occurred, these patterns of paternalism might have contin-
ued, but it became unnecessary once the color line had been
drawn. This example also illustrates why Dupee's leadership
gained swift acceptance by the African American commu-
nity.

Minutes from annual associational meetings are useful
tools in researching Southern Baptist history. At the meetings
statistical reports, missions reports, and local moral issues
were addressed, and "messengers," representatives of the
association's member churches, conducted associational busi-
ness. Member churches received these reports and statistics,
(then as now) compiled and printed in a booklet. In addition,
the minutes of the West Union Association demonstrated the
congruent ecclesiastical practices of Second Baptist and white
churches.

Second Baptist, Colored, as the minutes of the association
show, received members by letter (possibly from other mostly
white churches), by baptism, and by reinstatement if they
had previously been excluded. White churches mirrored this
practice. By the second year of its formation, Second Baptist
reported that three of its members had received licenses to
preach.[30]

With this licensing occurring at Paducah while the white
pastor was still in charge, one wonders how it was per-
formed and to whom the licentiates preached. In any event,
the setting apart of African American clergy had been a
delicate matter for white Kentucky Baptists. Ordination of
"free men of color" had been practiced only since the 1820s.[31]
Apparently, the licensing, as well as ordination, of slaves
occurred, as the example of the first African American pastor
of Second Baptist, Colored, shows.

In Mayfield the African American Baptist church was
not part of the West Union Association. Instead, it affiliated
with an association formed by Dupee in 1867, two years
before the West Union Association minutes fell silent on the
Paducah church. The formation of the association to which

[30]Minutes, West Union Association, 1856, MCBC.
[31]Masters, Baptists in Kentucky, 344.