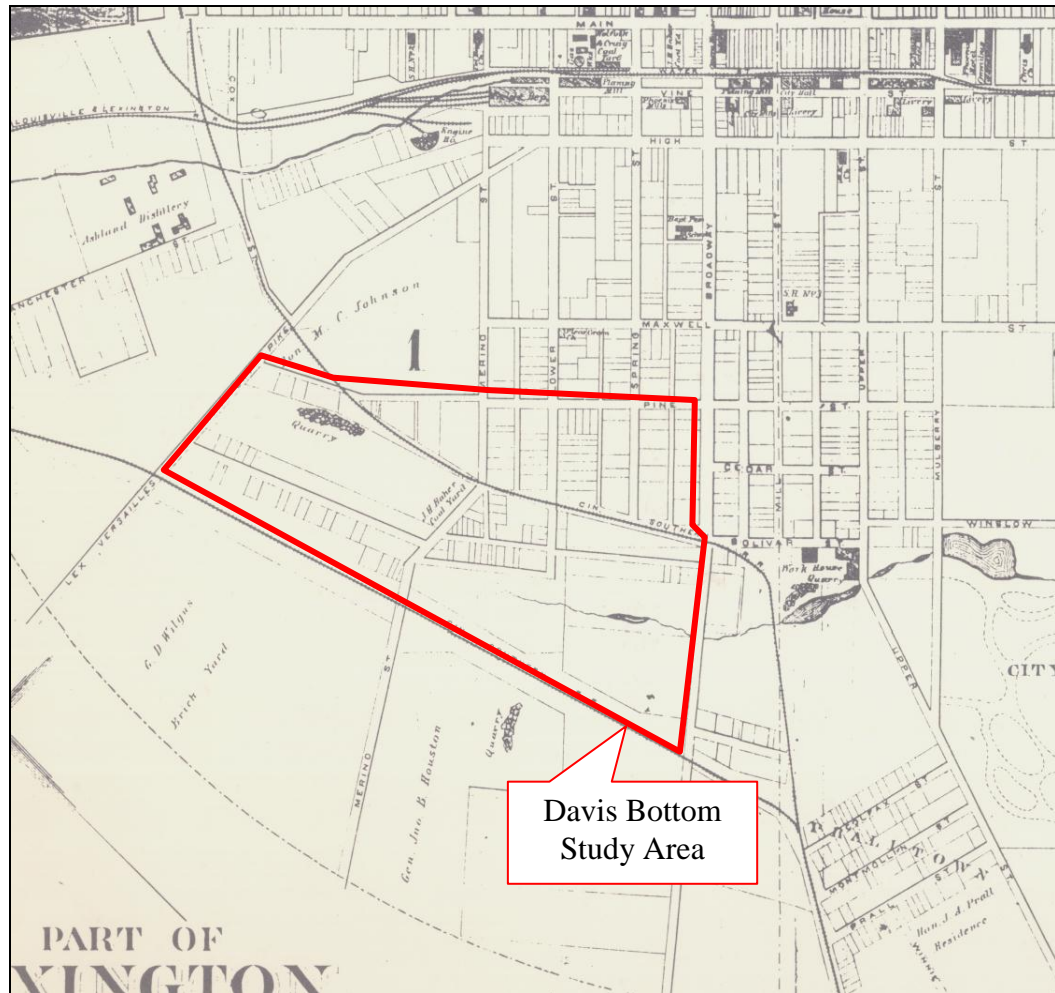


Figure 26: 1877 Map of Lexington.<sup>143</sup>

The 1880 Federal Census included an area listed as “Davis Bottom.”<sup>144</sup> Within this section the census surveyors noted individual households, but street names and house numbers were not included; therefore the boundaries and amount of land included in that section of the survey are not known. According to that document, 387 people lived in “Davis Bottom” in 1880, 266 (69 percent) of whom were black and 121 (31 percent) were white. There were approximately 82 households, which averaged 4.72 people per

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1880 Census, Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)

household.<sup>145</sup> The average age of the population in Davis Bottom at that time was low—approximately 23.6—and most of the adults were listed as laborers, housekeepers, waiters, cooks, or as having other labor-intensive jobs. By the late-1880s, additional factories moved into the area, such as the J. Forbing & Son Chair Factory near the end of present-day Hayman or Chair Avenue and Kinkead Brothers Coal Yard on Lower Street (present-day Patterson Street).<sup>146</sup> The author of the *1887 Lexington City Directory* only noted eight streets in the Davis Bottom study area, including: Blackburn (present-day McKinley Street), Combs, De Roode, Dunaway, Hayman, Merino, Pine, and Spring. By 1898, the City Directory listed thirteen streets: Blackburn, Byas, Christie (present-day De Roode Street near Broadway), Combs, Dunaway, Hayman, High, Merino, Patterson, Pine, and Spring. The five additional streets suggest increased residential development.<sup>147</sup> A majority of the buildings in Davis Bottom were frame shotgun and T-plan houses, which allowed for more buildings to be placed on a block. Some brick dwellings were sprinkled throughout the neighborhood.<sup>148</sup> In 1883, the city commissioners decided on the location of a new school for African Americans. After much deliberation and consultation with Lexington citizens, they chose to “locate the school on a quarry lot on Davis Bottom” at the “lower end of Lower Street, on a lot purchased from the Reid heirs through Captain S. G. Sharp.”<sup>149</sup> The Lexington Board of Education built a two-story frame school situated at 214 Lower Street in Davis Bottom, directly across from the Kinkead Brothers’ Coal Yard and immediately north of the

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<sup>145</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1880 Census.

<sup>146</sup> C. J. Pauli, *Lexington, KY: 1888*, Map, (Milwaukee: C.J. Pauli, 1888, from the Science Library at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky).

<sup>147</sup> Emerson and Dark, *Lexington Directory*, 1898.

<sup>148</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1896. This only applies to the area above the Queen and Crescent Railroad because the area south of that is not shown on the 1898 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

<sup>149</sup> *The Lexington Daily Transcript*, August 10, 1883, page 1, column1.

railroad tracks.<sup>150</sup> Before this school was constructed, the residents of the neighborhood relied heavily on the educational and child-care services provided by the congregation of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, an early African American church, which was situated on the southeast corner of Maxwell and Lower Streets.<sup>151</sup> The city continued to expand the school and by 1896 they constructed a two-story brick school behind the original frame one, which became known as the Patterson Street School (No. 3) and was intended for black children only.<sup>152</sup> According to the *1898 City Directory*, there were 11 commercial or industrial buildings in the neighborhood, a majority of which were concentrated in the northern half. The early Sanborn maps show clusters of groceries and stores on Pine Street, which was one of the main east-west thoroughfares included in the Davis Bottom study area.<sup>153</sup>

### *Twentieth Century*

The 1900 federal census clearly shows that the area in the Davis Bottom study area was heavily developed by that time as a result of increased growth during the 1890s. By 1902, land owners built approximately 304 buildings in the area, which included 252 dwellings (an increase from 223 in 1898), 44 vacant buildings, and eight non-residential structures (businesses, schools, etc.)<sup>154</sup> According to the 1900 Federal Census, Davis Bottom had a population of about 941, which was dispersed over approximately 215 households. Of those 941 people, 584 (62 percent) were African American and 356 (38 percent) were white. Although some streets such as Byas and Tipton were all black, and

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<sup>150</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1886. Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1890.

<sup>151</sup> Faberson, "Archival History," 19

<sup>152</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1896.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Transylvania Press, *Directory of the City of Lexington*, 1902.



others such as Hayman and Chair Avenues were all white, the majority of the streets were not segregated by race. Streets such as De Roode (92 percent) and Poplar (96 percent) were heavily dominated by African Americans, while others such as Spring and Christie Streets were closer to being equal in racial distribution.<sup>155</sup> Fifty-two percent of the population in the Davis Bottom study area were single, whereas 39 percent were married, and 9 percent were widows.<sup>156</sup>

There were several businesses in the area, many of which continued to be located on the northern side of the study area; this area became known locally as “Davistown,” while the lower part between the two railroad tracks remained “Davis Bottom.” For the purpose of this project, however, the term Davis Bottom will continue to be used to describe the entire study area. Businesses included a barber at 700 Blackburn, a grocery at 889 De Roode, run by Albert White who lived at 883 De Roode; a grocery at 381 Merino run by Charles Ott; a physician, Dr. Henry Whitney, who lived and practiced at 377 Merino; and a grocery at 446 Patterson the owner of which lived next door at 444 Patterson.<sup>157</sup> The *1902 City Directory* lists many of the men as “laborers,” but also noted other jobs such as a hostler, city street hand, janitor, brick layer, plasterer, lineman, driver, artist, shoemaker, reverend, tinner, stone mason, engineer, gardener, brakeman, jeweler, carriage maker, harness maker, vegetable peddler, firemen, factory worker, horse trainer and groomer, and plasterers. Larger businesses including Lexington Roller Mill, W. R. Milward, Blue Grass Tobacco Co, Martin’s Saloon, Lexington Railway Co., State College, Combs Lumber Co., Prudential Insurance Co, Wright’s Market, Gill & Son, and Jackson Lumber Company, often were the employers of the people living the Davis

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<sup>155</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1900 Census.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Transylvania Press, *Directory of the City of Lexington*, 1902.

Bottom. Many of the men that lived on Chair Avenue worked for the Cincinnati Southern Railway or the Lexington Railway Company as yardmasters, clerks, conductors, etc.<sup>158</sup>

Many women who lived in Davis Bottom were employed as laundresses, cooks, washerwomen, dressmakers, and servants.<sup>159</sup>

In 1910, the number of people and buildings dramatically increased from previous decades. According to the 1910 Federal Census, there were 1,050 people (a 17 percent increase from 1900) and 279 households (a 23 percent increase from 1900).<sup>160</sup> The increase in people was likely caused, in part, by the development in the southeastern section of the study area. Landowners further subdivided and began to develop Christie, Hayman, Chair, Magazine, and the southern part of Lower Street during this time. The developments were known as the Hayman Subdivision and J. Forbing and Son's Subdivision. Both of these were composed of even, rectangular lots, most of which were 30 to 40 feet wide along the street.

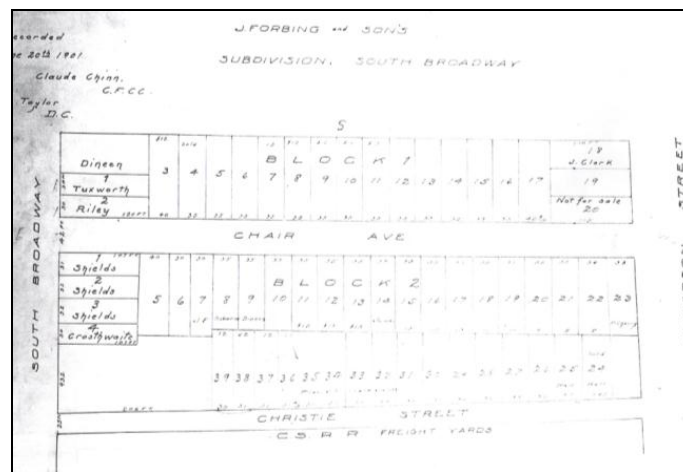


Figure 27: J. Forbing & Son's 1901 Subdivision in Lexington.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid

<sup>161</sup> LFUCG Plat Book 1, page 82.

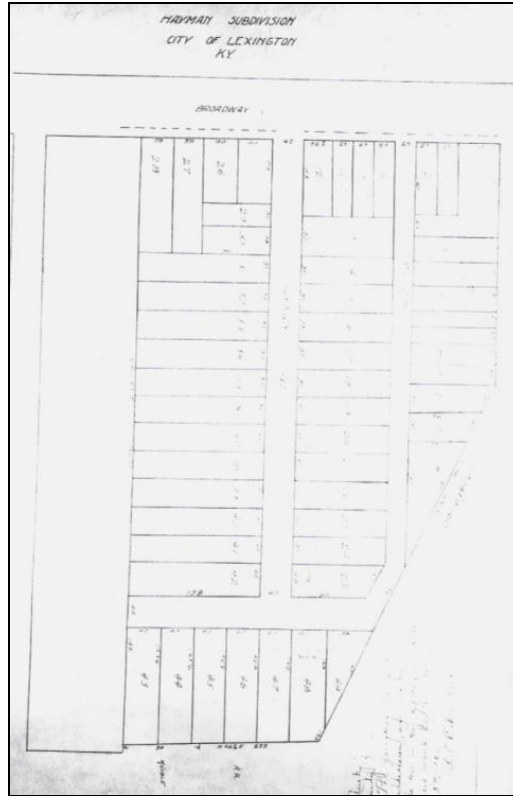


Figure 28: The 1905 Hayman Subdivision of Lexington.<sup>162</sup>

As previously mentioned in the description of the East End, the 1910 and 1920 census used the term “mulatto” to describe someone that was a mixture of white and black races. This was a subjective classification and affected the race percentages. In 1910, 605 East End residents (58 percent) were listed as black, 412 (39 percent) were white, and 34 (3 percent) were classified as mulatto. The streets that were part of recently developed subdivisions such as Chair, Hayman, and Magazine were populated entirely by white people, whereas alleys such as Combs, Poplar, and Tipton were inhabited exclusively by blacks. A majority of the streets, however, continued to be inhabited by a mixture to some extent of whites and blacks.

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<sup>162</sup> LFUCG plat Book 1, page 116

The population in Davis Bottom reached its peak during the period between 1900 and 1920. According to the census records from those years, the population changed little from 1910 to 1920. By 1920 there were 330 buildings situated within the Davis Bottom study area limits; a majority (92 percent) were dwellings. Other functions included saloons, such as the one at 500 Spring Street, businesses like the Day Nursery on Pine Street, and the restaurant at 525 Patterson Street.<sup>163</sup>

In 1906 the city agreed to let W. L. Petty establish his tobacco stemmery in the city. The Lexington Fayette Urban County Government gave Petty a large tract of land on the western terminus of Hayman Avenue, adjoining the Silas Shelburne & Son Tobacco Warehouse. The city was eager to have Petty and his tobacco company in Lexington—he looked at several other cities before settling on Lexington—because “if a stemmery were located here Lexington would become a tobacco center.”<sup>164</sup> Petty opened his wood frame factory in 1907 and contributed to the success of Lexington’s tobacco industry during the first half of the twentieth century. By 1920, Lexington’s early commercial reliance on tobacco was beginning to be evident on the landscape.

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<sup>163</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1907–1920.

<sup>164</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, October 23, 1906.

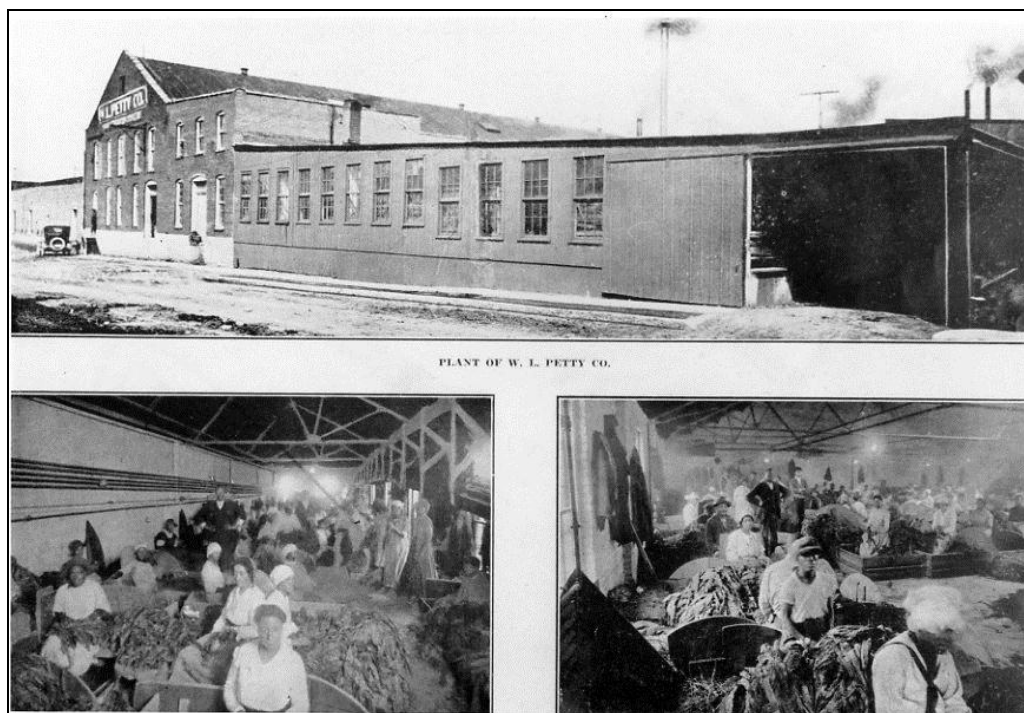


Figure 29: W.L. Petty Factory.<sup>165</sup>

In addition to W. L. Petty's Tobacco Stemmer and the Silas Shelburne & Son Tobacco Warehouse, W. R. Campbell also had a tobacco and hemp factory just north of the railroad tracks on the west side of Patterson. Other industrial businesses included the Kinhead Coal Company, which moved from its original location on Patterson Street to the north side of Christie Street. The Chattanooga Brewing Company purchased a lot on the south side of Christie Street in 1902 for \$700.00.<sup>166</sup> On the parcel, the company constructed a one-story, frame depot and bottling warehouse with a railroad spur that extended directly to the building. The Tennessee-based company remained at that location until 1919; it was later used by the Dixie Bottling Company and was eventually

<sup>165</sup> Barton Battile, "Plant of W. L. Petty," Part of the Barton Battaile Collection, on file at the Lexington Public Library.

<sup>166</sup> LFUCG deed book 126, page 316

torn down in the second quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>167</sup> The city's dependence on the railroad is also evident with expansions to the railroad facilities.

In 1881 the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, which ran through Lexington and Davis Bottom, leased a large part of their railroad line to the Cincinnati, New Orleans, & Texas Pacific Railway Company, which was controlled by Baron Frederick Emile d'Erlanger.

The two railroad companies became part of what was known as the Erlanger System and had well over 1,100 miles of railroad; the "merger linked Cincinnati, at the time known as the 'Queen City' to New Orleans, known as the 'Crescent City.'" Therefore, the Erlanger System became known as the Queen and Crescent Route."<sup>168</sup> The railroad company constructed a one-story, wood frame rectangular freight depot just north of the Erlanger System at the intersection of Bolivar and South Broadway (Figure 30, p. 68). In the early 1890s, Baron Erlanger "sold his majority interest in the railroad to the Richmond & West Point Terminal Railway Company. Following financial difficulties, the Richmond & West Point and its holding were reorganized as the Southern Railway Company."<sup>169</sup>

During the 1920s the Southern Railway Company replaced the original freight depot with a long, two-story reinforced concrete building (Figure 31, p. 68). The building featured "linear and geometric patterns and represented one of a few large Art Deco buildings in Lexington. On the end of the one-story section was a rectangular wood

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Heather Dollins, "State Level Documentation of Southern Railroad Freight Depot at 601 South Broadway/439 De Roode Street for the Newtown Pike Extension Project In Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky," (Frankfort: Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, 2010).

<sup>169</sup> Kleber, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*.

platform that lined the railroad. This building was used as the Southern Railroad Freight Depot until 1959."<sup>170</sup>

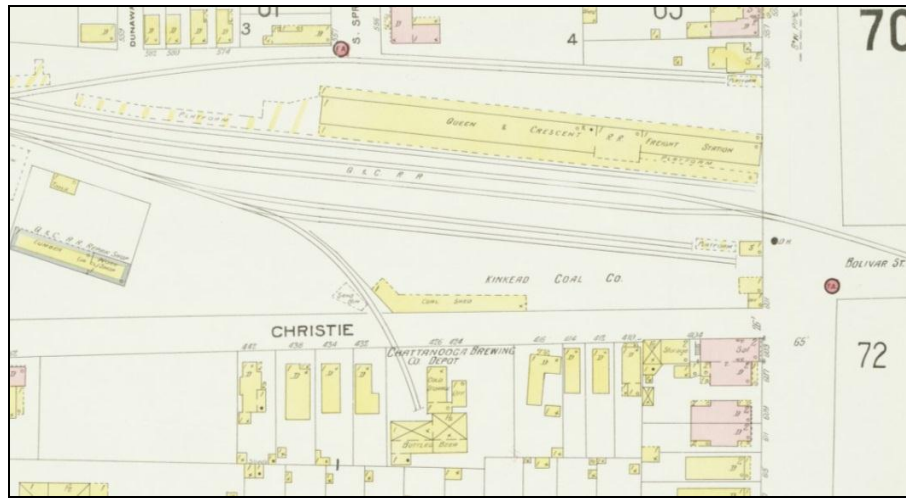


Figure 30: The Queen & Crescent Railroad Freight Depot on the 1907–1920 Sanborn.<sup>171</sup>



Figure 31: Southern Railway Freight Depot on South Broadway.

<sup>170</sup> Powell, Helen. A Cultural Resource Survey for Newtown Pike Extended from West Main Street to South Broadway and South Limestone and South Upper Streets in Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. (Lexington: H. Powell and Company, 2002); Dollins, "State Level Documentation."

<sup>171</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1907–1920.

The landscape of Davis Bottom rapidly changed during the 1920s and early-1930s. One of the most obvious developments was the demolition of many dwellings to make way for large tobacco warehouses on the block that was bounded by Pine Street on the north, the Southern Railway railroad tracks on the south, South Spring Street on the west, and Broadway on the east.<sup>172</sup> In 1934 this block was composed of large one-story warehouses occupied by tobacco companies such as the Shelburne Loose Leaf Tobacco Warehouse, Headly No. 1 Loose Leaf Tobacco warehouse, and Fayette Tobacco Warehouse Company No. 2. Developers razed existing residences and in their place built several other tobacco warehouses on the landscape such as the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Hogshead Tobacco Warehouse) between South Spring and Dunaway, the W. L. Petty Company on Chair Avenue, and the Lexington Bonded Storage Tobacco Warehouse at 604–612 Patterson Street. These large buildings dominated the eastern portion of the Davis Bottom study area.

Despite the increase in the number of warehouses Davis Bottom continued to be predominately composed of shotgun and T-plan houses. Between 1920 and 1934 there was a decrease in the number of people and households but an increase in the number of buildings. In 1930 Davis Bottom's population was 756, a 29 percent decrease from both 1920 and 1910. There were 201 households, which was a 38 percent decrease from 1920 and a 28 percent decrease from 1910.<sup>173</sup> The racial distribution remained relatively equal; there were 425 African Americans (56 percent) and 330 whites (44 percent). Although several of the streets were mixed, such as Patterson, Pine, and Christie Street, most of the time they were inhabited by one race or another. De Roode (predominately populated by

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<sup>172</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1934.

<sup>173</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1930 Census; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1910 Census.



whites in 1920), Dunaway, and Spring Streets were populated entirely by blacks, whereas Chair Avenue and Neville Street housed only whites.<sup>174</sup> In 1934 there were 363 buildings within the Davis Bottom study area boundaries. Ninety-one percent of the buildings within the neighborhood were dwellings and 23 (6 percent) were businesses, such as warehouses, stores, etc. Businesses within Davis Bottom during the 1930s included a soft drink stand at 502 Patterson, a billiard room at 503 Patterson, and several groceries such as the ones at 619 De Roode, 500 Patterson, 501 Patterson, and 756 Pine.<sup>175</sup> In addition to the residential, industrial, and commercial buildings, two churches, a black church at 579 Patterson Street and the St. James Pentecostal Church at 573 McKinley Street, were also located in Davis Bottom.<sup>176</sup>

In the mid-1930s, the City of Lexington demolished the Patterson Street School building and constructed the George Washington Carver School in 1936 on the same site. The construction of the two-story L-shaped building, complete with classrooms, an auditorium, and stage, necessitated the demolition of several one-story residences just north of the original school. In addition to the new school building, the Nathaniel Mission constructed a one-story church at the southeast corner of McKinley and De Roode Streets.<sup>177</sup> This church continued to be an important and central part of the Davis Bottom community throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and into the first part of the twenty-first century.

Beginning in the third quarter of the twentieth century, the Davis Bottom community began to face a new set of challenges. In 1968, the citizens were unhappy with the

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<sup>174</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1930 Census.

<sup>175</sup> R.L. Polk & Co., *Polk's Lexington, Kentucky City Directory 1931–1932*, (Columbus: R. L. Polk & Co., 1931).

<sup>176</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1934.

<sup>177</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1934–1950.

current state of their neighborhood.<sup>178</sup> It was considered by many in Lexington to be one of the worst slums of the city. Because it was zoned for industrial use, the residents of Davis Bottom lived near many businesses that are considered undesirable within a residential neighborhood such as the Henry Gordon Scrap Yard, which was located west of Hayman and Magazine. The residents of Davis Bottom and neighboring Irishtown went to the Lexington Planning Commission in an attempt to remove the industrial zoning code. They hoped that this zone change would rejuvenate residential development in the area. Although Irishtown was re-zoned, the Planning Commission ruled that they would not do the same for Davis Bottom because of the proposed “crosstown expressway.”<sup>179</sup> City planners in Lexington began to look at possible extension options for Newtown Pike as early as the 1930s. During the 1960s they shifted the design for the extension to an interstate or expressway format.<sup>180</sup> These early plans for a redevelopment of the city’s downtown corridor would directly affect the Davis Bottom neighborhood.

Despite the city’s decision not to remove the industrial zoning for Davis Bottom, a 1969 petition was drafted for the residents of Irishtown and Davistown with different ideas and programs to help the community improve their living conditions. It was presented in 1970 and eventually the project received federal funding.<sup>181</sup> A conditions survey of the neighborhoods (Irishtown, South Hill, and Davistown combined) was completed and it was determined that each had rapidly deteriorating conditions; was

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<sup>178</sup> Lexington-Fayette County Planning Commission, “Irishtown, Davistown, South Hill Neighborhood Study,” (Lexington: Government Publications Department, 1971).

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, “Newtown Pike Extension: A Roadway Designed for Lexington’s Future,” accessed April 3, 2011, <http://transportation.ky.gov/envanalysis/pi/Documents/D7/NewtownPikeExtensionBrochure2.pdf>

<sup>181</sup> Lexington-Fayette County Planning Commission, “Irishtown, Davistown, South Hill Neighborhood Study.”

lacking or had inadequate normal neighborhood services; was in the back of two proposed expressways; and were predominately low-income neighborhoods.

In 1974 there were 284 buildings in the Davis Bottom study area, a 22 percent decrease from 1934. While a majority were still residential (184 or 83 percent), there was an increase in the percentage (12 percent) of commercial and industrial buildings in comparison with previous decades. Some of the those businesses included an undertaker and day nursery on Pine Street, a laundry and whole meats store on Hayman, tobacco warehouses on Spring street, and several stores, mostly concentrated north of the railroad tracks. These numbers are important in understanding the specific numbers and data that the 1970 survey gathered.

Table 5: Structural Condition of Residential Buildings in Davistown/South Hill in 1970

	Structures	% of Structures	Unit	% of Units
Sound	309	67.0	499	71.5
Deteriorating	117	25.4	150	21.8
Dilapidated	35	7.6	37	16.7
Total	461	100%	686	100 %

Table 6: Structural Condition of Non-Residential Buildings in Davistown/South Hill in 1970

	Structures	% of Structures	Unit	% of Units
Sound	59	85.5	71	87.5
Deteriorating	8	11.1	8	9.8
Dilapidated	2	3.4	2	2.7
Total	69	100	81	100

Table 7: Residential Ownership Status in Davistown/South Hill in 1970 (Based on Units)

	Units	Percent (%)
Absentee Owner	415	61 %
Residential Owner	205	29 %
Owner in Area	64	10%
Total	684	100%

The data in Tables 4–6 suggests that, although there is an extremely high percentage of absentee owners (which is often associated with poor rental housing condition), 67 percent of residential and 85.5 percent of non-residential buildings were considered sound.<sup>182</sup> This does not mean, however, that the buildings were in excellent condition. The report defines a “sound” building as one that had “no visible defects although slight defects may exist. Slight defects are those flaws that are normally corrected during the course of regular maintenance. They do not affect the weather tightness of the structure nor do they endanger the health or safety of the occupants.”<sup>183</sup> The surveyors deemed that approximately one-fourth of the residential buildings in Davis Bottom/South Hill were deteriorating which, according to them, meant that the structure needed “more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance. Only one ‘intermediate defect’ is necessary to classify a house as deteriorating. Intermediate defects indicate the need of repair if the structure is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter.”<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

During the 1960s and 1970s, government officials continued to pursue the idea of an extension of the road, but it never made it through the planning process.<sup>185</sup> When development is proposed, such as roads, apartments, new housing, and commercial spaces, the existing landscape is compromised; it is common for developers to sacrifice older buildings to make way for the construction of new ones. When the discussion of a process like this begins, many times developers, owners, and city officials are reluctant to put money into a neighborhood that might be razed in a few years; improvements, funding, and positive development almost come to a complete stop. Because the government and land property owners are not as willing to fund house improvements, sidewalk and street repairs, and landscaping, people are less eager to live there and the overarching problems within a community are not fixed and often get worse. As deterioration and neglect accelerates, the blight takes a toll on the community. In her book, *The Battle for Gotham*, Roberta Brandes Gratz terms the trend “the death-threat syndrome.”<sup>186</sup> This is what happened in Davis Bottom as planning for the Newtown Pike became more serious.

In 1980, journalist John Woestendiek portrayed the effects of the death-threat syndrome on the Davis Bottom community in his exposé entitled, “Valley of Neglect.” Just a decade after 67 percent of the houses and 85.5 percent of the non-residential structures in the Davis Bottom/South Hill neighborhoods were described as “sound,” Woestendiek described the extremely poor conditions of the neighborhood. He stated that over 95 percent of the houses in Davis Bottom had “major deficiencies or [were]

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<sup>185</sup> *The Lexington Leader*, May 3, 1978.

<sup>186</sup> Roberta Brandes Gratz, *The Battle for Gotham*, (New York: Nation Books, 2010), 97.

dilapidated” and there were none considered sound.<sup>187</sup> He went on to describe the rat and cockroach infestations experienced by many of the people in the houses, the “on-again-off-again plumbing, cracking plaster walls, bare concrete floors...missing bathtubs, sinks and heaters, [and] inadequate electrical systems.”<sup>188</sup>

During the 1990s, project developers changed the plans, goals, and concepts for the Newtown Pike Extension. City planners believed the downtown corridor suffered because of the number of cars that traveled through the city’s core to get from one end of the city to the other, rather than travelling to a downtown destination. In the late-1990s, a study determined that approximately 40,000 cars traveled through downtown Lexington daily and there were “almost 1,000 traffic accidents on major downtown streets” over the course of a three year period, many of which involved pedestrians and bicyclists.<sup>189</sup> All of these elements resulted in daily traffic jams in the core of the city.

The Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government, in conjunction with the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet and Federal Highways Administration, came up with a list of goals that the city hoped to obtain by extending Newtown Pike:<sup>190</sup>

- 1) Improve traffic flow through downtown
- 2) Reduce congestion and improve pedestrian and bicycling environment
- 3) Improve access to the University of Kentucky
- 4) Place the neighborhood in a community land trust controlled by a representative board consisting of neighborhood residents and local community supporters
- 5) Support well-planned growth and urban revitalization in downtown Lexington
- 6) Make improvements without an unfair burden on other areas.

In order to meet these needs and goals, the city and stakeholders began to redevelop a new corridor plan. One of the major goals of this modified extension plan was “to be sensitive to the future growth of Lexington as well as the impact the road would have on

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<sup>187</sup> John Woestendiek, “Valley of Neglect,” *Lexington Leader*, December 19, 1980.

<sup>188</sup> John Woestendiek, “Valley of Neglect,” *Lexington Leader*, December 19, 1980.

<sup>189</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, “Newtown Pike Extension.”

<sup>190</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, “Newtown Pike Extension.”

the surrounding communities.”<sup>191</sup> The designers and developers asserted that the new extension project would “stimulate other redevelopment projects, environmental clean-up and improved infrastructure, and increased tax base, economic development, and increase downtown housing.”<sup>192</sup>

The proposed Newtown Pike Extension ran southeast from the intersection of the existing Newtown Pike, roughly following the historic railroad bed. The road alignment intersected Versailles Road and cut just south of the George Washington Carver Neighborhood Center and The Lex—a modern apartment complex—to Broadway. Efforts to mitigate the effects of the Newtown Pike Extension includes the redevelopment of the Davis Bottom neighborhood, which meant approximately 55 buildings “along the route of the Newtown extension [were] to be replaced with single family homes, duplexes, townhouses, and apartments, as well as a community green, recreation facilities, neighborhood stores, and restaurants” as well as wide sidewalks.<sup>193</sup> This is known as the Southend Park Mitigation Area. A door-to-door survey conducted of the residents of the Southend Park Neighborhood as well as near-by affected citizens was completed in 2003; according to the report, “27 out of 28 occupied households were surveyed in the neighborhood, and 6 out of 8 occupied households within the alignment area were surveyed as well. There were also 14 units that were identified as vacant in the Southend Park Neighborhood and 5 vacant units in the alignment area.”<sup>194</sup> The information gathered by the survey team revealed several over-arching problems in the

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<sup>191</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, “Newtown Pike Extension.”

<sup>192</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, “Newtown Pike Extension.”

<sup>193</sup> Faberson, “Archival History,” 1; Michelle Ku, “Neighborhood Will Be Razed for Road Extension, Longtime Residents Anxious About Changes,” *Lexington Herald Leader*, November 15, 2003, A1 and A 10.

<sup>194</sup> Lexington Fayette County Urban Government, “Southend Park Urban Village Plan,” accessed April 3, 2011, [http://www.newtownextension.com/images/pdfs/South\\_End\\_Park/SouthendPlanOctober2003.pdf](http://www.newtownextension.com/images/pdfs/South_End_Park/SouthendPlanOctober2003.pdf).

neighborhood, including substandard housing, poor road conditions, limited or no sidewalks, unsafe walking and biking options, and an extremely high number of renters and vacant units. In addition, 99 percent of the neighborhood is zoned Industrial I-1, which has hindered the rebirth of the existing community. As previously mentioned, the condition of the 55 surveyed buildings in the Southend Park Neighborhood was extremely poor. The surveyors considered only four (7 percent) sound, whereas 51 (93 percent) were noted as unsound, a rating which was applied to a building with a sagging roof or one that was missing shingles, sagging walls, missing siding, peeling paint, broken or missing gutters, damaged or missed door, door sills, window, or window sills, damaged/unsafe chimney, sagging/damaged porches, and sagging/deteriorated/cracked foundations.<sup>195</sup> The project team also believed that the neighborhood lacked necessary community facilities and had several potentially hazardous sites. As described in a brochure for the Newtown Pike Extension project, the redevelopment of the area south of the railroad between Versailles Pike and Patterson Street

will provide long-term affordable housing for existing residents at or near their current housing expense. Additional housing will be available to former neighborhood residents, surrounding neighborhood residents and other income-qualified families. The redevelopment goal of this neighborhood is to maintain community cohesion and minimize community disruption.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, "Newtown Pike Extension."





Figure 32: Newtown Pike Extension.<sup>197</sup>



Figure 33: Conceptual Design of the Southend Park Urban Village.<sup>198</sup>

The final vision for the redevelopment of the South End Park, termed the Southend Park Urban Village Plan, incorporates 64,000 square feet of mixed-use development, such as retail, office buildings, and community facilities with housing, a

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

majority of which will be low- to moderate-income housing. The plan for this neighborhood strives “for a minimum 35%-assisted housing, with the balance to be affordable market rate.”<sup>199</sup> According to the Newtown Pike Extension website, the redevelopment of the Southend Park Urban Village Plan includes a variety of residential options, including nine house types with varying facades and plans. There are four single-family prototypes listed: the Farmhouse, two-stories, 1,776 square feet; the Cottage, one-story, 1,425 square feet; the Cape, one-and-a-half stories, 1,265 square feet; and the Bungalow, one-story, 1,475 square feet. There will also be five multi-family prototype options: the Duplex, two-story, 1,050 square feet; the Quadplex, two-story, 880 square feet; Apartment Option A; Federal Style Townhomes; and Empire Style Townhomes.

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<sup>199</sup> Lexington Fayette County Urban Government, “Southend Park Urban Village Plan.”

Figure 34: Single-family Residential Prototypes<sup>200</sup>

## Prototypes: Single-Family

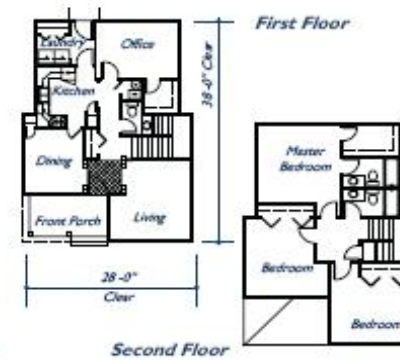
### Farmhouse with Horizontal or Vertical Siding 1776 sqft



Front View



Rear View



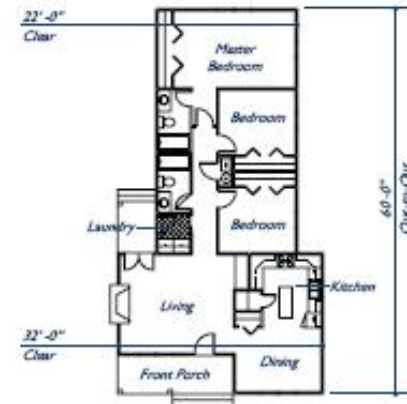
### Cottage with Brick or Siding 1425 sqft



Front View



Rear View



<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

### Cape with Brick or Siding

1265 sqft

Front View



Rear View



### Bungalow with Brick or Siding

1475 sqft

Front View



Rear View

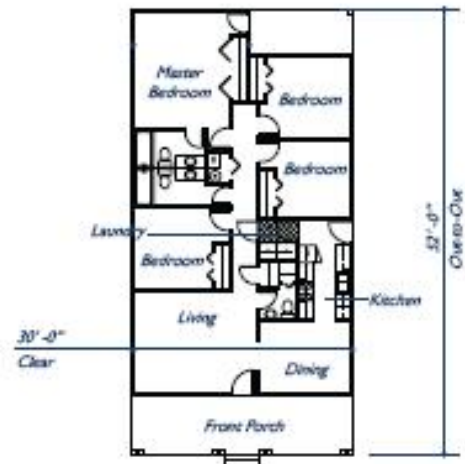
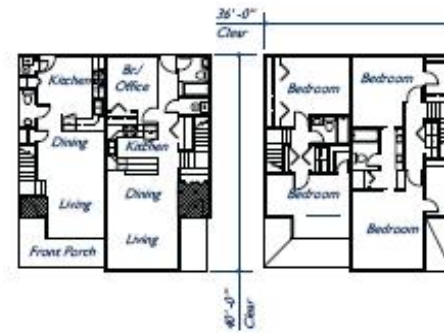




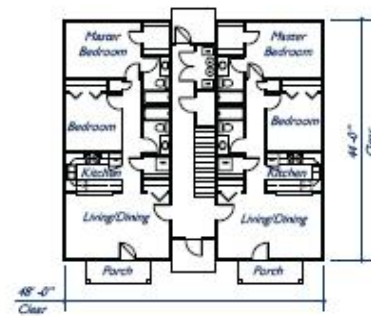
Figure 35: Multi-family Residential Prototypes<sup>201</sup>

## Prototypes: Multi-Family

### Duplex 1050 sqft



### Quadplex 880 sqft



<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

### Apartment Option A



Front View

Rear View

### Federal Style Townhomes



Front View

Rear View

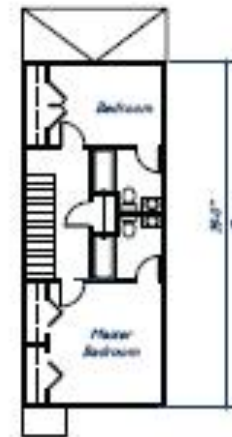
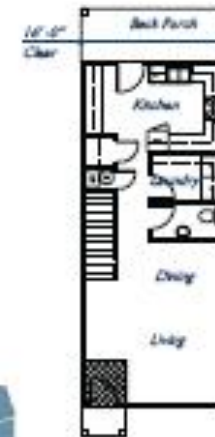
## Empire Style Townhomes



Front View



Rear View



### *Current Condition*

In January 2011, I surveyed the Davis Bottom study area. There are only 114 buildings in the neighborhood including the 16 temporary mobile homes built as part of the Newtown Pike mitigation. Overall, there was a 60 percent drop from 1970 and only 67 of the extant buildings are considered historic. Nearly 90 percent of the buildings in the neighborhood are residential; there are also 12 businesses, one school/community center, and one church.

Developers demolished the tobacco warehouses on South Spring Street in the last quarter of the twentieth century. They replaced them with a large, modern apartment complex called The Lex, whose target audience is the students from the University of Kentucky that are seeking off-campus housing. The buildings one block west of the new apartment complex, bound by Spring, Pine, and Dunaway Streets, were completely razed to make way for a parking lot (Figure 36 and Figure 37, p. 86).



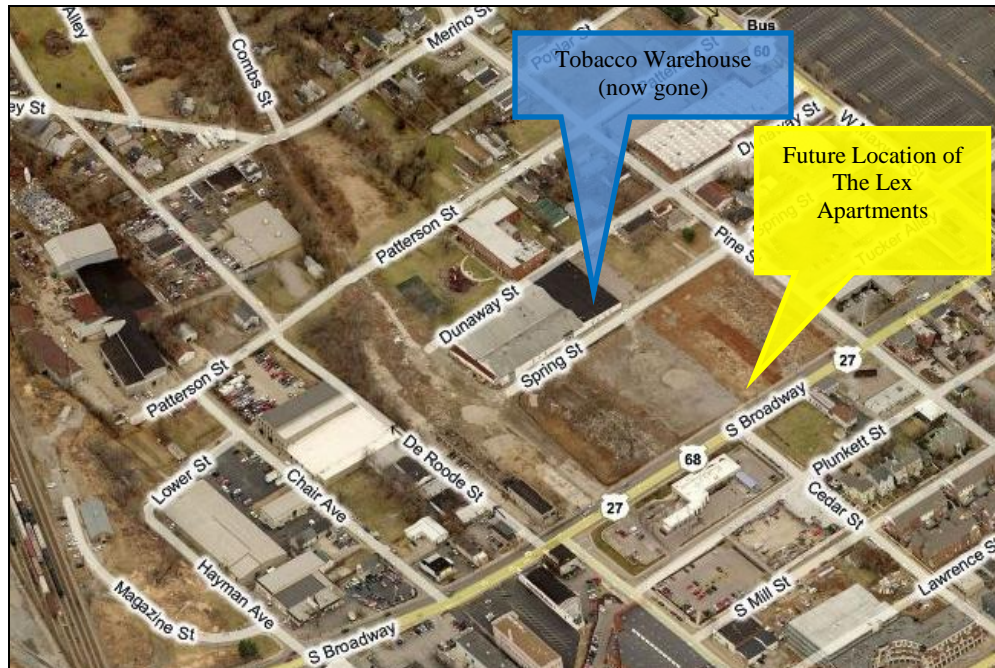


Figure 36: Aerial View of Lexington.



Figure 37: Aerial View of Lexington.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Akanda Group, LLC, "LFUCG GIS System," Fayette County, Kentucky Property Valuation Administrator, accessed April 10, 2011, <http://www.fayettepva.com/Main/Home.aspx>.

Within the past decade the state government demolished many of the buildings, predominately one-story dwellings, along De Roode Street to make way for the Newtown Pike Extension project. Because the project is taking so many of the houses, mitigation was a necessity. Mitigation includes a historical documentary about the Davis Bottom community, an oral history project, and re-design of the neighborhood including new streets and houses. Housing was provided to those families that were displaced by the demolition of the houses along De Roode Street; these temporary dwellings are a series of 16 mobile homes on the north side of De Roode Street.

Many of the historic buildings that remain are in extremely poor condition, almost as if they are waiting to be torn down like so many of the other old buildings. Little to no money appears to be going into this neighborhood with the intention of rehabilitating the existing infrastructure. Instead, when an owner demolishes a building or when it falls down on its own, often caused by deterioration, the lot is usually left empty; however, in some cases a modern residence is constructed in its place. In 2011, 62 historic buildings were surveyed in the Davis Bottom study area. Because each of the previously-recorded buildings within the area have been demolished, all of the 62 surveyed buildings were newly-recorded and given an individual number by the Kentucky Heritage Council (Table 8, p. 89 and Appendix D).





Figure 38: 700 Block of Davis Bottom in October, 2010.



Figure 39: 561 McKinley Street in January, 2011.

Table 8: Surveyed Historic Resources within the Davis Bottom Study Area.

KHC #	Address	KHC #	Address
FASB 38	633 Broadway	FASW 160	708 De Roode
FASW 130	512 Pine	FASW 161	710 De Roode
FASW 131	524 Pine	FASW 162	712 De Roode
FASW 132	610 Pine	FASW 163	716 De Roode
FASW 133	612 Pine	FASW 164	728 De Roode
FASW 134	614 Pine	FASW 165	730 De Roode
FASW 135	704 Pine	FASW 166	743 De Roode
FASW 136	710 Pine	FASW 167	767 De Roode
FASW 137	716 Pine	FASW 168	810 De Roode
FASW 138	726 Pine	FASW 169	848 De Roode
FASW 139	740 Pine	FASW 170	870 De Roode
FASW 140	744 Pine	FASW 171	726 De Short
FASW 141	748 Pine	FASW 172	451 Chair
FASW 142	501 Caden Court	FASW 173	561 McKinley
FASW 143	503 Caden Court	FASW 174	565 McKinley
FASW 144	505 Caden Court	FASW 175	567 McKinley
FASW 145	507 Caden Court	FASW 176	568 McKinley
FASW 146	414 De Roode	FASW 177	522 Merino
FASW 147	416 De Roode	FASW 178	527 Merino
FASW 148	524 De Roode	FASW 179	534 Merino
FASW 149	532 De Roode	FASW 180	555 Merino
FASW 150	536 De Roode	FASW 181	564 Merino
FASW 151	600 De Roode	FASW 182	508 Patterson
FASW 152	601 De Roode	FASW 183	515 Patterson
FASW 153	607 De Roode	FASW 184	516 Patterson
FASW 154	610 De Roode	FASW 185	522 Patterson
FASW 155	611 De Roode	FASW 186	637 Patterson
FASW 156	615 De Roode	FASW 187	639 Lower
FASW 157	616 De Roode	FASW 188	653 Lower
FASW 158	704 De Roode	FASW 189	Railroad Bases
FASW 159	706 De Roode		

## **The East End and Davis Bottom Study Areas: A Comparison**

The East End and the Davis Bottom Study Areas share many similarities but also exhibit differences. To fully appreciate each individual neighborhood, it is necessary to understand how they compare and contrast to one another. This section will examine the initial layout, early-twentieth century statistics, and current condition of each neighborhood.

### **Infrastructure**

#### *Development*

The cores of both neighborhoods were predominately developed as post-Civil War communities in response to the rise in the African American population. Both Davis Bottom and the East End are examples of what John Kellogg describes as a postbellum African American urban cluster. Within each study area, land owners subdivided their land into narrow lots to provide housing to blacks in the years following the Civil War. The land for these neighborhoods was often on the edge of town near railroads, factories, cemeteries, or low-lying areas. The East End urban cluster was developed just north of the railroad on the eastern edge of town, whereas Davis Bottom was on the southwestern periphery of Lexington in a natural depression adjacent to a railroad and some industrial buildings. A majority of the land in the East End was divided and developed between the Civil War and 1900. This is not to say, however, that the landscape did not continue to change over the next century. Unlike the East End, Davis Bottom is composed of several sections that developed at different times. Early developers built upon the land between Pine Street and the railroad in the years before the Civil War; land owners subdivided the

large parcels of land along present-day De Roode Street in the decades after the Civil War, and the area along Hayman, Magazine, and Chair Avenues was developed in the early part of the twentieth century.

### *Number of Buildings*

During the first few decades of the twentieth century, East End and Davis Bottom continued to develop and landowners constructed more residential units. In both communities, a majority of the residential buildings were one-story, wood frame shotgun or T-plan houses. Both had some neighborhood-oriented businesses such as restaurants, saloons, and groceries, as well as churches and schools; within the neighborhoods were industrial sections that were composed of factories and warehouses. Each neighborhood experienced a large increase in buildings, both residential and non-residential. In the East End, the number of buildings increased from 270 in 1920 to 314 in 1934, a 16.3 percent increase.<sup>203</sup> The East End study area was already heavily developed by the turn of the twentieth century, which can be seen on the 1902 and the 1907–1920 Sanborn maps (Figure 40, p. 92). The 16.3 percent infrastructure increase in the East End study area is evident by comparing the 1907–1920 and the 1934 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. New development (noted in red on the 1934 Sanborn Map below) is located throughout the area but is especially concentrated in the northern and southern tips of Race Street, the newly-constructed Holbrook Court, and the easternmost part of Constitution Street (Figure 41, p. 93 and Figure 42, p. 94).

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<sup>203</sup> Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1907–1920; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map*, 1934.





Figure 40: 1902 Sanborn Map.



Figure 41: 1907–1920 Sanborn Map.



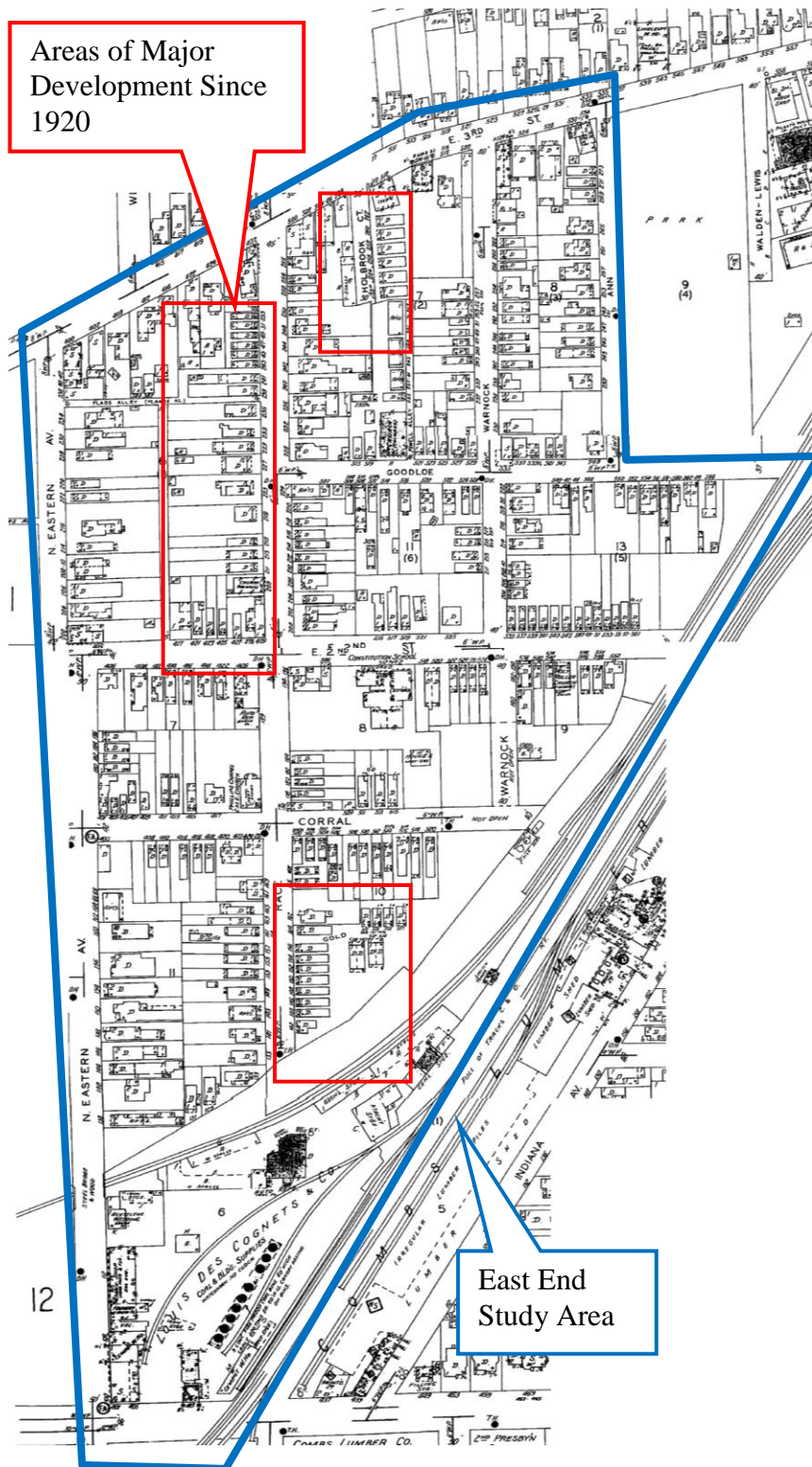


Figure 42: 1934 Sanborn Map.

Davis Bottom experienced only a 12 percent increase in the number of buildings between 1920 and 1934. According to the 1907–1920 Sanborn Map, there were 330 main buildings (excluding secondary buildings such as sheds) and a majority of those (303) were single-family dwellings; by 1934 the number of buildings increased to 1934. Like the East End study area, changes in the landscape are easily seen by comparing a series of maps. In addition to the construction of houses in areas such as northern side of De Roode Street and Merino Street and the inner-block development that occurred such as Caden Court (noted in red on the 1934 map below), Davis Bottom continued to change into an area with a lot of industrial infrastructure. During the second quarter of the twentieth century, Davis Bottom, unlike the East End study area, gained tobacco and warehouses that spanned entire blocks.



Figure 43: 1902 Sanborn Map.

Davis Bottom  
Study Area



Figure 44: 1907–1920 Sanborn Map.



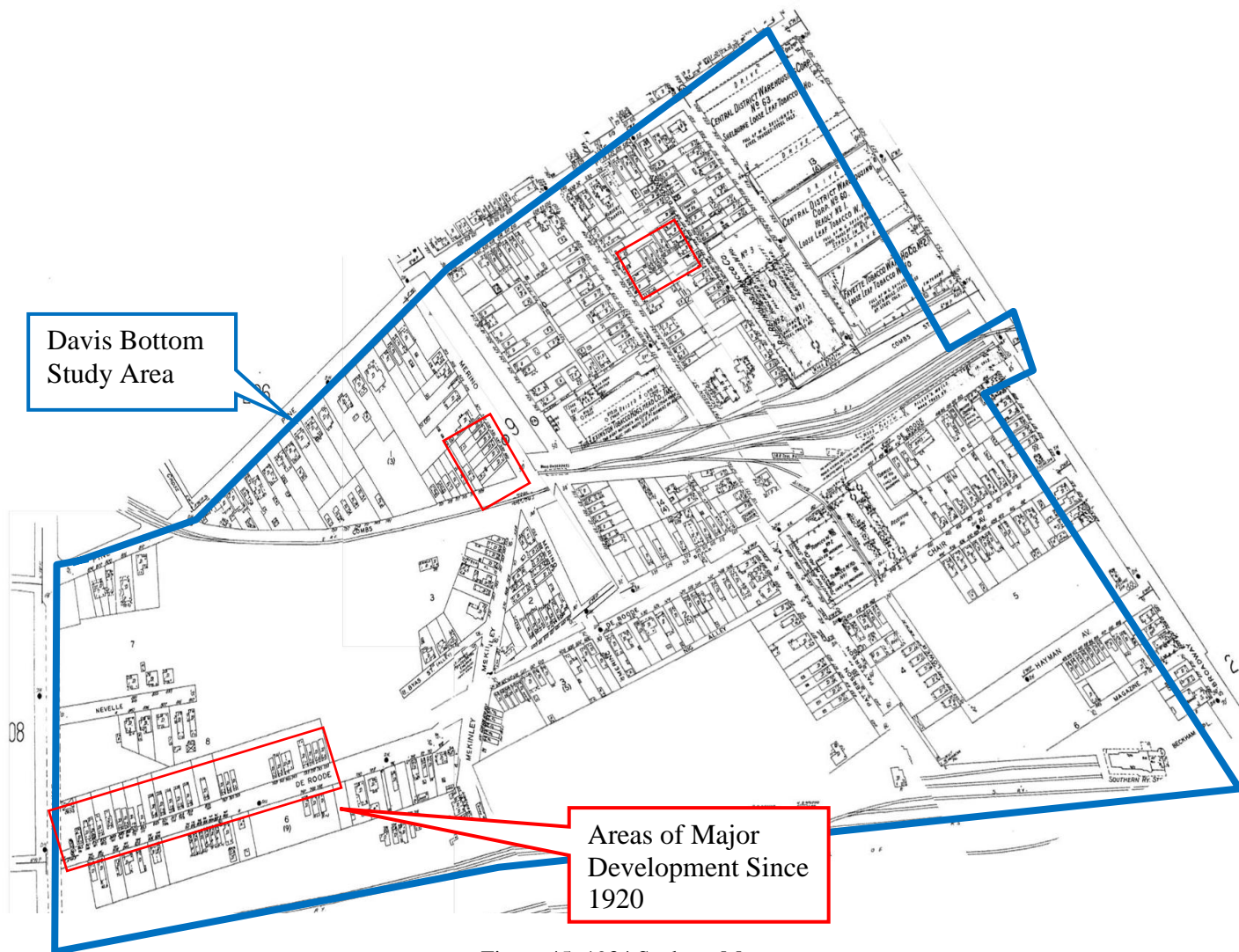


Figure 45: 1934 Sanborn Map.

## Demographics

### *Population and Households*

In the East End study area, the number of households increased during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1900 the number of households was 218; in 1910 it was approximately 226 and in 1920 the number increased even more to 258. Overall, the number of households increased 18.3 percent (40 households) from 1900 to 1920. Although the number of family units increased in the first two decades, the population remained relatively static from 1900 to 1920 with an average population of 840.6. Davis Bottom experienced a 50 percent increase (215 to 323) in the number of households between 1900 and 1920. Unlike the number of households, which increased steadily over 20 years, the population increased from 873 in 1900 to 1910, where it reached a plateau at 1,050 at which it stayed throughout the early-1920s. During the 1920s however, the population and number of households in the East End and Davis Bottom declined greatly from 1920. Between 1920 and 1930 the East End study area experienced a 14 percent (36 household) decrease in the number of households and a 22.3 percent (197 people) decrease in the overall population. Similar numbers were found in Davis Bottom during that same period; however, Davis Bottom experienced a much higher decrease in the number of households (121 or 37.8 percent). The population lessened by 295 people for an overall percentage of 28.1 percent.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1910 Census; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1920 Census; United States Department of Interior, Census Office, 1930 Census.

Figure 46: Graph of the Number of Households in Each Study Area Between 1900 and 1930.

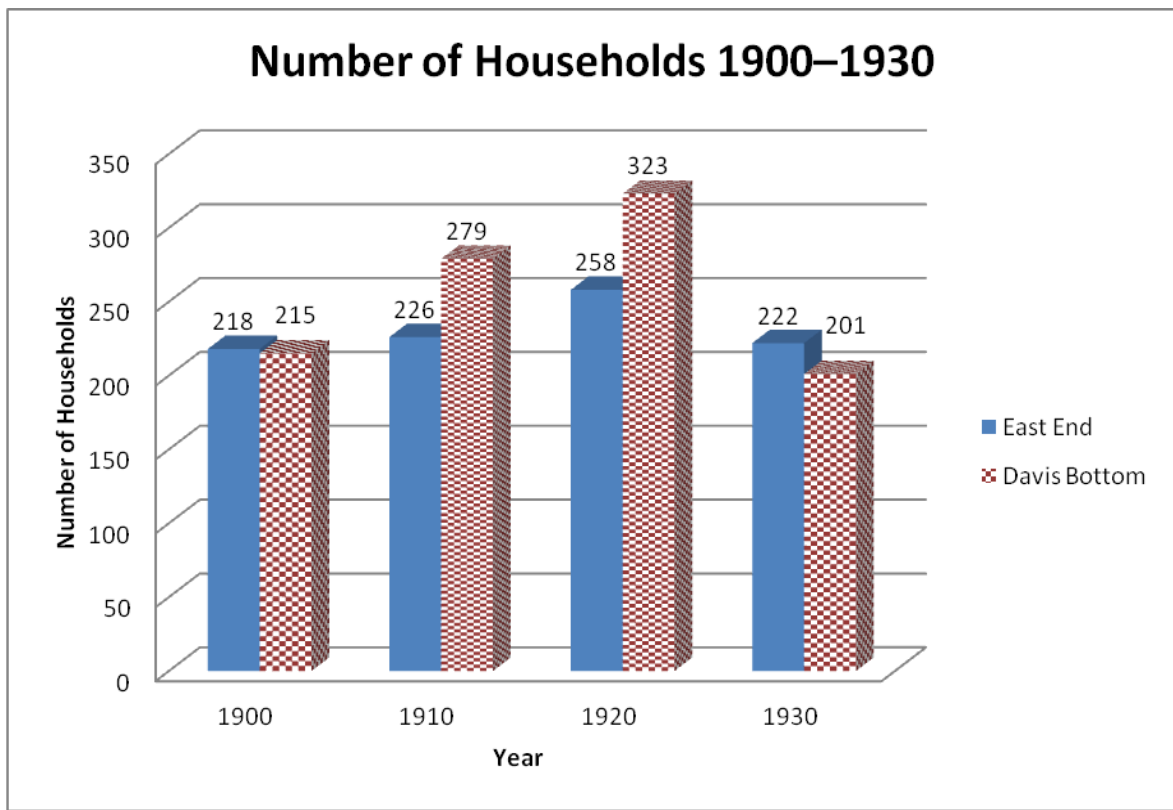
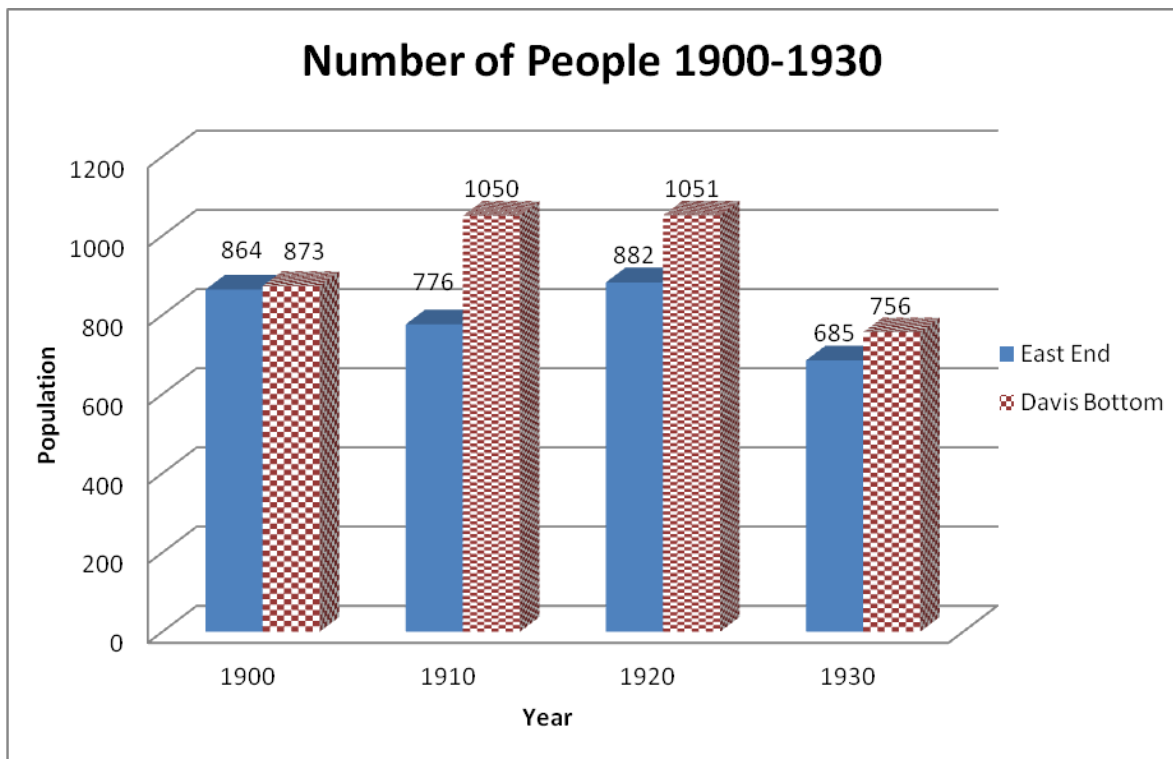


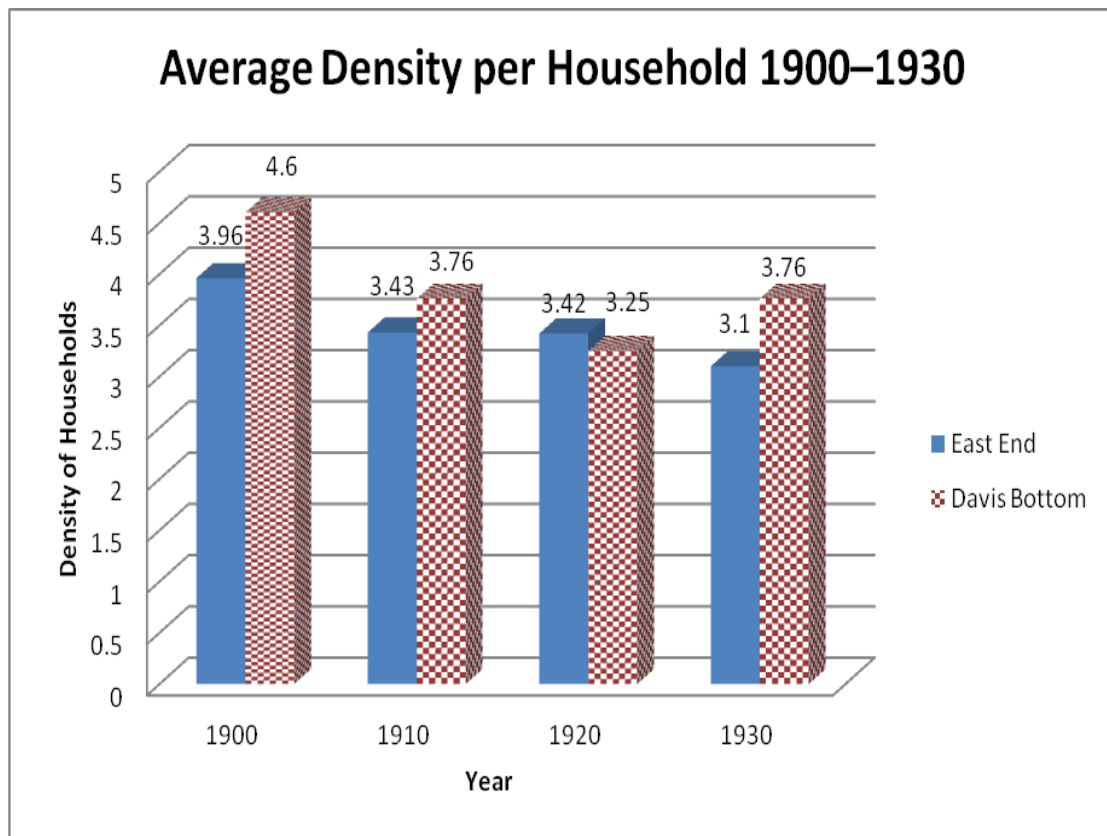
Figure 47: Graph of the Population in Each Study Area Between 1900 and 1930.



### *Density*

When the number of households and the population are combined it gives the average density per household. These numbers tell approximately how many people lived in each household and can be used in comparison with other areas to analyze the density of the areas. Using the population and household data gathered from the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 census records, the average number of people per household in the East End and Davis Bottom study areas was determined. With the exception of 1920, Davis Bottom had a slightly higher number of people per household than the East End. Both study areas experienced a high density in 1900; the number of people per household in the East End gradually decreased in the decades that followed, whereas Davis Bottom displayed a gradual decrease between 1900 and 1920 but rose again by 1930. The average densities overall range from 3.1 persons in the East End study area in 1930 to 4.6 persons per household in the Davis Bottom study area in 1900.

Figure 48: Graph of the Average Density per Household in Each Study Area Between 1900 and 1930.



### *Race*

One of the many differences in the development of the two neighborhoods during the first decades of the twentieth century is shifts in racial distribution. The neighborhoods initially laid out by developers and landowners immediately after the Civil War were predominately intended for African Americans. The East End continued to be heavily populated by blacks during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1900 there was a concentration of whites along East Third Street and Megowan Avenue (present-day North Eastern Avenue); however a number of whites were sprinkled throughout the other streets. By 1930, the East End study area was increasingly segregated; the white population was concentrated solely on East Third Street and



Holbrook Court, which extended off of East Third Street. Blacks, almost without exception, inhabited the secondary streets such as Race, Goodloe, and Warnock. The East End varies from Davis Bottom in residential concentrations. Although blacks were always the majority in the study area between the years 1900 and 1930, there was a much higher white population than in the East End. Also unlike the East End, a majority of the streets in Davis Bottom were integrated. There were some areas such as the eastern section that included Chair, Magazine, and Hayman Avenue that were predominately inhabited by whites, and blacks often lived on the smaller alleys, but as a whole, households of both races could be found on a majority of the streets.

Figure 49: Racial Distribution in the East End from 1900 to 1930.

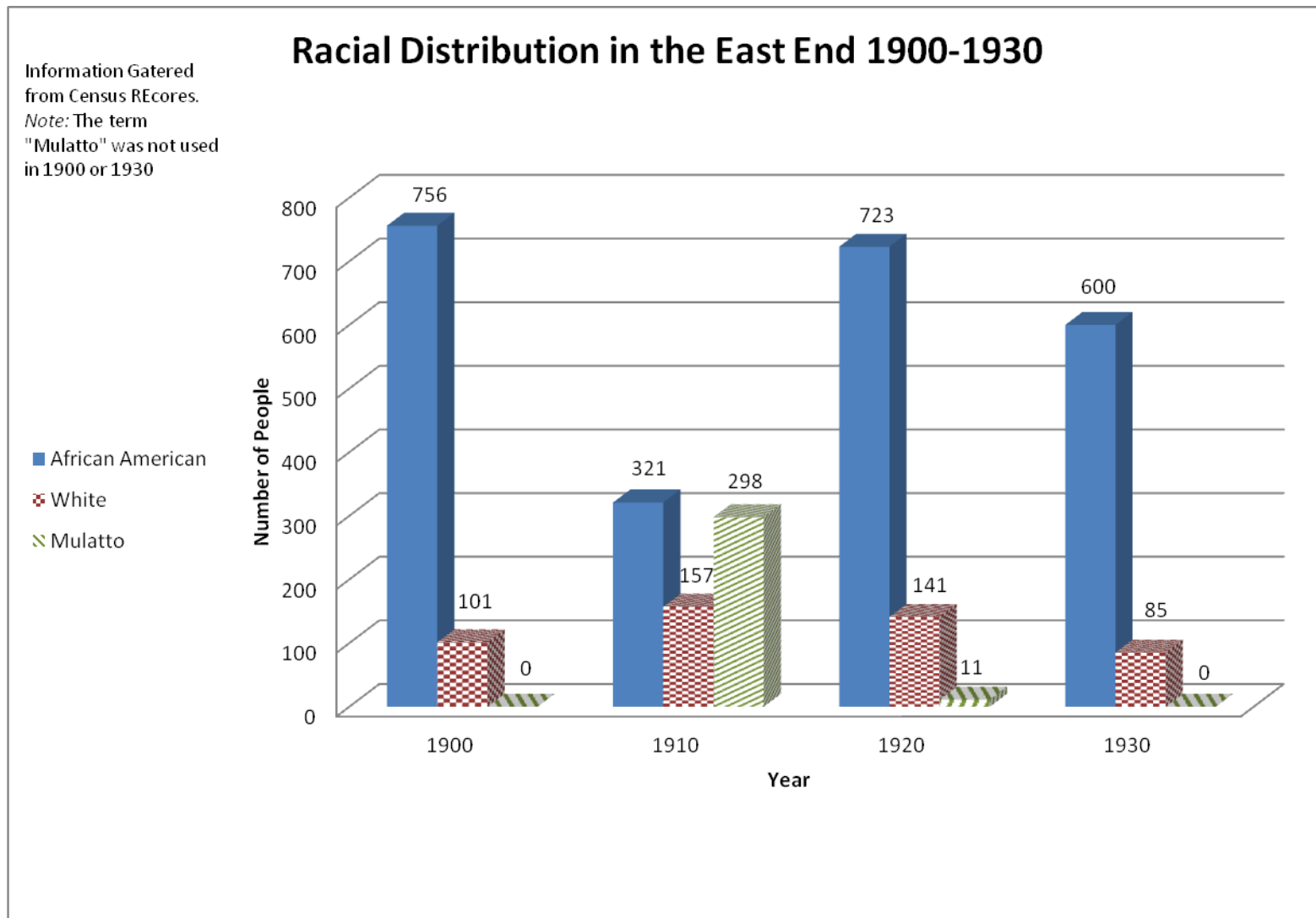
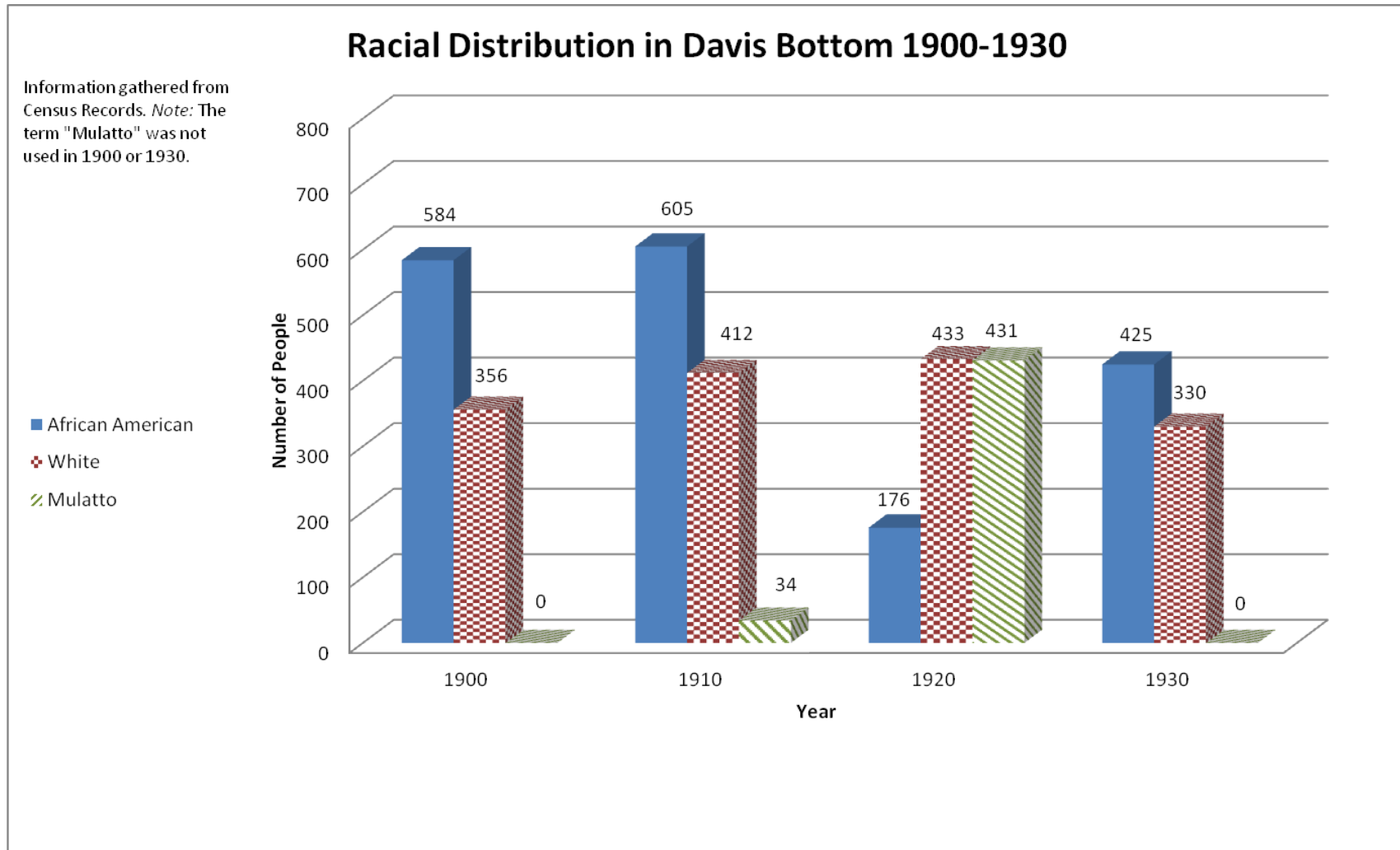


Figure 50: Racial Distribution in Davis Bottom from 1900 to 1930.



### *Renter/Ownership*

Several primary documents provide information regarding the ownership of properties in the area. In some census records it was noted whether the occupant rented or owned the house, including the 1900, 1920, and 1930 censuses. The data gathered from these documents allows ownership status to be compared by street. By doing so, it becomes clear what streets had a majority of renters or owners. This can be used in further analysis by comparing that information with similar data, such as the distribution of race by street. In addition, this is used to compare the East End and Davis Bottom Study Areas.

According to the census records, a majority of the occupants in both neighborhoods rented their homes. In 1900 70 percent (156) of the households rented their houses, whereas only 30 percent (68) owned their home. At the turn of the century almost all of the streets with the East End study area were inhabited by a majority of households that were renting their home. Interestingly, one of the only exceptions to this is Third Street, which was inhabited predominately by whites. By 1930, however, the numbers shifted to 87 percent (199) renters and 13 percent (31) homeowners and all streets in the East End were dominated by renters.

Figure 51: Home Ownership Distribution in the East End Study Area in 1900.

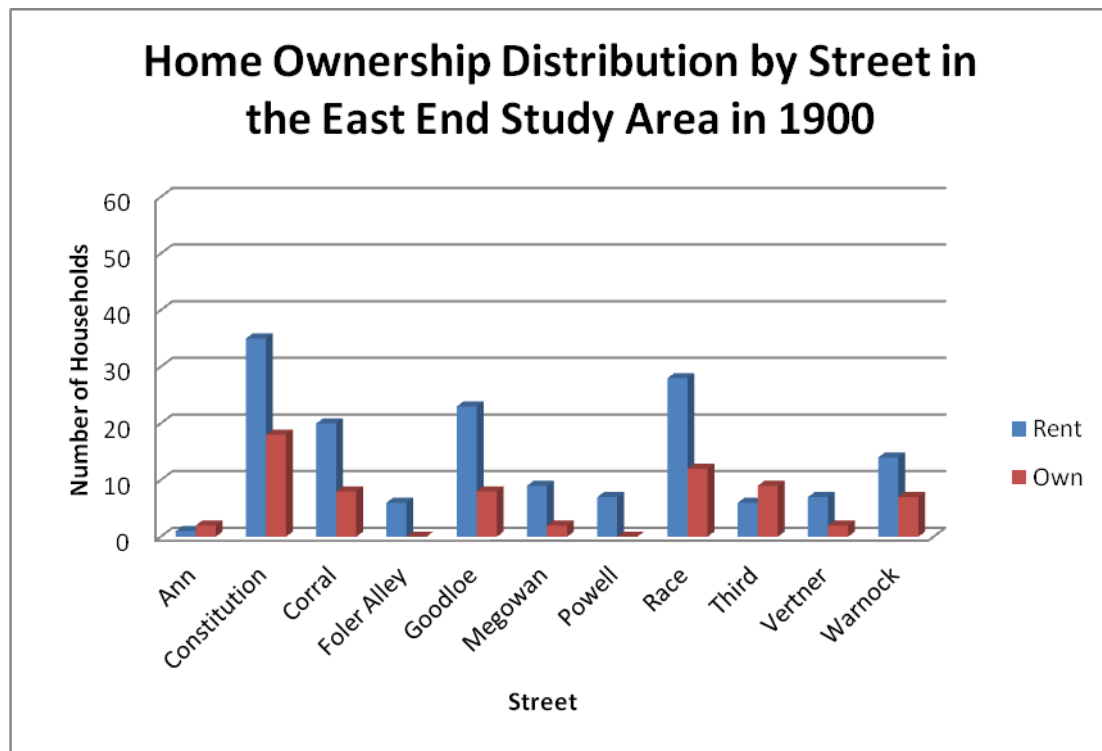
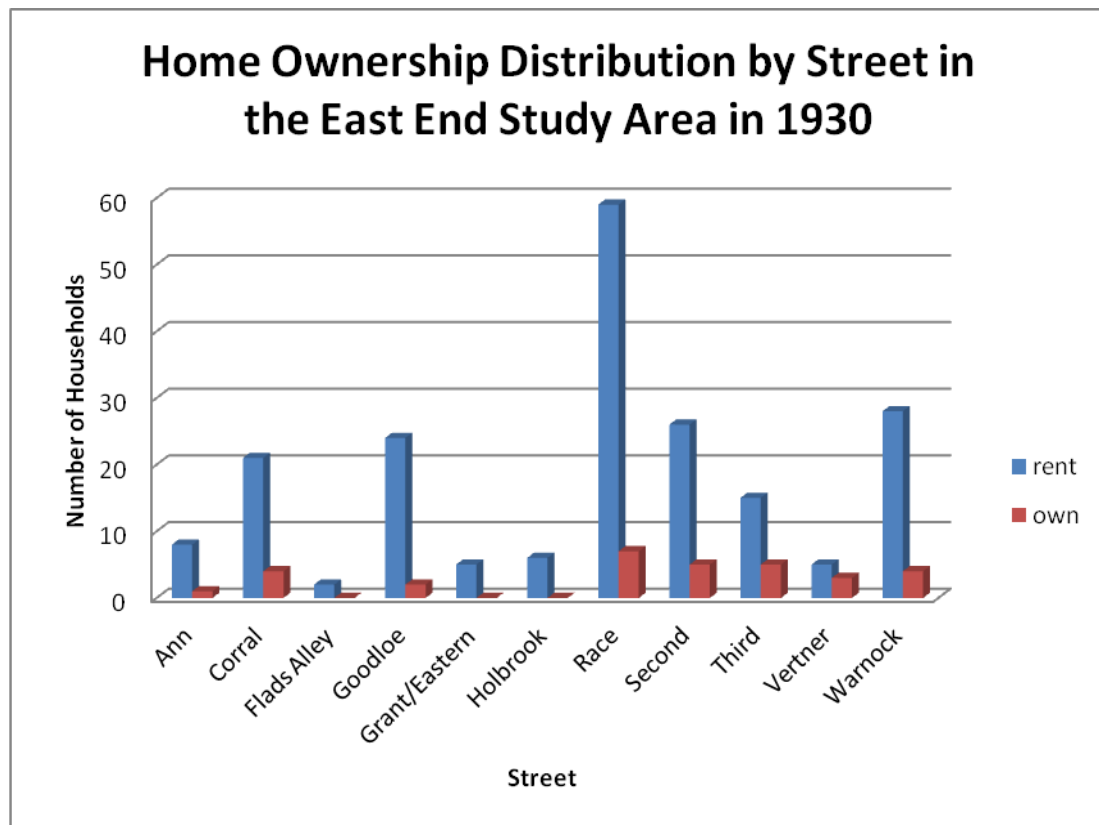


Figure 52: Home Ownership Distribution in the East End Study Area in 1930.



Like the East End Study Area, Davis Bottom also had 70 percent (151) renters and 30 percent (65) were households that owned their home at the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike the East End, however, all the streets had a majority (or equal numbers) of renters as compared with home owners. There does not appear to be any correlation between the numbers of home ownership and race. It is clear that the number of owners in Davis Bottom decreased greatly over the following decades. In 1930 the percentages again almost mirror those of the East End (87 percent and 13 percent). Davis Bottom was inhabited by 88 percent (173) renters and 12 percent (24) home owners.

Figure 53: Home Ownership Distribution in the Davis Bottom Study Area in 1900.

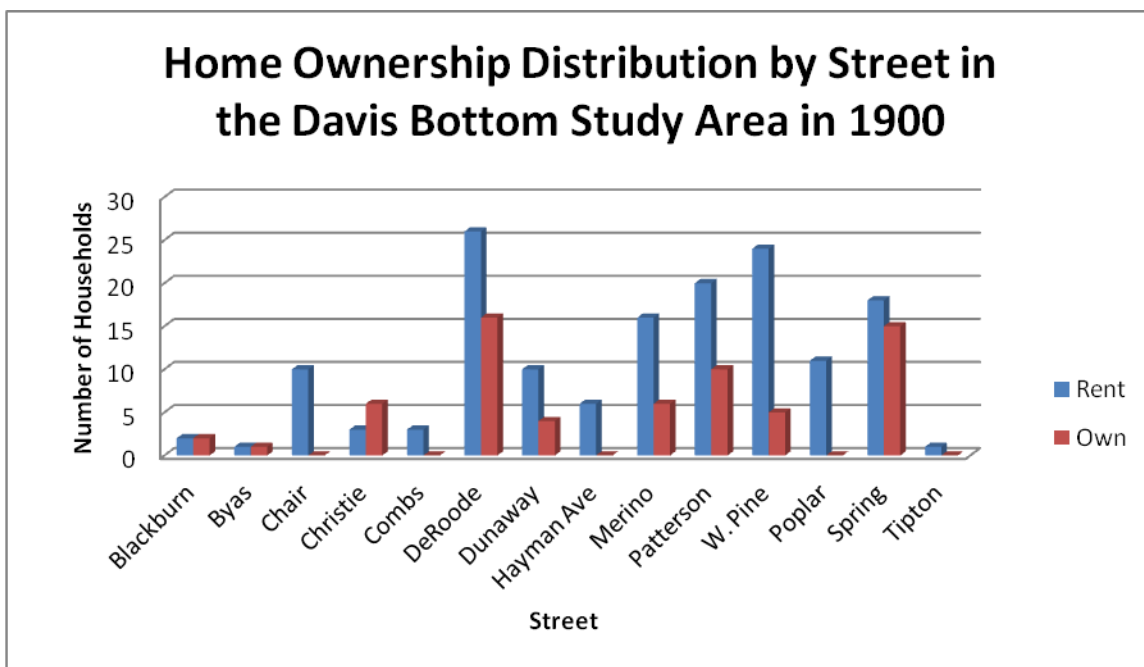
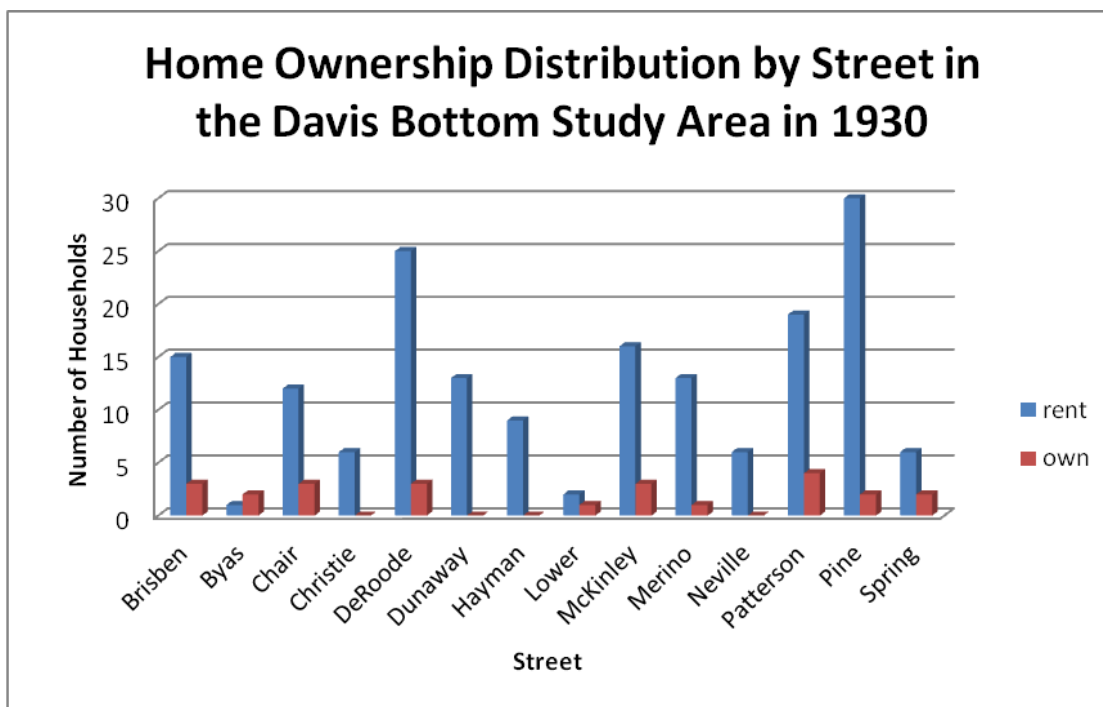


Figure 54: Home Ownership Distribution in the Davis Bottom Study Area in 1930.



Another way to analyze the renter/home owner aspect of the two neighborhoods is to combine the information gathered from the sample that was chosen for the chains of

title (521 E. Second Street, 500 E. Third Street, 234 Eastern Ave., 527 Goodloe St., 224 Race St., 243 Race Street, 501 Caden Court, 418 De Roode, 603 De Roode, 708 De Roode, 516 Patterson, and 610 Pine) and deed research. When this data is combined with the city directory it is clear that both study areas had a high percentage of renters. It is rare that the owner is also the occupant of the same house either study area; this suggests that the person who actually lived in the house was a renter or boarder.

Although the two areas are similar in that both were primarily inhabited by renters, the East End and Davis Bottom Study areas appear to differ beyond that. In the East End, according to the sample, there were not many long-term occupants during the twentieth century. Very few of the families that rented stayed more than 5 years. There were also a lot of vacancies and “no returns” on the city directories, which suggest an inability to fill the houses with renters. As an example, between 1908 and 2010 521 East Second Street had six owners including the Master Commissioner, R. J. Colbert. According to the city directory sampling, the owners of the property never occupied the house; the tenants that lived in and rented the property never stayed more than five to seven years. 521 East Second Street was also plagued by a high number of vacancies and “no returns,” especially in the early part of the twenty-first century (Table 9; for Owner/Occupant Comparisons of all six East End properties, see Appendix E).

Table 9: Owner/Occupant Comparison of 521 East Second Street

<b>Year</b>	<b>Owner</b>	<b>Resident</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1908	Henry Jackson	Pinkie Taylor	Listed as 521 Constitution
1911	Henry Jackson	Eliza Anderson	Listed as 521 Constitution
1916-1917	Henry Jackson	Thomas Slaughter	
1923	Henry Jackson	Tom Slaughter	
1928	Henry Jackson	Mary Kays	
1931	R. J. Colbert, Master Commissioner	Clay W. Wilson	
1937	Adolph Greebel	Raymond Johnson	



1943-1944	Adolph Greebel	Rosa Lynen	
1948-1949	W. B. Bean	William Green	
1955	W. B. Bean	Vacant	
1960	W. B. Bean	Leonard Thompson	
1965	Bean Properties, Inc.	Mrs. Nora Lisle	
1970	Bean Properties, Inc.	LeRoy Colman	
1975	Bean Properties, Inc.	Laura Wiggington	
1980	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Loretta Givens	
1985	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	No Return	
1990	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Clyde Brown	
1995	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Clyde E. Brown	
2000	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Not Listed	
2005	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Not Listed	
2010	Charles Finnell and Jean Finnell	Not Listed	

The Davis Bottom study area is similar to the East End in its high number of renters throughout the twentieth century. According to the data gathered from the sample, it appears that several of the renters in the Davis Bottom were long-term occupants, as opposed to the East End. For example, Katie Turner rented 418B De Roode Street from around 1948 until 1980. William Johnson lived at 708 De Roode Street for 17 years from 1911 to around 1928. The owner of the property, Sallie Scott sold the property to the Smith family in 1929.<sup>205</sup> The family continued to own and live in the house at 708 De Roode Street until 1965, when a man named Samuel Mitchell began to live at that residence even though the Smiths continued to own the property. Mitchell lived at 708 De Roode for 45 years. Similarly, Randolph Jenkins and his family lived in and owned 516 Patterson Street for 55 years (Table 9; for Owner/Occupant Comparisons of all six East End properties, see Appendix E). Overall, until the recent relocation process associated with the Newtown Pike Extension Project, there appear to be fewer vacancies among the Davis Bottom sample.

Table 10: Owner/Occupant Comparison of 516 Patterson.

Year	Owner	Resident
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<sup>205</sup> LFUCG deed book 258, page 535.

1908	E. F. Caden	Joseph Groomes
1911	E. F. Caden	Joseph Groomes
1916-1917	E. F. Caden	Joseph Groomes
1923	E. F. Caden	Jos. Groomes
1928	E. F. Caden	J. H. Frost
1931	E. F. Caden	Jas. Wallace
1937	E. F. Caden	Susie Wallace
1943-1944	Joseph Caden Burk	Susie Wallace
1948-1949	E. R. Little	Susie Wallace
1955	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1960	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1965	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1970	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1975	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1980	Randolph Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1985	Princess Jenkins	Randolph Jenkins
1990	Princess Jenkins	Princess Jenkins
1995	Princess Williams	Princess Jenkins
2000	Princess M. Williams and Anthony Williams	Princess Jenkins; Randolph Jenkins
2005	Princess M. Williams and Anthony Williams	Princess Jenkins; Randolph Jenkins
2010	Princess M. Williams and Anthony Williams	Randolph Jenkins

### *Occupation*

The people that resided in both of the study areas had similar occupations. In the East End and Davis Bottom it was common for people to be labeled as a laborer, servant, cook, etc., in the censuses of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century; however, records from the first few decades of the twentieth century give additional insight into the jobs of the residents of Davis Bottom and the East End. In both study areas it was typical for the women to work as laundresses, seamstresses, and cooks and servants in private homes around Lexington. Many times they are also listed as being unemployed, which suggests that they stayed at home to take care of their families and the chores around the house.

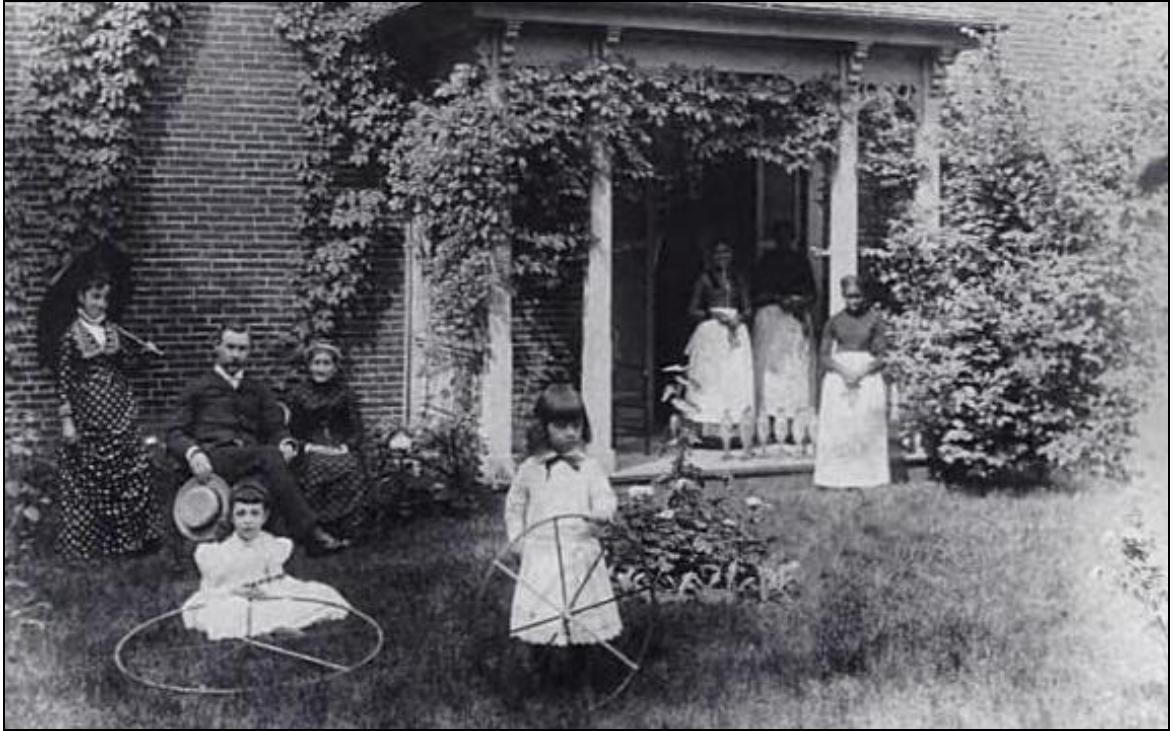


Figure 55: African American Domestic Servants with Employers in Lexington Circa 1888.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Gerald L. Smith, *Black America Series: Lexington, Kentucky*, (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002).

Like the women, many of the men in the Davis Bottom and East End study areas worked hard and sometimes had dangerous jobs for very low pay. Because transportation was not easy and few could afford a car during the first several decades of the twentieth century, it was typical for men to find employment locally—often within walking distance of their house. Because of its close proximity to the tobacco warehouses in the southern quadrant of town, there was a considerably higher number of Davis Bottom citizens that worked in the tobacco industry as hucksters, dryers, stemmers, and hangers than in the East End. Immediately adjacent to many of their houses was the W. L. Petty Company on Chair Avenue, the Tobacco Warehouses along Dunaway and Spring Streets, and the warehouses along Angliana Street.



Figure 56: W. L. Petty Company and Surrounding Houses Looking North in Lexington Circa 1930.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Robert J., Long, photographer, *Collection on Lafayette Studios*, Photographic Collection. (Lexington: Lafayette Studios, 1928–1951). Kentuckiana Digital Library. <http://kdl.kyvl.org/cgi/f/findaid/findaididx?c=kyead;idno=96pa101;view=reslist;didno=96pa101;subview=standard;focusrgn=scopecontent;cc=kyead;byte=63772770>.



Figure 57: Interior of Lexington Tobacco Warehouse, 1931.<sup>208</sup>

Many male residents of the East End and Davis Bottom also found jobs in the equestrian industry. In the late-nineteenth century the East End was situated just south of the Kentucky Association's Race Trace at Race and Fifth Street and Davis Bottom was a few blocks north of Red Mile, which opened in the fall of 1875. The horse culture was popular in Lexington and required a lot of man power in order to succeed. Stable hands, horse trainers, and horse caretakers were necessary, not only at the tracks themselves but also at the horse owners' private stables. Some residents excelled in horse riding and became well-known jockeys and trainers.

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<sup>208</sup> Robert J. Long, *Collection on Lafayette Studios*.



Figure 58: Horse Trainer with War Admiral.<sup>209</sup>

Other jobs that men of the neighborhoods typically had included being a driver for businesses including hardware stores, Kinkead Coal Company, tobacco companies, Union Transfer and Storage, Lexington Bottling Company, the Lexington Ice Company, and several other companies as well as private families (FF). They were also porters at hotels, farm hands, janitors, waiters, carpenters, painters, plasterers, blacksmiths, dairymen, and firemen to name a few. Both study areas, although Davis Bottom in particular, had a noticeable number of inhabitants that were employed by the railroad companies. Often they had jobs either in one of the local freight depots or along the rail line itself such as watchmen, mechanics, conductors, and section hands.

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<sup>209</sup> Robert J. Long, *Collection on Lafayette Studios*.



Figure 59: Truck Drivers for the Lexington Ice Company circa 1930.<sup>210</sup>

There is little difference in the types of jobs that the residents of each study area had in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. The people who lived in the East End and Davis Bottom played an important role in Lexington as the often unnoticed workers who helped keep the city running. It was on their backs that local businesses, such as W. L. Petty Company, Combs Lumber Company, and the Southern Railroad Company, became strong and successful. The Davis Bottom and East End citizens were hardly ever the owners or presidents of these companies, but the work they did directly influenced the local economy and without them the city would not be what it is today.

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<sup>210</sup> Robert J. Long, *Collection on Lafayette Studios*.

## **Present-day Issues**

In 2011, both study areas face similar problems. The East End and Davis Bottom are in need of some overall improvements such as the inclusion of street lights and street repair; several streets on Davis Bottom are still without sidewalks. In recent decades, the city government put little to no money into fixing these problems within the neighborhoods. In addition, the high number of rental units resulted in a number of issues among the historic housing stock. Because of the property owner's neglect or inability to pay for necessary repairs and touchups, as well as the typical rotation of occupants, several of the houses are in a dilapidated state; this is likely a large factor in the great loss of housing infrastructure in both study areas. Because the residential buildings are often seen as undesirable or unsafe, many residents are not eager to purchase or rent a house in the East End or Davis Bottom. As a result, the population in both study areas has rapidly decreased.

Factors such as deteriorated buildings, Habitat for Humanity construction, Thoroughbred Park, and new housing development have influenced the loss of historic infrastructure in the East End. Similarly, private owners and government officials are mostly responsible for the loss of historic buildings in Davis Bottom. Most influential in the current redevelopment of the community, however, is the Newtown Pike Extension. The discussion of the multi-decade project in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and its implementation in the late-1990s and early-2000s resulted in the rapid deterioration of the buildings in Davis Bottom. The current plan calls for the removal of 55 buildings and a complete redesign of the landscape. Developers removed other parts of Davis Bottom to make way for a large apartment complex and parking lot along South Spring and



Dunaway Streets. The East End and Davis Bottom have small clusters of historic buildings surrounded by patches of new infill. The current streetscapes are a mixture of run-down historic buildings, unsympathetic modern infill, and vacant lots.



Figure 60: 425 East Second Street in the East End Study Area.



Figure 61: 600 De Roode Street in the Davis Bottom Study Area

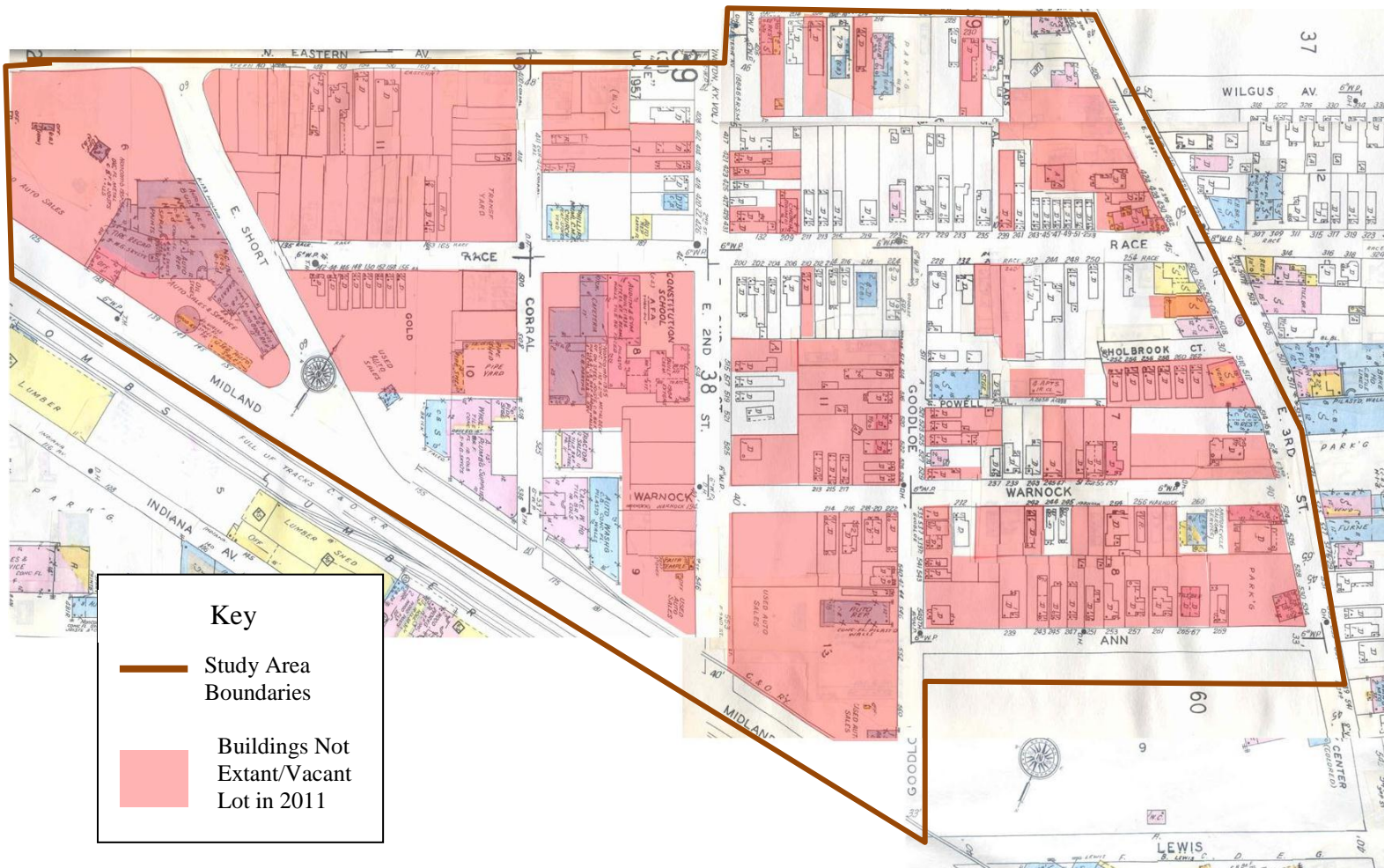


Figure 62: 1958–1970 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of East End Study Area.



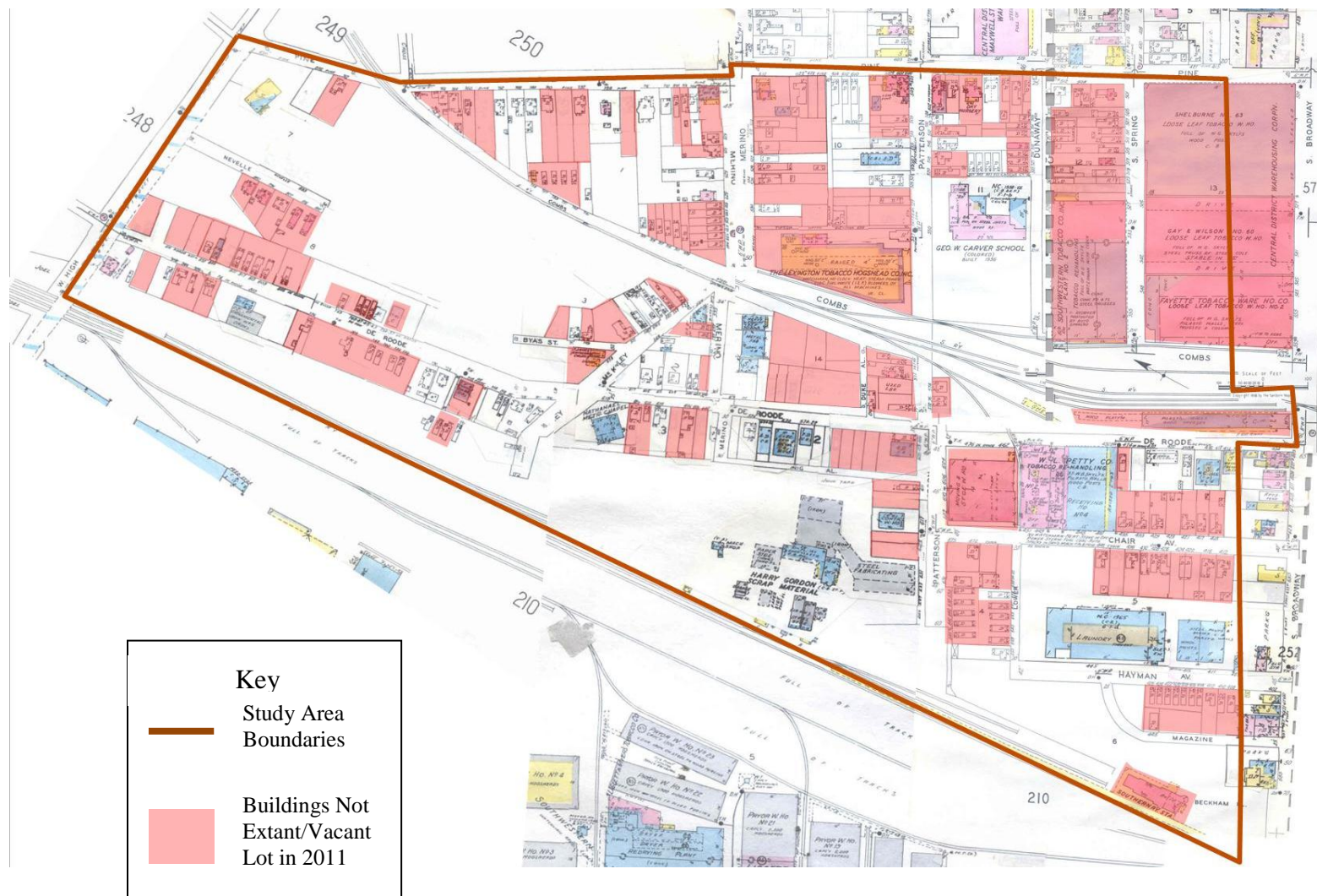


Figure 63: 1958–1970 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Davis Bottom Study Area.

## Conclusion

In many cities across the United States, local governments target certain neighborhoods for clean up in the form of slum removal, redevelopment and growth. A common result of this is the death-threat syndrome, which is what happens to an existing neighborhood when it is singled out for demolition. It is often the case that these urban areas are inhabited by some of the city's poorest people and are composed of some of the most run-down buildings. These neighborhoods, such as Davis Bottom and the East End in Lexington, represent a relatively unknown aspect of the development of Lexington—not only in terms of streets, houses, stores, alleys, and sidewalks, but also demographically and socially.

The people and houses adjacent to the railroad tracks, factories, cemeteries, and flood zones are often overlooked in city tourist brochures and coffee table books. The people of these working-class neighborhoods played a key role in Lexington's history. Historically, the people of the East End and Davis Bottom rarely made the front page of the newspaper for winning an election, gave a publicized speech, or became the president of a large company. Instead it was common for them to be behind the scenes—the ones who loaded the newspapers into the machine at the factory to run the story about the election, set up the stage for the public speaker, or hung and stemmed the tobacco at the tobacco factory. Although the work they did was often unglamorous and rarely recognized, residents of Davis Bottom, the East End, and the other similar neighborhoods assisted in many of the everyday tasks that made Lexington a successful city. Because their contributions were often overshadowed by wealthier citizens in Lexington, their lives and where they lived are typically overlooked. It is imperative for people to gain an

appreciation for these communities because of the influence the development of the urban clusters had on the growth of Lexington and the lives and work of citizens helped the city run efficiently.

Because the low-income neighborhoods are often ignored and marked for beautification or development projects, it is necessary to document the history of these neighborhoods through oral history, archival research, architectural surveys, archaeological excavations, etc. All of these components combined lay the ground for a well-rounded analysis of the history and significance of an area. By studying the buildings that still stand in conjunction with archival records such as maps, deeds, census records, newspaper articles, and city directories, I was able to gain a broad understanding of the development and demographic patterns of the East End and Davis Bottom. These two neighborhoods flourished in the early-twentieth century as a large community filled with families, stores, groceries, churches, and houses. Davis Bottom and the East End were composed of men and women, whites and blacks, renters, owners, and boarders, singles, married couples, widows and widowers, and divorcees. The people that made up these two areas served the city as tobacco stemmers, laundresses, waiters, and section hands for the railroad. Without the hard, often unseen work of these citizens, Lexington would not be what it is today.

While this document does not try to preserve the existing structures within the Davis Bottom and East End study areas, it does strive to present a concise history of the development of both the built environment and demographics of each community. Although much of historic stock has been lost, what stood as of October 2010/January 2011 was surveyed and documented. This document will continue to serve the public as

a historic resource; the preservation community as background information for future preservation efforts in Davis Bottom, the East End, or neighborhoods like them; historians who wish to gather additional quantitative data from the typed-up census records and city directories; and government officials as a reminder of the historically important communities within their city.

## **Appendices**

**Appendix A: City Directories**

**Appendix B: Chains of Title**

**Appendix C: Kentucky Heritage Council Forms**

**Appendix D: Census Records**

**Appendix E: Rent/Ownership Tables**

Note: Appendices are in separate .pdf documents.

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