

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLD SPRING FARM: A PLACE OVER TIME

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## ABSTRACT

The history of Cold Spring Farm in Sumner County, Tennessee, is a case study of how public historians must decode the layers of history within a place to understand its significance. The farm's 600 acres has three significant layers of history all anchored by two natural features: Cold and Pied Springs. Human activity at the springs is traced through the material record to the Paleo-Indian Period, roughly 13,000 years ago. Native American habitation and hunting in the area around the springs continued nearly uninterrupted until the end of the prehistoric age (1,700 AD). The farm's second period of significance is the Civil War. Six thousand Confederate soldiers used the springs from June to October 1861 when Confederate command transformed Thomas Baskerville's farm into Camp Trousdale, an early camp of instruction. Finally, Cold Spring Farm's landscape reflects 150 years of agricultural history in Middle Tennessee, and many of the buildings and structures related to this aspect of the farm's history remain to document this layer of history.

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## INTRODUCTION

Cold Spring Farm in Sumner County, Tennessee is a place with three significant layers of history: the prehistoric Native American period, the Civil War period, and the modern era of progressive agriculture. To record the farm's history properly, this thesis looks beyond the main house and closely situated farm outbuildings. The narrative must focus on the landscape itself and seek to answer three key questions in historic landscape studies: "how it was formed, how it has changed, and who it was who changed it."<sup>1</sup> A close study of these approximately 600 contiguous acres (see Figure 1) through both primary and secondary source research and survey of the landscape itself sheds light on all three significant layers.

Too often preservationists look at rural properties as merely farmhouses with adjacent outbuildings, not as a human-formed landscape with layers of human history imbedded in its features and buildings. Changes to a landscape over time may shed light on cultural trends and diffusion. Cold Spring Farm's layered history is a result of the two springs, the water source supporting human inhabitants for over 13,000 years. The extant outbuildings on Cold Spring Farm convey information about technological change, consumer tastes, and agricultural practice. The agricultural buildings themselves have no historical value unless we understand why they were constructed. In reading a landscape, scholars must ask themselves: Who constructed these buildings? What was their motivation? How did they go about building them? What dictated their form— aesthetics

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<sup>1</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), xi.





**Figure 1.** The boundaries of Cold Spring Farm as of 2012. Created by author.

or function? The answers to these questions and more explain a great deal about the site and the people who shaped it.

In the last generation, landscape study has evolved as a specialized interdisciplinary field. This thesis takes one aspect of landscape study—the notion that layers of history exist within any documented property—to go beyond standard historic preservation categorization of a historic farmstead and to interpret Cold Spring Farm as a place of multiple histories and meanings.<sup>2</sup> The author’s own understanding of Cold Spring Farm as a landscape reflects insights from two early works in landscape interpretation by John Brinckerhoff Jackson and D. W. Meinig. Much of what informs Jackson’s understanding and interpretation of landscapes is from his military background. Jackson learned to read a wartime landscape during his training at the Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie, Maryland in 1941. It provided him with a very basic understanding of the landscape, focused solely on how the enemy was using the terrain to their military advantage. Jackson realized a fuller understanding of landscape through independent study.<sup>3</sup>

Jackson took a special interest in “vernacular landscapes,” landscapes that are “identified with local custom, pragmatic adaptation to circumstances, and unpredictable mobility,” and places “where evidences of a political organization of space are largely or

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<sup>2</sup> Richard Longstreth, ed., *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, 133-135.

entirely absent.”<sup>4</sup> In 1951, he launched a self-published magazine called *Landscape*. Through this medium, Jackson examined a wide variety of ordinary landscapes such as the American front yard, military bases, and mobile home parks. Jackson sought to engage “the ordinary layman” instead of the “specialist,” and his magazine served to spark discussions of these landscapes that were both comprehensive and easily grasped by the average reader.<sup>5</sup>

His book *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (1984) served to shift the focus of academic study away from what he referred to as “public documented spaces,” or sites with extensive documentation such as floor plans and maps, to landscapes with little or no documentation. Landscapes are often subjected to the aesthetic bias of the viewer, and those deemed less attractive, uninteresting, or too difficult to read without sources will simply be ignored in interpretation. This bias accounts for the wealth of studies on aesthetically pleasing landscapes such as national parks, battlefields, and living history sites like Colonial Williamsburg. Jackson argues that undocumented landscapes can also be interpreted through aerial photography, archaeological investigation, and simple critical thinking. The result of this argument is a work that illuminates “humbler, less permanent, less conspicuous” landscapes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Jackson, xii, 150.

<sup>5</sup> D. W. Meinig, “Reading the Landscape: An Appreciation of W. G. Hoskins and J. B. Jackson,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 210.

<sup>6</sup> Jackson, xi.

Jackson urged scholars and preservationists to identify a vernacular landscape's defining features, no matter how humble they may be.<sup>7</sup> Defining and categorizing commonalities in vernacular landscapes, he insisted, enables landscape scholars to "reach a comprehensive definition of landscape and of landscape beauty."<sup>8</sup> Dairy farms operational in the first half of the twentieth century, for example, are almost always characterized by tall concrete or cement grain silos. Other characteristics shared by dairy farms are livestock barns and milk houses. It can be assumed that if a rural Tennessee landscape has a cluster of those three buildings, it was, or still is, a dairy farm.<sup>9</sup>

D. W. Meinig's *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (1979) is a geographical counterpoint to Jackson's call for academic investigation into the "humbler" landscapes. Meinig organized this collection of geographical essays into four larger topics: fundamentals, explorations, American expressions, and teachers. Seven different writers contributed the essays with six of the nine essays being the result of a single lecture series originally given at Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York. "Fundamentals" explains the process by which a landscape is read. It provides guidelines for how to look at a landscape, what types of questions to ask, and what those answers say about our culture. "Explorations" provides insight into the study of landscape through lenses such as psychology, philosophy, public memory, and sociology. "American

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<sup>7</sup> Jackson, 136.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>9</sup> Carroll Van West, *Tennessee's Historic Landscapes: A Traveler's Guide* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 250.

Expressions” highlights case studies on landscapes molded by uniquely American experiences. The text culminates with “Teachers,” an examination of the influence, insights, and philosophies of W. G. Hoskins and J. B. Jackson. It explores and explains their major contributions to the field as well as to the interpretive process itself.

Pierce F. Lewis’ “Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene” is a fundamental contribution to the field. Lewis echoes Jackson in the belief that all landscapes, regardless of how “ordinary” they might be, have cultural significance.<sup>10</sup> Insisting that the study of ordinary landscapes needed guidelines for interpretation, Lewis formulated seven “axioms” or rules to define basic yet essential characteristics of landscapes.

Perhaps the most important of the rules is Lewis’ determination that “the culture of any nation is unintentionally reflected in its ordinary vernacular landscape.” Alterations in the appearances of landscapes correspond with cultural changes, and these changes are often the result of cultural diffusion.<sup>11</sup> Lewis’ second axiom was more controversial: no matter how ordinary an item may seem, it is no less culturally significant than another item. Lewis maintained that a McDonald’s restaurant is culturally just as significant as the Empire State Building.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Pierce F. Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Axiom number three addressed “common landscapes.” By examining these everyday landscapes, Lewis argued, we can begin to understand “what kinds of people Americans are, were, and may become.”<sup>13</sup> He urged scholars and students to look at other, less obvious sources such as trade journals, travel literature, and commercial advertisements in order to gain insight into the character of these overlooked landscapes.<sup>14</sup>

Lewis expands on this idea in axiom four stating that in order to understand the people who change a landscape, “we must try to understand...[them] in their cultural context, not ours.” As David Lowenthal touches on in a later essay in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, an ever-changing present shapes our understanding of the past. This too applies to landscape interpretation. If we are to make sense of landscape alterations, we must place those alterations in their correct historical and cultural context by pairing written primary and secondary documents with a “reading” of the landscape through surface survey, aerial photographs, and various types of maps. It is also important, Lewis argues, to recognize that cultural change typically occurs in “great sudden historic leaps” provoked by major events such as “wars, depression,” and technological advances. These cultural “leaps” significantly alter landscapes though traces of earlier periods remain.<sup>15</sup> In dissecting and examining these historic layers of a landscape, scholars can determine “where things started, when, and how.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape,” 19.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 20-22.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 23.

David Lowenthal's "Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation" is an effective primer on landscape and interpretation. Recognizing that our understanding of "history differs from what actually happened" due to the fact that "the changing present continually requires new interpretation of what has taken place," Lowenthal applied this same insight to landscape interpretation.<sup>17</sup> The landscape can "evoke many pasts," Lowenthal observed, "but can never display any period in its entirety, let alone reveal the whole of the past." In reconstructing the past, landscape features and written primary sources can be effective evidence, but the ever-changing current perspective always shapes such reconstructions.<sup>18</sup> Setting a place aside as a historic landmark serves "actively to alter it," changing its significance and appearance. This recognition sparks three phases of "activity: recognition and celebration, maintenance and preservation, and enrichment and enhancement," actions that all have consequences.<sup>19</sup>

Lowenthal emphasized that interpretation of landscape features must be done carefully. Installing interpretive markers at a site serves to "dissociate it from its surroundings," removing it from its context. A poorly designed or misplaced marker detracts from the site itself, becoming "a surrogate for the real thing."<sup>20</sup> There is also the

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<sup>16</sup> Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape," 24.

<sup>17</sup> David Lowenthal, "Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 103.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

effect of signs to help preserve treasured sites, and sometimes this alteration of a site in order to protect it from natural or manmade harm changes “the conditions in which artifacts are experienced.”<sup>21</sup> Few landscapes maintain the integrity of a historically significant period. Trees, grass, and other plants will grow on the battlefields, altering its appearance and changing our perception of it.<sup>22</sup> Lowenthal also worried about the remaking of the past to tailor “it to our desires.” “Total restoration,” Lowenthal insisted, “subverts historical awareness.” Lowenthal concluded that “the desire to celebrate noble and virtuous episodes and to forget the unseemly” biases much historical interpretation.<sup>23</sup> “Conscious appreciation of the tangible past always sets in motion forces that alter it,” he admitted.<sup>24</sup>

Cold Spring Farm, at the Tennessee-Kentucky state line north of the town of Portland in Sumner County, Tennessee, is a layered historical place. Within the boundaries of Cold Spring Farm are evidence of significant Native American activity, remnants of a major Civil War induction camp, and three historic farms. Native Americans were the first to use the land at Cold Spring Farm, being drawn to the location by the water source provided by the springs (see Figure 2) and using the area for hunting.

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<sup>21</sup> Lowenthal, “Age and Artifact,” 112. Lowenthal uses Niagara Falls as an example of this. The erosion of the falls, if left unmitigated, would significantly alter its appearance, endangering millions of tourism dollars. The falls’ preservation “stands in direct contradiction to natural processes.”

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.





**Figure 2.** Cold Spring. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.

As stewards of the land and the artifacts associated with it, the McGlothlin family has been very careful to leave subsurface objects in place, collecting only those items that have come to the surface due to rain, agricultural work, and outbuilding construction. Mark Norton dated many artifacts in the spring of 2011. Norton identified several artifacts from the Paleo-Indian period, dating roughly 13,000 years ago, and this early marker serves as the beginning point for the narrative on the Native American landscape. In addition to Norton's recent assessment of artifacts, a 1976 archaeological investigation conducted just beyond Cold Spring Farm's eastern boundary at Sportsman's Lake

provides insights into Native American inhabitants in the immediate area during the Archaic Period.

The most recognized period of Cold Spring Farm's history dates to 1861. During the Civil War, the Baskerville farm served as the second location of a Confederate camp of instruction known as Camp Trousdale from approximately June 11, 1861 to October 13, 1861. Confederate command selected the Baskerville farm because it had an excellent water source and an abundance of wood.

Agriculture is the persistent theme of Cold Spring Farm. The historic farmsteads of Thomas Baskerville and O. H. P. Duval relied on slave labor, adding yet another dimension to the landscape. Duval's slave holdings increased from four in 1850 to eighteen in 1860, while Baskerville increased his ownership from four in 1850 to five in 1860. The Civil War heralded a disintegration of the larger farms like O. H. P. Duval's.<sup>25</sup> Even the Baskerville farm, doubly hit by the Civil War and the loss of patriarch Thomas Baskerville in 1867, downsized from 300 acres with a value of \$3000 in 1860 to 72 acres with a value of \$800 in 1870.<sup>26</sup> The Emancipation Proclamation and the end of the war ushered in the sharecropping system and forged new relationships between former

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<sup>25</sup> Stephen V. Ash, "Postwar Recovery: Montgomery County, 1865-1870," *Tennessee Historical Quarter* 36 (1977): 216.

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agricultural Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agricultural Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm.

masters and former slaves through labor contracts.<sup>27</sup> An examination of the change from antebellum to postbellum agriculture is a focus of the fourth and final chapter of this study.

In his essay “Are We There Yet?: Travels and Tribulations in the Cultural Landscape,” landscape architect Robert Z. Melnick questions how scholars should reconcile “multiple pasts, pasts that exist in a temporal reality different from our own” and “how [we can] learn about multiple histories for the same landscape.”<sup>28</sup> Recognizing J. B. Jackson’s conclusion that no one landscape has greater significance than another, this close study of the Cold Spring Farm— its written history and its physical landscape— seeks to reconcile all three significant layers of history. In analyzing the farm through the understanding that a property’s history is a continuum rather than fragmentary periods of significance, one can construct a more complete historical narrative of this special place.

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<sup>27</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 201.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Z. Melnick, “Are We There Yet?: Travels and Tribulations in the Cultural Landscape,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 200, 205.

## CHAPTER I

### THE NATIVE AMERICAN ERA

In *Seedtime on the Cumberland*, historian Harriette Simpson Arnow recalled how she gained an interest in the early history of Middle Tennessee:

Gardening went slowly at times, for my hoe was always turning up things other than dirt, and I would kneel, clean the just-found thing and study it, or even take it into the house. The place had been farmed for more than one hundred and fifty years, and all around were the reminders of other farm wives.... My hoe found many things—square nails, fragments of broken dolls and dishes, small chunks of iron rusted into shapelessness, now and then an ox shoe crumbling with rust, bone buttons, or small fragments of cane splints once part of a weaving sleigh. Side by side with such things I often found reminders of those others who had known and loved the valley and maybe used the spring.... Those others had been master hands at working in stone, and I found only stone reminders, usually arrowheads of flint, other times some larger shapes, flaked but seemingly unfinished and over which I could only wonder.<sup>1</sup>

Over the past sixty or so years, the McGlothlin family has collected Native American artifacts whenever they stumble upon them, as artifacts make their way to the surface after heavy rains, plowing, and outbuilding construction. The collection includes hundreds of pieces representative of four different stages of pre-history: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian. Early Indians came to this place for the springs (see Figure 3), and the waters have supported life in this immediate area for thousands of years. In fact, many of Sumner County's significant pre-historic sites are situated at springs, the most famous being a Mississippian era site at Castalian Springs.

Having worked the land since 1851, the McGlothlin family knows the land and what it holds better than any historian or archaeologist, and they have documented the

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<sup>1</sup> Harriette Simpson Arnow, *Seedtime on the Cumberland* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), 40.





**Figure 3.** Pied Spring. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.

location of material culture remains (see Figure 4). Tennessee State Archaeologist Mark Norton identified and dated numerous pieces from the Cold Spring Farm collection in 2011. In the absence of archaeological excavation, Norton's conclusions and the McGlothlin family's knowledge of the site and artifact collection provide evidence for an interpretation of the Native American use of Cold Spring Farm.

### **Paleo Period**

Material evidence in the form of man-made hunting implements indicates that Paleo Indians were the first people to inhabit the Cold Spring site. Scholars estimate the



**Figure 4.** Native American site locations on Cold Spring Farm. Created by the author.

arrival of the Paleo-Indians to the Middle Tennessee area to be over 13,000 years ago. A migratory people due to their hunting and gathering lifestyle, Paleo-Indians typically travelled in small groups numbering on average twenty-five to fifty persons.<sup>2</sup> Not known for using caves or rock ledges for shelter, they established their camps “on ridges or slopes of hills overlooking watering spots, thus allowing them to keep these places under constant surveillance.”<sup>3</sup> The rolling hills around Cold and Pied Springs, as well as the ridges along Drakes Creek provided many choice locations for Paleo-era camps. The springs offered the Paleo-Indians both a durable water source and prime hunting opportunities. Paleo-hunters targeted big game such as now extinct versions of mammoths, horses, and bison, typically ambushing their prey at watering holes. Their kills provided not only meat, but they turned skin into hides and bone into handles and tools.<sup>4</sup>

An abundance of flint was another advantage of the Cold Spring site, allowing Paleo-people to construct basic tools and hunting implements.<sup>5</sup> Tennessee State archaeologist Mark Norton identified a few significant Paleo-era points during his visit to Cold Spring Farm in 2011. These included a Clovis point, a Cumberland point, and a pair

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<sup>2</sup> John B. Broster, “Paleoindians in Tennessee,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1033> (accessed April 21, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>5</sup> Broster, “Paleoindians in Tennessee.”



of uniface scrapers.<sup>6</sup> Found throughout the eastern United States but mainly in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, Clovis and Cumberland points served as projectile points on hunting implements.<sup>7</sup>

### **Archaic Period**

With the extinction of most megafauna around 8,000 BC, pre-historic Native Americans turned to hunting smaller game and supplementing their kills with plant material. Archaeologists have classified this adaptation as the Archaic Period.<sup>8</sup> Spanning roughly 7,000 years, an increasing dietary reliance on fish, small game, and vegetation, especially nuts, characterizes the Archaic Period. In stark contrast to the Paleo Period, Archaic Indians abandoned the migratory lifestyle and began settling down in “smaller and smaller territories.” Like the Paleo Indians, Archaic Indians favored sites in close proximity to a water source for both hunting and water supply, often establishing camps near rivers, streams, lake shores, and caves.<sup>9</sup> Dramatic cultural evolution during the Archaic Period has prompted archaeologists to denote sub-stages: the Early, 8,000 to 6,000 BC; Middle, 6,000 to 3,000 BC; and Late, 3,000 to 1,000 BC.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Amy Kostine, “The Prehistoric Native American Landscape of Cold Spring Farm,” in *Cold Spring Farm: Heritage Development Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, 2011), 5.

<sup>7</sup> Hudson, 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 44; Broster, “Paleoindians in Tennessee.”

<sup>9</sup> Hudson, 44-46.

<sup>10</sup> Jay D. Franklin, “Archaic Period,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=30> (accessed April 21, 2012).



The seasons determined the diets and habitation sites of the Archaic era peoples. Archaic Indians moved from one place to another in the pre-agriculture era, subsisting on what each of those sites had to offer depending upon the season. Archaic hunters favored the spear and used atlatls, or spear throwers, to increase the velocity of their throws to hunt everything from squirrels to deer.<sup>11</sup> They typically processed their kills on the spot, using stone knives to dress the animal. Stone scrapers and bone awls and needles made processing the hide for further use possible.<sup>12</sup> Mark Norton identified several different Archaic era hunting implements from the Cold Spring site, including Cobbs knives and a variety of stone points including serrated and corner notched Kirks, Big Sandys, and Turkeytails.<sup>13</sup>

Fresh water mussels and nuts were two Archaic diet staples, and there is evidence that Archaic Indians at the Cold Spring site relied on both of these.<sup>14</sup> Herschel McGlothlin, Bill McGlothlin's grandfather, determined to construct a bank barn on a

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<sup>11</sup> Hudson, 47. Hudson describes the atlatl thusly: "The spear-thrower is a wooden shaft about two feet long with a hook on one end. This hook, often carved out of deer antler, was placed behind the end of the spear so that both the spear and the spear-thrower were held in the throwing hand. When the spear was hurled, this spear-thrower effectively increased the length of the hunter's arm, greatly increasing the force with which the spear could be thrown."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>13</sup> Kostine, 7-8; Franklin, "Archaic Period." Corner notched Kirks precede the serrated Kirks though both, along with Cobbs knives, are representative of the Early Archaic Period. Big Sandys represent the Early to Middle Archaic Periods, and the Turkeytails represent Late Archaic culture. Artifacts and dates identified by Mark Norton.

<sup>14</sup> Hudson, 47.



**Figure 5.** Herschel McGlothlin's ca. 1920 bank barn, the site of Archaic shell midden. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.

sloping piece of Cold Spring Farm in close proximity to the springs in the 1920s.

Construction for such a building required removal of dirt to level the basement portion of the barn. While digging, Herschel and his farm laborers discovered shell midden (see Figure 5), a refuse site, indicative of the Middle Archaic period.<sup>15</sup> A nutting stone corroborates the subsistence of Cold Spring site Archaic Indians on nuts.<sup>16</sup> Nutting stones

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<sup>15</sup> Kostine, 4; Franklin, “Archaic Period.” Shell middens “can be several feet thick” and indicate “intensively harvested fresh water marine resources, especially shellfish.”

<sup>16</sup> Kostine, 9.

are large, heavy stones with a nut-size concave in the center. Indians placed nuts in the concave and then smashed it with another rock, separating the nut from its shell.

Archaeological investigation of the nearby Twin Caves site, officially named 40SU24, in 1983 also shed light on the Archaic Indians inhabiting the Cold Spring area. According to project leader Don Spires, the mission of the investigation was to gain an understanding of food sources and habitation. A cave with an opening roughly 40 feet high and 100 feet wide provided shelter and the nearby springs and creeks supplied water, fresh water mussels, and fish.<sup>17</sup> The cave held lacked evidence of inhabitation and seems to have been used largely for food processing and storage. Faunal remains found in the cave revealed “a dependence on deer, gastropods, and bivalves” while the presence of nutshells and nutting stones indicated nut consumption. The investigation also determined the cave was used long term with 80 percent of the sample representing the Early Archaic period and the smaller portion of the sample representing the Middle Archaic. Using the dental remains of a deer and the nutshell fragments as evidence, the team concluded that the cave was used only from early fall to early winter each year.<sup>18</sup>

The presence of Big Sandy and Turkeytail points on Cold Spring Farm indicates that inhabitation of the site continued through the Middle and Late Archaic period. These stages of the Archaic period are important for several reasons, the emergence of pottery being the most notable. Simple in both construction and design, fiber-tempering, meaning

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Goldsmith, “Joint Efforts Preserve Site,” *The Tennessean*, May 11, 1983.

<sup>18</sup> Donald Spires, “The Twin Caves Site 40SU24: Early Archaic on the Northern Highland Rim,” abstract, Tennessee Division of Archaeology, Nashville, TN: 1983.

“fibers from grass, roots, Spanish moss, and other materials were placed in the clay, and the clay was thereby strengthened for firing” characterizes the pieces. Emphasis on ritualized burial practices also emerged during this time, the dead often being bound and laid in pits with significant items such as “red ocher, weapons, tools, and the bodies of their dogs.” According to anthropologist Charles Hudson, these burial methods evolved into the “impressive mortuary practices which characterize” the Woodland Period.<sup>19</sup>

### **Woodland Period**

Modern archaeologists and anthropologists consider the Woodland period, 1,000 B.C. to 1,000 A.D., to be a cultural extension of the Archaic period. Archaeological investigation has revealed “continuity in the development of Archaic and Woodland stone and bone tools for the acquisition, processing, storing, and preparation of animal and plant foods, leather working, textile manufacture, tool production, cultivation, and shelter construction.” Evolving pottery forms, the establishment of permanent villages, mound construction, and the emergence of the bow and arrow characterize this stage of prehistory. Like the Paleo and Archaic periods, the Woodland period has also been subdivided into stages: Early Woodland, 1,200 B.C. to 390 B.C.; Middle Woodland, 390 B.C. to 575 A.D.; and Late Woodland, 575 A.D., to 1,000 A.D.<sup>20</sup>

Woodland Indians continued the hunting and gathering tradition established by their Archaic ancestors often retaining the use of the spear and atlatl. One major

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<sup>19</sup> Hudson, 55.

<sup>20</sup> National Park Service, “Southeastern Prehistory: The Woodland Period,” <http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/woodland.htm> (accessed September 30, 2012).

difference between these two stages of prehistory lies in subsistence patterns. While Archaic Indians travelled seasonally to exploit food sources, Woodland inhabitants began establishing more permanent living arrangements. Using underground pits for storage of nuts and seeds in combination with primitive horticulture practices, Woodland Indians were able to subsist in one location for longer periods of time.<sup>21</sup> Hunting larger game became more efficient with the advent of the bow and arrow, and evidence of this major technological change has also been discovered on Cold Spring Farm. Smaller projectile points, such as the Lowe Cluster and Bakers Creek styles found on the farm, gradually replaced the larger points preceding them, a trend attributed to the appearance of the bow and arrow.<sup>22</sup>

Woodland culture left physical evidence on the landscape in the form of large mounds. The burial practices that began in the Archaic period had evolved into a culturally distinctive identifier. In fact, scientists at the turn of the nineteenth century believed the creators of the mounds to be a “An ancient race, entirely distinct from the Indian, possessing a certain degree of civilization, [that] once inhabited the central portion of the United States.”<sup>23</sup> Writing on the history of Sumner County in 1909, Jay Cisco rejected this widely accepted conclusion: “We call these people ‘Mound Builders,’ and properly so, but that they were a race separate and distinct in blood and origin from

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<sup>21</sup> Hudson, 56.

<sup>22</sup> Kostine, 10; National Park Service, “Southeastern Prehistory: The Woodland Period.”

<sup>23</sup> J. P. MacLean, *The Mound Builders* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co., 1904), 13.

the Indians whom the white people found, this writer must dissent.”<sup>24</sup> Woodland era Indians typically constructed these mounds for burial purposes, the mounds entombing a single or multiple remains “accompanied by elaborate grave goods, such as pottery, jewelry, and sheets of mica cut in various shapes.”<sup>25</sup> A cultural icon that can be found throughout the larger Middle Tennessee area, mound building continued well into the next stage of prehistory: the Mississippian Period.

### **Mississippian Period**

As with the three previous stages of prehistory, evidence of the Mississippian period has been discovered at Cold Spring Farm. This period spans approximately 800 years, from 900 to 1,700 A.D., and traces its roots to the geographic area along the Mississippi River between St. Louis, Missouri and Vicksburg, Mississippi.<sup>26</sup> Over time, the culture dispersed in all directions but stuck mainly to the large rivers heading southwest and southeast. Mississippian Indians placed higher emphasis on agriculture than those preceding them and began to settle in “larger, more permanent” towns situated along floodplains where the soil would best benefit crop cultivation.<sup>27</sup> The emergence of

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<sup>24</sup> Jay Guy Cisco, *Historic Sumner County, Tennessee* (Nashville: Charles Elder, publisher, 1971), 37.

<sup>25</sup> Hudson, 57.

<sup>26</sup> National Park Service, “The Mississippian and Late Prehistoric Period,” [www.cr.nps.gov/seac/misslate.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/misslate.htm) (accessed September 30, 2012); Hudson, 77.

<sup>27</sup> Hudson, 77-79.

a form of government known as chiefdoms, increasingly elaborate pottery fabrication and decoration, and ritualized mortuary customs characterize this period of prehistory.<sup>28</sup>

Stone tools and points comprise the majority of the material culture left by Mississippian inhabitants at Cold Spring. A burial site that once held multiple stone box graves situated on the north portion of the property also substantiates long term use of the site by Mississippian Indians. Stone box graves located in the Nashville Basin and the Highland Rim differ from other Mississippian era stone box graves in that the dimensions of the boxes were closely tapered to the dimensions of the deceased.<sup>29</sup> This regional variation on the construction of box graves resulted in the classification of a Mississippian subculture known as the Middle Cumberland culture.<sup>30</sup> Limestone was most often used for construction material as limestone outcroppings can almost always be found along the banks of streams, creeks, and rivers in the Middle Tennessee area.<sup>31</sup> The Mississippian Indians responsible for the construction of the Cold Spring site stone box graves likely harvested the large limestone slabs from the nearby banks of the West Fork of Drakes Creek.

It is unclear how many internments the gravesite held, the stone box graves having been removed as farmers prepared the fields for planting in the first half of the

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<sup>28</sup> Gerald F. Schroedl, "Mississippian Culture," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=928> (accessed April 21, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> John T. Dowd, "The Cumberland Stone-Box Burials of Middle Tennessee," *Tennessee Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (2008): 165-166.

<sup>30</sup> Schroedl, "Mississippian Culture."

<sup>31</sup> Dowd, 166-167.

twentieth century. Over the years, farm laborers pitched the large limestone slabs into the tree line separating the field from the West Fork of Drakes Creek. The McGlothlin family did not acquire this portion of land until the 1970s, so the family has limited knowledge of the site, what it held, or what became of the remains and burial items. However, archaeological investigation of similar Middle Cumberland Mississippian era sites reveals that burial sites could often run deep into the ground. Excavation of a burial mound at Castalian Springs, also located in Sumner County, in 1893 unearthed over one hundred sets of remains and numerous artifacts with the majority of these remains having been interred in stone box graves.<sup>32</sup> The graves were “stacked three or four deep” at certain points in the mound, so it is certainly possible that the graves removed from the Cold Spring site were just those located closest to the surface.<sup>33</sup>

Agricultural processes over the past 150 years have been both helpful and harmful to Cold Spring Farm’s Native American landscape. Consistent farming through the decades has preserved the open space, and the McGlothlin family’s protective stewardship of the land through successive generations has prevented encroaching residential development from crossing Cold Spring Farm’s boundaries. As a result, archaeological sites on the farm remain relatively undisturbed, retaining a high level of integrity and allowing for possible future survey and excavation. Dairy farming, a staple of Cold Spring Farm from the 1940s to 2007, caused little physical disruption to many of

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<sup>32</sup> Samuel D. Smith, *Castalian Springs Historic Site: Archaeology and Dendrochronology* (Nashville: Tennessee Division of Archaeology, 1975), 32-33.

<sup>33</sup> Walter Durham, *The Great Leap Westward: A History of Sumner County, Tennessee from its Beginnings to 1805* (Gallatin, Tennessee: Sumner County Public Library Board, 1969), 9.



the fields and the cultural resources they hold, sparing it from possible damage related to more invasive agricultural processes.

A few consequences of agricultural processes should be identified here. Plowing and tilling of the soil removes artifacts from their provenance, destroying much of the context the artifact may have had. Additionally, the subsequent removal of artifacts without documentation of the location of discovery prohibits any attempt to analyze distribution patterns. Disruption of the burial site has resulted in the loss of any remains or artifacts associated with it. Luckily, tilling and plowing result in relatively shallow disruption, so if the farm holds graves buried deeper than the ones removed or other artifact clusters, they should remain intact. Though plowing, tilling, outbuilding construction, and field preparation may have resulted in damage to Cold Spring Farm's archaeological resources, it should be remembered that these sites were discovered through these very agricultural practices. Current understanding of the farm's 13,000 year long history relies solely on resource discovery and collection as a byproduct of agriculture.

## CHAPTER II

### COLD SPRING FARM IN A TIME OF WAR

Tennessee's admission to the Confederacy in the summer of 1861 transformed the Tennessee-Kentucky state line into both a national boundary and a defensive line. Thomas Baskerville's farm, located roughly two miles northeast of the railroad town Richland Station (now Portland) and roughly four miles from the Kentucky-Tennessee state line, served as the second site for the Confederate camp of instruction Camp Trousdale. Command established the camp on Baskerville's farm for three main reasons. First, the six thousand men training at the camp provided adequate protection of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, a logistical pathway into the heart of the Confederacy. Second, the camp's proximity to the state line provided easy access for Kentucky Confederates wishing to enlist.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the farm's two springs, Cold and Pied Springs, provided an unending freshwater supply to the camp.

Though a temporary landscape, Camp Trousdale existing for only five months and comprised mainly of tents, there are many significant extant buildings, structures, and features related to the camp and its operation. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad, the camp's main supply line of both troops and equipment, continues to run between its namesake cities through Richland Station and Mitchellville. Two roads, Groves Ford

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<sup>1</sup> Camp Trousdale, located in Sumner County, was one of three Confederate camps situated along Middle Tennessee's northern border, including Montgomery County's Camp Boone and Robertson County's Camp Cheatham. All three camps share one distinct commonality: command having established them at points where railroads traversed the Kentucky-Tennessee state line, a strategically important location for the protection of these logistical pathways into the Confederacy.

Road along the camp's western boundary and the old Portland Road along the eastern boundary, provided the points of access for visitors, soldiers, slaves, and supply wagons. Cold Spring School and Thomas Baskerville's home, both extant though only one remains *in situ*, overlooked the camping area from a hillside along the camp's northern boundary. The two springs, perhaps the most important features, can still be observed along the camp's eastern boundary and running through the northern part of the camp (see Figure 6).

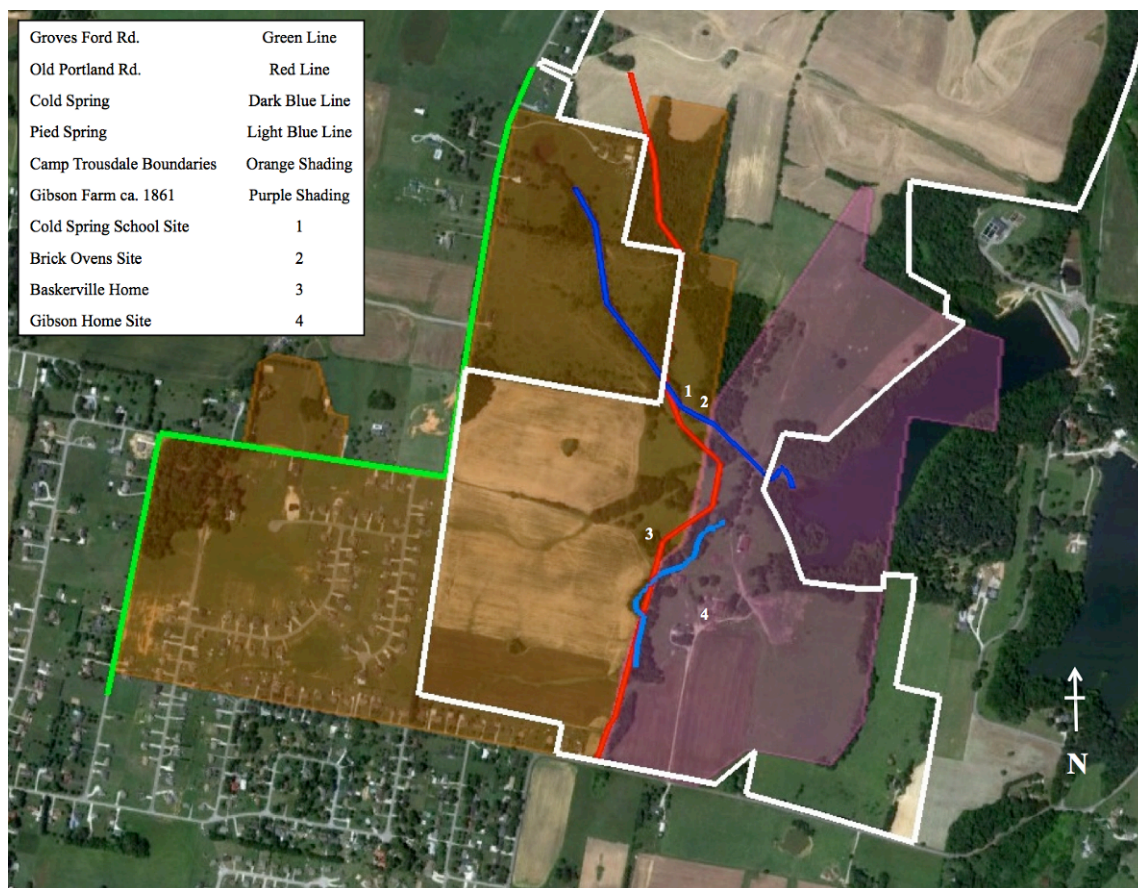
In response to Abraham Lincoln's request of 75,000 troops for the protection of the United States in 1861, Tennessee Governor Isham Harris issued a proclamation calling for fifty thousand volunteers and the establishment of camps of instruction throughout the state "for the defense of our rights or those of our Southern brothers."<sup>2</sup> While the locations of these camps varied, these training facilities faced common setbacks such as rampant disease, supply deficiencies, armament shortages, and pervasive alcohol abuse. Before the Army of Tennessee even saw its first battle, many of its regiments had suffered numerous casualties and a dulled morale.

One camp of instruction was Camp Trousdale, named for former Tennessee governor William Trousdale.<sup>3</sup> Officials located it on the state's northern boundary with Kentucky, a place they felt, perfect for the recruitment of Confederate sympathizers in the still loyal Bluegrass State. The camp operated from May 1861 to February 1862 at

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<sup>2</sup> Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 47.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Durham, *Rebellion Revisited: A History of Sumner County, Tennessee from 1861 to 1870* (Gallatin: Sumner County Museum Association, 1982), 24.



**Figure 6.** Camp Trousdale site map. Created by author.

three different borderland sites, moving each time due to illness and shortage or contamination of water. It initially stood at Richland Station (now Portland) “about one hundred yards from the Louisville Railroad” and operated for roughly a month, from mid-May to mid-June 1861.<sup>4</sup> Col. Robert Hatton, commander of the Seventh Tennessee

<sup>4</sup> John Bradford to Frederick Bradford, Camp Trousdale, June 9, 1861, Frederick Bradford Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, in *Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook*, <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com/collection.pdf/1861-06/1861-06-Article-17-Page21.pdf>.

Infantry Regiment, described the camp as being situated “on high ground, near plenty of water.”<sup>5</sup> Accompanying Col. Hatton’s Seventh Tennessee Infantry Regiment at this time were five other regiments: the Eighth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Alfred S. Fulton; the Sixteenth Tennessee, commanded by Col. John H. Savage; the Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Taz W. Newman; the Eighteenth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Joseph B. Palmer; and the Twentieth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Joel A. Battle.<sup>6</sup> Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer, a newspaperman and former Tennessee state politician from Maury County, was camp commander.<sup>7</sup>

State officials considered the Richland Station site ideal. The close proximity to the railroad and its depot provided easy access for supplies, troops, and visitors. The Richland Station depot was the closest depot to the Kentucky border. Both sides considered the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to be a vital transportation network. Confederate command recognized the importance of protecting this pathway of invasion. Over the course of a few weeks, however, the amount of men camping at the site taxed the water supply, and the flat terrain proved to be a breeding ground for disease. Capt. J. J. Womack of the Sixteenth Tennessee recorded the rapidly deteriorating conditions of the

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<sup>5</sup> James Vaultx Drake, *Life of General Robert Hatton, Including His Most Important Public Speeches; Together, With Much of His Washington & Army Correspondence* (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, 1867), 352-353.

<sup>6</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond E. Myers, *The Zollie Tree* (Louisville: The Filson Club Press, 1964), ix.

site. On May 31, he wrote “health of the camps not so good as formerly.”<sup>8</sup> The next day, he added “many of the command sick of measles, which contagion is spreading very fast.” Heavy rainfall on June 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> worsened conditions at the Richland Station site.<sup>9</sup> By June 9, there was a reported total of 6000 men at the camp, and the plentiful water Col. Hatton mentioned on May 23 had become “very scarce” as there were only two wells the men could access which were “drank...nearly dry.”<sup>10</sup>

Writing to the *Nashville Banner* on June 7<sup>th</sup> under the pen name of John Happy, Albert Roberts was highly critical of the camp’s location. He described the water source, deemed a well by the military officials who selected the site, as a “magnificent horse pond” from which “water...flows in muddy profusion.” The water became so poor that by the time Roberts composed this article, drinking water was being brought in from Nashville. Roberts concluded his criticism by saying the man who chose the site “should be damned with...immortality.”<sup>11</sup>

As a result of the poor health of the camp and the dwindling water supply, the men received orders to move to a new camp on June 11.<sup>12</sup> The second Camp Trousdale location was on the farm of Thomas Baskerville, now part of the Cold Spring Farm,

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<sup>8</sup> Walter Womack, *Civil War Diary of Capt. J. J. Womack* (McMinnville: Womack Printing Company, 1961), 2.

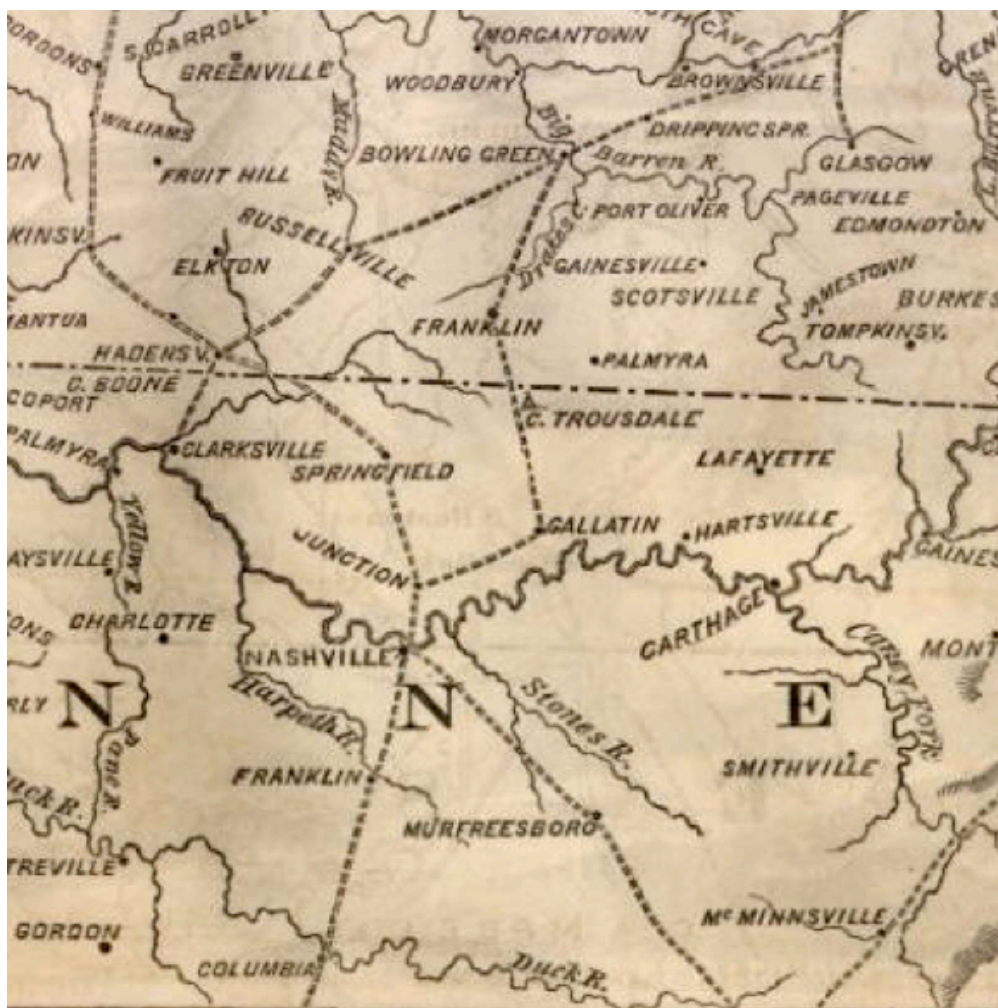
<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> John Bradford to Frederick Bradford, June 9, 1861.

<sup>11</sup> “I Camp Awhile In the Wilderness,” *Nashville Banner*, June 9, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> Frank Moore, ed. *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*, vol II. (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1862), 92; John Bradford to Frederick Bradford, June 9, 1861.

roughly two miles northeast of Richland Station. The new site was closer to the border but farther from the railroad (see Figure 7). It did, however, provide an adequate water



**Figure 7.** Selection from a map showing Camp Trousdale's location (at center) and its placement near the Kentucky-Tennessee border. From *Harpers Weekly*, February 8, 1862.

supply. A July 4 article in the Nashville based publication *Christian Advocate* described the Cold Spring site as having “shading trees, undulating ground, and cool springs”

saying “there could hardly be a more eligible encampment.”<sup>13</sup> The springs’ untainted water supply combined with a clean campsite to bolster the health of the men almost instantly.<sup>14</sup> Its slightly rolling terrain must have also provided better drainage of the camping area than did the flat fields of the Richland Station location.

The Cold Spring site of Camp Trousdale operated from approximately June 11 until October 13.<sup>15</sup> Capt. Womack described the Cold Spring site as “a very rugged one, covered with a scrubby growth of red oak and black jack” situated roughly “3 miles from the Station, N. E.”<sup>16</sup> At peak use, six thousand men encamped here in approximately fifteen hundred tents. The men arranged the white tents in a grid pattern according to regulations (see Figure 8), and soldiers gave the “streets” between the tent rows names such as Beauregard Street, Wigfall Avenue, and Yancey Street.<sup>17</sup> Dr. U.G. Owen, of the Twentieth Tennessee, wrote to his wife that the site “looks like a city,” and that it was

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<sup>13</sup> Moore, 92.

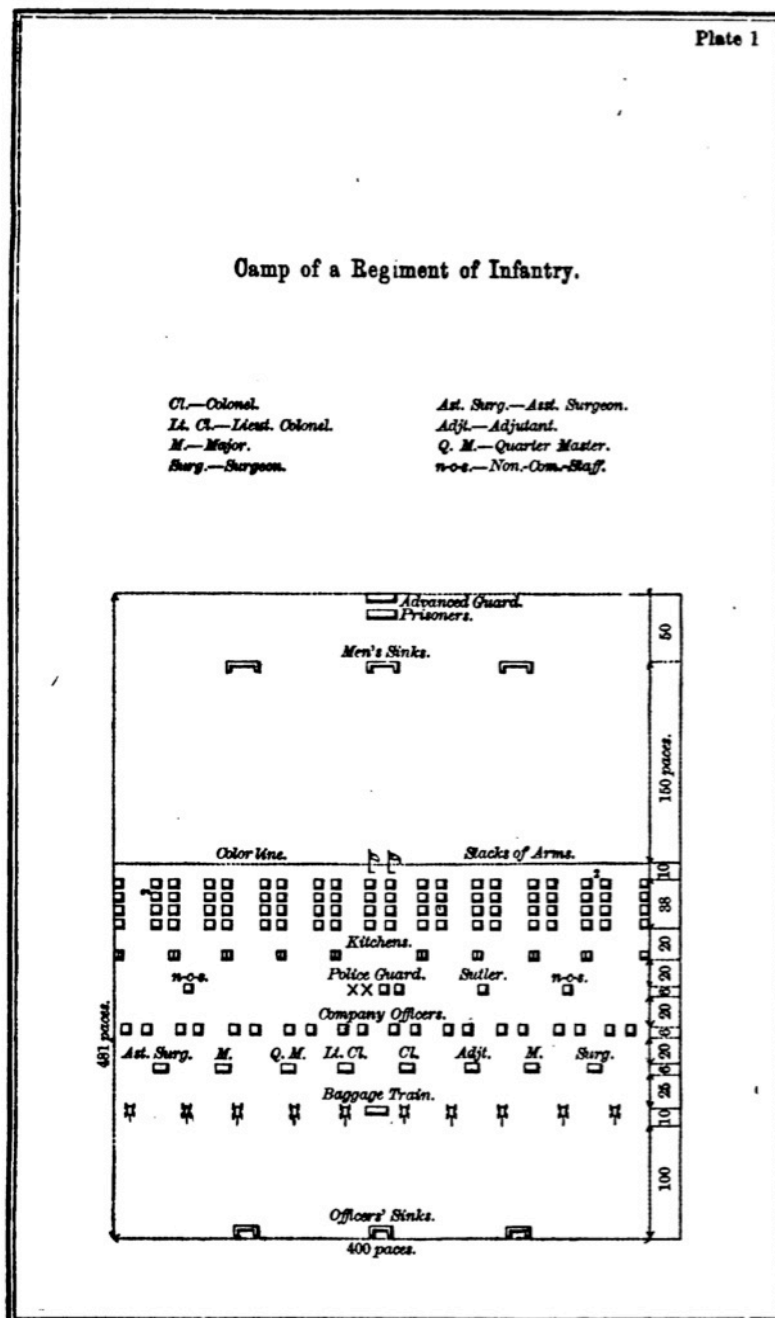
<sup>14</sup> Drake, 358-359.

<sup>15</sup> John Bradford to Frederick Bradford, June 9, 1861; “Camp Trousdale,” *Nashville Union and American*, October 23, 1861.

<sup>16</sup> Womack, 4.

<sup>17</sup> “Letters from the Camp,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 7, 1861.





**Figure 8.** Regulation layout of an infantry camp. Image from the *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861*.

“quite beautiful to see.”<sup>18</sup> Historian Walter Durham also compared the camp to a city, saying it “was from the beginning a city of tents and improvised huts.”<sup>19</sup>

Each man received a single blanket, causing Dr. Owen to complain, “Our sleeping is rather bad. I did not get but one blanket—nothing but a common blanket.”<sup>20</sup> Some of the men used their own money to purchase straw for bedding.<sup>21</sup> Soldiers also received tin cups, plates, and canteens.<sup>22</sup> Gen. William J. Hardee’s *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*, a manual on drill instruction and military tactics, was another camp essential. Soldiers referred to it simply as “Hardee’s Tactics.”<sup>23</sup> Many soldiers had what was referred to as “big knife fever” and carried up to two of these large knives at a time.<sup>24</sup> “Failure” to carry one of these knives “was almost a certain sign of weakness.”<sup>25</sup> Officers at Camp Trousdale did not issue a standard uniform. The Eighth Tennessee “wore all sorts of clothing, all sorts of hats and caps. Our dress ranged from the butternut jeans up to the

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<sup>18</sup> U. G. Owen to Laura Owen, Camp Trousdale, June 20, 1861, in *Letters to Laura: A Confederate Surgeon’s Impressions of Four Years of War*, ed. by Sadye Tune Wilson, Nancy Tune Fitzgerald, and Richard Warwick (Nashville: Tunstede Press, 1996), 35-37.

<sup>19</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 24.

<sup>20</sup> U. G. Owen to Laura Owen, 35-37.

<sup>21</sup> Womack, 8.

<sup>22</sup> U. G. Owen to Laura Owen, 35-37.

<sup>23</sup> “Letters from the Camp,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 7, 1861.

<sup>24</sup> *Cheat Mountain; Or, Unwritten Chapter of the Late War* (Nashville: Albert B. Tavel, 1885), 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

finest article of French cloth, the butternut, however, largely predominating.”<sup>26</sup> Capt. Womack, of the Sixteenth Tennessee, requested “98 red and an equal number of gray flannel shirts: 98 pair of gray pants: 98 pair of drawers: 98 gray caps: and 10 pair of shoes.”<sup>27</sup>

Officers supplied themselves with necessities and even some extravagances. In a letter to his son-in-law dated June 5, General Felix Zollicoffer requested “saddle bridle blanket, etc., and holsters and pistols (seeing that the holsters fitted the pistols,) and my uniform from Browne’s.” He also paid \$150 for a horse in Nashville.<sup>28</sup> Col. John F. Goodner, of the Seventh Tennessee, reported in June that he “had...a saddle made in Nashville for which I paid 65 dollars, with a pair of Navy repeaters on the holsters, [and] a good sword.”<sup>29</sup> While in Nashville in July, Capt. Womack bought “material for a military suit, which, when finished will be worth \$61.50.”<sup>30</sup>

Camp life was more physically demanding than many soldiers expected. In addition to improving the campsite by clearing trees and digging wells, the men drilled four to five hours a day.<sup>31</sup> In the heat of the summer, many soldiers drilled without shoes

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<sup>26</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 24.

<sup>27</sup> Womack, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Myers, *The Zollie Tree*, 47.

<sup>29</sup> John Goodner to Lizzie Floyd, Camp Trousdale, June 28, 1861, in *The Goodner Family Book* (Hubert Lacey, 1960), [http://goodnerfamilybook.goodner.info/james\\_goodner.htm](http://goodnerfamilybook.goodner.info/james_goodner.htm) (accessed January 11, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> Womack, 8.

<sup>31</sup> “Camp Trousdale,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 5, 1861.

or coats.<sup>32</sup> Col. Goodner told his family “the amount of drill we are doing in the continual fog of dust and excessive heat is bearing hard on a good many of the weaker constitutions.”<sup>33</sup> The men drilled twice a day, morning and evening. After morning drill, they were responsible for gathering wood and water in order to prepare their afternoon meal.<sup>34</sup> Meals most often consisted of bread and meat, but goods from visitors or family supplemented this fare.<sup>35</sup> Soldiers learned how to cook for themselves while at the camp. Chaplain David Tucker, of the Eighth Tennessee, observed that the men were “getting to be excellent cooks” after only two weeks in the field.<sup>36</sup> Bricks from the ovens used for cooking remain on the farm.

Soldiers in camp received only one day off per week since Confederate command ordered in June that the army would observe the Sabbath. The men used this day to attend sermons and services.<sup>37</sup> At night soldiers used the time to bathe, wash clothes, write letters, and converse with fellow soldiers.<sup>38</sup> If literate, many of the men read whatever

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<sup>32</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 24.

<sup>33</sup> Goodner to Floyd, June 28, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> Ben Jobe to his sister, June 11, 1861, The Dewitt Smith Jobe Letters, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

<sup>35</sup> U. G. Owen to Laura Owen, 35-37.

<sup>36</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 27.

<sup>37</sup> “From Camp Trousdale,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 26, 1861.

<sup>38</sup> Womack, 3.

they could get their hands on. They typically turned to “Hardee’s Tactics,” the Bible, and newspapers.<sup>39</sup>

Music provided yet another escape, and the men brought up the topic quite often in letters home. Every regiment seemed to have a few talented fiddle players who kept up the morale of the men. Some slaves brought to camp by their masters also played banjos in the twilight hours.<sup>40</sup> During one notable incident, a visiting brass band from Kentucky started belting out the notes for “Dixie.” The men rushed to their location, causing fear that the instrumentalists would be smothered by the enthusiastic and growing crowd. Camp command disbanded the crowd to prevent such an incident.<sup>41</sup> Dr. Owen once told his wife there were “Several big dances every night, great excitement all the time, amusement of every kind on earth you could think of.”<sup>42</sup>

Alcohol and gambling were two such “amusement[s],” the presence of both being corroborated by material evidence found at the farm over the decades. Primary sources also document the pervasiveness of drinking and wagering. A soldier from Rutherford County told his family, “There is a great deal of gambling going on in this camp ment [sic].”<sup>43</sup> The camp had two primary sources of alcohol. The medical staff used alcohol for treatment, and though it was for patients, officers often abused the medicinal supply. J. L.

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<sup>39</sup> “From Camp Trousdale,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 26, 1861.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> U. G. Owen to Laura Owen, 35-37.

<sup>43</sup> Ben Jobe to his sister, June 11, 1861, Dewitt Smith Jobe Letters.

Fite, assistant surgeon for the Seventh Tennessee, asserts this abuse was “the rule, and not the exception,” and that many sick men “died for want of stimulants, while the Surgeon, the Colonel and his Staff, were drinking up the hospital whisky over a game of poker.”<sup>44</sup> Capt. Womack of the Sixteenth echoed this sentiment two days after departing Camp Trousdale. Upon arrival at Knoxville, he was made “officer of the day” by Col. Savage “out of pretended respect for my sobriety, (there being but few sober officers now in the Regt.)” Cpt. Womack alleged this was done “so that others for whom he entertained kinder feelings might be at liberty to promonade [sic] over the City.”<sup>45</sup>

Privates typically obtained alcohol by breaking the camp lines and going into town. In June 1861, Capt. Womack recorded he had to guard two soldiers from his company “during a drinking spree.”<sup>46</sup> Command sought to combat this habit by ordering the night guards to prevent anyone but General Zollicoffer himself from crossing the lines. This strict order resulted in an amusing incident related by soldier and regimental historian W. J. McMurray:

When the guard was mounted one morning a young country boy by the name of Stevens was placed on duty, with strict injunction to let no one pass without a written permit, excepting the commanding officer. The soldier-boy began his beat. In a short while, sure enough, along came Gen. Zollicoffer, and as he approached the soldier’s beat he was halted. The General remarked that he was Gen. Zollicoffer, and had a right to pass.

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<sup>44</sup> J. L. Fite. “Testimony of Assistant-Surgeon J. L. Fite,” in *Life of General Robert Hatton, Including His Most Important Public Speeches; Together, With Much of His Washington & Army Correspondence*, by James Vaulx Drake (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, 1867), 438.

<sup>45</sup> Womack, 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

The soldier replied: “You can’t play that game on me; if I should let you pass, in half an hour there would be forty Zollicoffers here to pass.”<sup>47</sup>

After one alcohol crackdown at Camp Trousdale, Albert Roberts observed “nobody can get drunk at Trousdale. We have an excellent mode of testing the sobriety of old soakers. We simply require them to pronounce the name of our estimable and much-loved Brigadier General [Zollicoffer], and if they fail in the pronunciation they are put down on the ‘fatigue list.’”<sup>48</sup>

Camp commanders across Tennessee had difficulty acquiring proper arms for their men. The state’s Military and Finance Board reported on October 1, 1861:

Arms and ammunition...were the most difficult of attainment. The blockade then and still existing all around the Southern States rendered the importation of these articles almost impossible. At the time of the organization of this board there was a not a cap factory in the whole South, nor a powder mill in operation, nor a manufactory of small arms to any extent, and but one cannon foundry.<sup>49</sup>

Tennessee began the war with few guns in the state arsenal. In January 1861, it had “8,761 muskets and rifles, 350 carbines, four pieces of artillery, and a small lot of pistols and sabers, with 1,815 muskets and rifles, 228 pistols and 200 sabers in the hands of volunteer companies.” Of these numbers, 4,300 of the muskets were severely damaged,

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<sup>47</sup> W. J. McMurray, “Twentieth Tennessee Infantry,” in *The Military Annals of Tennessee*, ed. John Berrien Lindsley (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, 1974), 386.

<sup>48</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 40.

<sup>49</sup> Horn, 26.

all of the carbines were “flint-lock and unserviceable,” and two of the artillery pieces were also not fit for use.<sup>50</sup>

Procuring arms for his men was a constant struggle for Col. Hatton, commander of the Seventh Tennessee. On an order from his commander, Col. Hatton hunted for adequate weapons, beginning in Nashville on May 29, shortly after his arrival at Camp Trousdale. Hatton reported slow progress: “. . .still working hard, getting up my arms. . . I send out muskets first, but am to have rifles, in a few days. Am collecting them as fast as possible.”<sup>51</sup> Arming the men was a long and tedious affair that required many trips. Col. Hatton returned to Nashville on June 3 writing “am on a gun hunt—have not completed the arming of my regiment. Will do so, I trust, to-day or to-morrow.”<sup>52</sup> Col. Hatton made yet another trip to Nashville on June 30 on orders from Gen. Zollicoffer “to procure Ordnance Stores, and to make some arrangement for the more complete outfit of my regiment.”<sup>53</sup>

Col. Hatton obtained some Mississippi rifles for his men, which he considered “the best gun in the service.”<sup>54</sup> The men with Mississippi rifles held great advantages over the many other men at Camp Trousdale who received “antiquated flint lock muskets, that carried one large round ball and three buckshot, which was but little service in wet

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<sup>50</sup> Horn, 19.

<sup>51</sup> Drake, 354.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 361.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 355.



weather.”<sup>55</sup> An official report dated July 31, 1861 gave these numbers: “Colonel Fulton’s regiment, 889 men, percussion muskets; Colonel Palmer’s regiment, 883 men, flint-lock muskets; Colonel Savage’s regiment, 952 men, flint-lock muskets; Colonel Newman’s regiment, 914 men, flint-lock muskets; Colonel Battle’s regiment, 880 men, flint-lock muskets.”<sup>56</sup>

Without proper arms, the men stood guard with sticks. S. C. Talley, a Baptist preacher, made a visit to the camp on September 8<sup>th</sup>. Upon approaching the camp’s perimeter, “a man armed with a stick” stopped him. “My first impression was that it was a hoax,” continued Talley in his reminiscence. After encountering more stick-armed guards, he understood it was not a joke.<sup>57</sup> When the men finally started drawing weapons, they received guns that weren’t always in the best condition. Writes a man from Company E of the Twentieth Tennessee,

... we procured a few antiquated muskets, some of which had not likely been fired since the Revolution; but they had bayonets and when we proudly walked our beats with real guns on our shoulders, we felt that we were indeed “heroes,” but fancy the disgust of one of our young heroes when he drew rammer and dropped it into the barrel to hear it ring— instead of a ring it was a dull thud, the barrel being nearly half full of home-made soap.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> W. J. McMurray, *History of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A.* (Nashville: The Publication Committee, 1904), 190-191.

<sup>56</sup> “Forces in Middle Tennessee: Infantry at Camp Trousdale,” July 31, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, vol. 52, Part 2, *Confederate Correspondence, Etc.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 122.

<sup>57</sup> S. C. Talley, “A Sabbath at Camp Trousdale,” *Tennessee Baptist*, Oct 5, 1861.

<sup>58</sup> McMurray, *History of the Twentieth Tennessee*, 117.

One man was assigned the exact same musket he carried through the Mexican War fifteen years earlier, the gun bearing the inscription of his name.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the fact that many of the men remain unarmed, on June 13<sup>th</sup> camp command decided to test the men by sounding an alarm. Under the impression that federal troops were advancing on the camp's position, the soldiers grabbed whatever they could, "poles, clubs, rocks, shovels, spades, tongs and various other implements of war," and prepared to fight.<sup>60</sup> Capt. Womack, of the Sixteenth Tennessee, reflected on the event in his diary, describing the men as "dauntless" and stating that "had an enemy charged our camp he could not have escaped without having been severely flogged."<sup>61</sup> Carroll H. Clark, also of the Sixteenth Tennessee, was not as boastful: "We were notified before going far that it was a false alarm...Some seemed to be sorry that we didn't get to 'clean-up' but I was glad that it was a false alarm."<sup>62</sup>

The presence of fired bullets (see Figure 9) on the farm suggests one of two scenarios. First, camp command could possibly have established a shooting range for practice, though no documentary evidence directly discusses shooting practice. This scenario is most as marksmanship is an accepted part of military training. If there was no established range for practice, the men may have practiced on their own by taking aim at

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<sup>59</sup> "The Nashville *Banner* says....," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 12, 1861.

<sup>60</sup> Womack, 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>62</sup> C.W. Clark, Jr. *My Grandfather's Diary of the War: Carroll H. Clark Co. I Sixteenth Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, C.S.A.* (American Bindery East, 1990), no page numbers listed.



**Figure 9.** Items found on the Camp Trousdale portion of the farm. The image contains four fired and one unfired bullets, three coins, three military buttons, and what appears to be spooled wire. Image by the author, 2012.

a tree, animal, or other improvised target on the fringes of the camping grounds.

Archaeological excavation of the camping area may shed more light on this aspect of training.

The men faced a greater threat than a Federal attack in this early stage of the war.

“Gabriel McCraw, of my Company, died this morning about eight o’clock, the first death

that has occurred in the Mountain Regiment,” writes Cpt. Womack on June 17.<sup>63</sup> Many companies at Camp Trousdale shared this experience as disease was often responsible for their first casualties. The situation was similar at Camp Cheatham in Robertson County. The Third Tennessee relocated to Camp Trousdale on July 26 because so many of the unit’s men had gotten sick at Cheatham.<sup>64</sup> Samuel H. Stout, regimental surgeon for the Third, treated his men in a “well appointed hospital tent near a spring of excellent water.”<sup>65</sup>

Stout soon had plenty of patients. Measles, dysentery, typhoid, and diarrhea swept the camp, and a “Report of the Sick at Camp Trousdale” ordered camp command to carry out strict inspections of the campsites. It also recommended that recovering patients abstain from eating “unwholesome foods such as unripe fruit, pies, unfermented cider, musk melons, cucumbers, and sweetmeats.”<sup>66</sup> There was also what Dr. Stout referred to as a “sequela of measles.”<sup>67</sup> This was any other illness that attacked an immune system weakened by the measles, and it left in its wake many deaths and many more invalids.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Womack, 5.

<sup>64</sup> Larry G. Brown and Jack B. Scroggs, eds., “Diary of a Confederate Soldier,” *Military Review: The Professional Journal of the US Army* 62, no 2 (1982): 22.

<sup>65</sup> Samuel H. Stout, “Some Facts of the History of the Organization of Medical Service of the Confederate Armies and Hospitals,” vol. 23 of *The Southern Practitioner* (Nashville: Jno. Rundle & Sons, Printers and Binders, 1901), 264.

<sup>66</sup> Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, *Confederate Hospitals on the Move: Samuel H. Stout and the Army of Tennessee* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 43.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.



**Figure 10.** Glass items found on the Camp Trousdale portion of the farm that may be connected to the camp. Image includes medicine bottles and pieces of broken glass. Image by author, 2012.

With six thousand men camping in one location during hot summer months, conditions quickly deteriorated and sanitation, never good, grew worse. Infections spread due to “open ditch latrines” and the disposal of butchered animal carcasses in on-site sinkholes, which then drained into the water source.<sup>69</sup> The sicker the camp became, the more the soil was contaminated. Unless there was a proactive commander working alongside his

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<sup>69</sup> Edwin L. Ferguson, *Sumner County, Tennessee in the Civil War* (Tompkinsville: Monroe County Press, 1972), 7.

regimental surgeon to enforce proper hygiene and sanitation, the rampant diseases could not be “successfully combated.”<sup>70</sup>

Many men pointed to the inability of some to acclimate to their new environment as a reason for widespread sickness. J. L. Fite, assistant surgeon for the Seventh Tennessee, testified:

The radical change of life, with volunteers, from the ordinary civil pursuits, to military life, with its fatigue, privation, exposure, and rigid discipline, produced a physical revolution in the soldier, that disposed his system to diseases, which differed, in many respects, from the common forms of sickness, observed in the routine of civil practice.<sup>71</sup>

In a letter to the *Fayetteville Observer*, Chaplain Tucker, of the Eighth Tennessee, added, “Some are complaining and have been quite sick, which is not uncommon in camps, especially with those who have not been used to exposure and act imprudently.”<sup>72</sup>

Soldiers believed “the change of diet and habits of life” brought measles to the camp, the presence of which seemed to them to impact the youngest soldiers the most. Some of the strongest young men succumbed to death after only a few days of sickness, a sight that was sure to dent the morale of many soldiers.<sup>73</sup>

Disease thinned the ranks at Camp Trousdale. It did not discriminate, affecting both the officers and their men. Those who did not die from their illness were laid up in hospitals on the camping grounds. The improvised hospitals at Camp Trousdale, such as

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<sup>70</sup> Fite, 437.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 436.

<sup>72</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 25.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

the one at the Cold Spring School, were overburdened quickly, and men were sent to Nashville for treatment.<sup>74</sup> In Nashville, warehouses and stores became makeshift hospitals staffed with local doctors and women volunteers. When these were filled, private homes began taking in soldiers rendering “almost every house...an improvised hospital.” The ability to treat the men was weakened again when medical supplies dwindled.<sup>75</sup> Some Nashville doctors traveled to Camp Trousdale to tend the sick.<sup>76</sup> Those men well enough for travel were given furloughs to return home and recuperate.<sup>77</sup> Capt. Womack, of the Sixteenth Tennessee, issued five twenty-day furloughs in addition to a fifteen-day furlough and a ten-day furlough on June 18 alone.<sup>78</sup> Some of the men sent home did not recover. Others died en route.<sup>79</sup>

Good leadership lessened the impact of disease. Col. Hatton, of the Seventh Tennessee, consulted with his regimental surgeon regularly and made sure the surgeon had medical necessities to treat their sick. Col. Hatton also ensured “that the nurses were on post, and that the medical officer had made the proper disposition for the comfort of the sick” and strictly imposed hygiene and sanitation regulations. Fite reported that “the

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<sup>74</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 46.

<sup>75</sup> A.M.B., “Foraging Around Nashville,” in *Our Women in the War: The Lives They Lived; The Deaths They Died* (Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1885), 376.

<sup>76</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 46.

<sup>77</sup> McMurray, *History of the Twentieth*, 117.

<sup>78</sup> Womack, 6.

<sup>79</sup> “Tribute to a Soldier,” *Nashville Union and American*, Aug 2, 1861.

police of Quarters and Hospital, attention to cleanliness of person and clothes; and in fact, everything that pertained to the comfort, convenience and health of his command, were, at all times, under his searching eye, and made particular objects of his careful inspection.”<sup>80</sup>

In a letter to his hometown paper dated June 28, Capt. G. W. Higgins, of the Eighth Tennessee, documented how disease could ravage a single company. At the organization of the Eighth, Company G numbered only seventy-eight men, but within weeks, “discharges, promotions, sickness, etc.” reduced it to “hardly a corporal’s guard.” One day Capt. Higgins recorded: “absent sick, 5; present sick, 10; attendants on sick, 2; discharged, 1; promoted, 1.” Capt. Higgins was left with a company of only fifty-three men. The small number of actives did not lessen the company’s responsibility to provide a certain number of soldiers to perform “guard and fatigue duty.” “A minimum company of 76 men” was expected to do the same amount of work “as a maximum company of 104 men,” observed Capt. Higgins. “This is hard work on a small company,” he concluded.<sup>81</sup>

Adding to the health dangers at Camp Trousdale was the location of a burial ground within the vicinity of the camping grounds. Moses Joseph Nichols told his grandmother on July 1, “One man died last Saturday in [Newman’s] regiment, and they buried him yesterday in honor of war. I happened to be over there when the[y] started with him I went to the burying[.] [W]hen we got there we found a camp ground

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<sup>80</sup> Drake, 437-438.

<sup>81</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 26-27.



surrounded with tombs.” Although the service was somber but impressive, with a “twenty four guns” salute, Nichols concluded, “I would not like to be buried here if I were to die, but would want to be brought home.”<sup>82</sup> Assistant surgeon Fite, of the Seventh Tennessee, also wrote about regimental “grave-yards at Camp Trousdale.”<sup>83</sup> If any of these burial sites remain at Cold Spring Farm, it is not known.

The presence of disease and death did not slow the steady stream of visitors to the camp. Most visitors arrived by rail (see Figure 11) and took “a horse-drawn omnibus” from Richland Station.<sup>84</sup> Family and friends of the soldiers made “visits every week,” bringing with them “clothing and boxes of something to eat.”<sup>85</sup> The busiest days for visitors were Saturdays and Sundays. Dr. Stout likened the camp scene to a picnic due to the amount of “parents, relatives of every degree, sweethearts, wives and even infants” that visited each week.<sup>86</sup> Col. Hatton, commander of the Seventh Tennessee, noted, “Crowds, from Wilson [County], visit our camp, almost daily.”<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Moses Joseph Nichols to Malinda Jared, Camp Trousdale, July 1, 1861, W.P.A. Civil War Records, Volume 3, in *Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook*, <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com/collection.pdf/1861-07/1861-07-Article-1-Page2.pdf>.

<sup>83</sup> Fite, 437.

<sup>84</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 40.

<sup>85</sup> John C. Spence, *The Annals of Rutherford County: Volume Two, 1829-1870* (Murfreesboro, Tennessee: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 149.

<sup>86</sup> Stout, 585.

<sup>87</sup> Drake, 357.



**Figure 11.** Railroad advertisement for trips to Camp Trousdale from the *Daily Nashville Patriot*, June 21, 1861.

Visitors bolstered camp morale, and their gifts supplemented military diets. Many visitors received dress parades or drill exercises, an occurrence that served not only to entertain but also to spread a sense of pride through the ranks.<sup>88</sup> Col. Hatton had his son Reilly stay a few days with him while at the camp, reporting to his wife that Reilly “is a great pet with the men—all of them paying him great attention.”<sup>89</sup> Col. Goodner, also of the Seventh, reported a “great many lady visitors...every day from all the towns around

<sup>88</sup> “Camp Trousdale,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 5, 1861.

<sup>89</sup> Drake, 355.

in the adjoin counties.”<sup>90</sup> While officers permitted social interaction between the sexes, they did not tolerate inappropriate conduct. For simply “kissing his hand at a lady unknown to him,” one soldier was “put under guard for six days.”<sup>91</sup>

Like visitors, religion also affected soldier morale. Numerous men at Camp Trousdale wrote on the importance and prevalence of religion in the camp. A Baptist preacher visiting the camp in September was “extended... a generous welcome” as soldiers offered to share their food, coffee, and beds.<sup>92</sup> Ben Jobe and his five messmates had “family Prayer [every] night” and asserted that he had “no [difficulty] in living a Religious life” despite the prevalence of alcohol and other distractions.<sup>93</sup> Some men found courage in their religion. Others struggled to reconcile the Bible’s teachings with war. Carroll Clark spoke about a soldier who received a furlough to return home for his baptism. Upon returning to Camp Trousdale, Clark felt the man “was not much soldier afterwards, which proves that it is wrong for a Christian to go to war.”<sup>94</sup> Responsibilities at camp overwhelmed many soldiers, who expressed in letters and diaries their remorse for not keeping up with biblical studies. Col. Hatton, for example, reported to his wife

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<sup>90</sup> John Goodner to Lizzie Floyd, Camp Trousdale, June 18, 1861, in *The Goodner Family Book* (Hubert Lacey, 1960), [http://goodnerfamilybook.goodner.info/james\\_goodner.htm](http://goodnerfamilybook.goodner.info/james_goodner.htm) (accessed January 11, 2011).

<sup>91</sup> Moore, 92.

<sup>92</sup> S. C. Talley, “A Sabbath at Camp Trousdale,” *Tennessee Baptist*, Oct 5, 1861.

<sup>93</sup> Ben Jobe to his sister, June 11, 1861, Dewitt Smith Jobe Letters.

<sup>94</sup> Clark, *My Grandfather’s Diary of the War*.

that he was “not reading up to the task I had assigned to myself—the number of chapters in the Bible, I mean.”<sup>95</sup>

Regimental chaplains typically conducted sermons each Sunday. A drum-call gathered the troops for the sermon at 9:30 a.m. with another service taking place at 5:00 p.m. Observing a Sabbath at Camp Trousdale, a correspondent for the *Christian Advocate* witnessed no “dram-drinking or card-playing” nor heard any profanity.<sup>96</sup> Chaplain David Tucker, of the Eighth Tennessee, wrote of Saturday and Sunday prayer meetings with numerous services held throughout the day on Sundays.<sup>97</sup> Some of the more pious soldiers took offense to working on the Sabbath. After just a few weeks at camp, Capt. Womack, of the Sixteenth Tennessee, complained, “I am shocked to see such a total disregard for the Holy Sabbath. Commanders of the army may excuse themselves for thus occupying the holy hours given for man’s rest and devotion to God, but I do not conclude the Great Ruler of battles will.”<sup>98</sup>

For a few, neither visitors nor faith were enough. These soldiers became deserters. The punishment for desertion in these early days of the war was simple humiliation. Two soldiers of the Sixteenth Regiment, Edward Bradford and Capt. Womack, describe how their regiment handled desertion. Bradford reported camp command caught one deserter

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<sup>95</sup> Drake, 359.

<sup>96</sup> Moore, 92.

<sup>97</sup> *Cheat Mountain*, 27.

<sup>98</sup> Womack, 4.

and brought him back to camp.<sup>99</sup> Capt. Womack described this soldier's punishment: "A deserter...was mustered out of service this evening, with his head bare and half shaved, bared footed, his pants rolled above the knees, his shoes in hand, with 'Deserter' marked in large letters on boards across his breast and shoulders, his knapsack on his back and wearing long white horns painted red."<sup>100</sup> Bradford writes this soldier "made tracks for Kentucky as soon as he was turned loose."<sup>101</sup>

Throughout the summer of 1861, Kentucky Confederates crossed the Tennessee border and enlisted at Camps Trousdale, Boone, and Cheatham. A Bowling Green diarist claimed that by August, you men no longer accepted the state's official neutrality and headed either south to Tennessee to join the Confederacy or north to enlist in the Federal Army. Once they encountered the dangers of camp life, however, many decided to return home. Journalists in Bowling Green reported that between July 10 and July 25 alone 150 soldiers had deserted camps of instruction along the state line, most of these men coming from Camp Trousdale. For their homecoming, one group of elated deserters "bore in triumph the secession flag," which was promptly "torn into tatters" and "trampled under

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<sup>99</sup> Edward Bradford to his mother, Camp Trousdale, July 12, 1861, Federick Bradford Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, in *Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook*, <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com/collection.pdf/1861-07/1861-07-Article-22-Page29.pdf> (accessed September 9, 2010).

<sup>100</sup> Womack, 8.

<sup>101</sup> Edward Bradford to his mother, July 12, 1861.

foot.” Before catching the train to Louisville, the rowdy crowd gave “three cheers for the Union... with a hearty will.”<sup>102</sup>

Some deserters did not have such an easy time abandoning their camp as Confederate officers often chased them across the state line into Kentucky, a violation of neutrality which upset the state. Kentucky Unionists wanted to see the Army of Tennessee held responsible for its actions: “Tennessee will have to give some account of the marching of squads over Kentucky soil to seize ‘deserters’—that is, Kentuckians who have left Camp Boone, Camp Trousdale and other camps, and returned home.”<sup>103</sup> Capt. James Baber refused to tolerate desertion and went so far as to chase down one of his soldiers from Simpson County, Kentucky. He caught up to the deserter in the nearby town of Franklin, Kentucky on July 6.<sup>104</sup> What happened to the soldier is not yet known.

Many sources relate the presence of women and African Americans in or around the camp. In numerous letters, the men speak of three important female contributions: sewing and presenting flags; providing baked goods and other homemade treats; and boosting the morale of the men by visiting their camp. Col. John F. Goodner, of the Seventh Tennessee, told Miss Lizzie Floyd, “I understand that you are getting us a Stand of Colors to be presented to our Company, and I want you and several of the young ladies

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<sup>102</sup> “Desertion of Confederate Troops,” *The Louisville Daily Journal*, July 25, 1861.

<sup>103</sup> “What Was Decided by the Kentucky Elections---What Demands are to be Made of Tennessee,” *Nashville Daily Patriot*, August 8, 1861. Reprinted from the *Louisville Democrat*, August 6, 1861.

<sup>104</sup> Durham, 87.

to come over here and present it to us.”<sup>105</sup> He also told Floyd that soldiers appreciated the many “vegetables and sweetmeats” that were sent or brought to the camp.<sup>106</sup>

A woman simply known as “Miss A. M. B. of Jacksonville, Fla.” described the early wartime contributions of women in Nashville to the soldiers at Camp Trousdale. Women sewed uniform articles and knitted socks. From the harvest, they saved large quantities of vegetables in order to send to the soldiers. She states that seldom a train left for Bowling Green without “pound cakes, pies, pickles and many other toothsome articles” for the soldiers at Camp Trousdale. When the camp was hit with disease and soldiers were sent to Nashville for treatment, the women took on roles as nurses.<sup>107</sup> Since Camp Trousdale lacked adequate hospital facilities to tend to all the sick, local women volunteered to assist. A Gallatin resident, Mrs. M. C. Blakemore, took an active role in fund raising with the aim of relocating the soldiers to Gallatin for proper care. She even enlisted the volunteer services of three local doctors, but according to historian Walter Durham, “it is not certain that their offers were accepted.”<sup>108</sup> Two other women, Ann L. Brooks and Susan Alford, set up a hospital tent at the camp with the permission of Col. Joel Battle, caring for the sick until Gen. Zollicoffer’s move to Kentucky.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Goodner to Floyd, June 18, 1861.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> A.M.B., 376.

<sup>108</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 45.

<sup>109</sup> Deering J. Roberts, “A Southern Nightingale,” *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House Building, 1922), 30:116.

Slave owning soldiers brought their slaves to camp. Col. Goodner, of the Seventh Tennessee, relates in a letter home that he “luckily found...a very smart Negro boy” who was “a good cook.”<sup>110</sup> Comprised mostly of college age men from Williamson County, Company D of the Twentieth Tennessee was said to have entered the camp with “more negroes to wait on them than any other two companies in the regiment.”<sup>111</sup> Dr. Stout, surgeon for the Third Tennessee, recorded that “at Camps Cheatham and Trousdale and Bowling Green there were following the regiment almost seventy-five valuable, active slaves accompanying their masters, officers and privates.”<sup>112</sup> An unnamed company in another regiment had a dozen or so slaves with them.<sup>113</sup> Slaves served in a variety of capacities, from body servant to cook to messenger. One slave, Jno. L. Brown, had the responsibility of delivering “dispatches to Genl. Felix Zollicoffer.”<sup>114</sup> They also were typically responsible for loading and unloading wagons and train cars and sometimes served as attendants in the hospitals.<sup>115</sup> Not all the African Americans associated with the camp were slaves. Freedmen could also be found near camp sites selling items to make money. Carroll H. Clark, a member of the Sixteenth Tennessee, recalled there being “a

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<sup>110</sup> Goodner to Floyd, June 28, 1861.

<sup>111</sup> McMurray, *History of the Twentieth Tennessee*, 103.

<sup>112</sup> Stout, 585.

<sup>113</sup> “Letters from the Camp,” *Nashville Union and American*, June 7, 1861.

<sup>114</sup> Pat Spurlock Elder, *Tennessee Colored Confederate Veteran Pension Applications* (Blountville, Tennessee: Continuity Press, 1997), 171.

<sup>115</sup> Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (New York City: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1989), 48.



big fat Negro who had a cake and cider stand” near the camp.<sup>116</sup> Another soldier fondly recalled “Tom Duncan [...] who was one of the most faithful men in the Regiment, was always at his post to cook and wash for Company K, and was a great favorite with the Regiment; and if he is dead he deserves a Confederate monument.”<sup>117</sup>

Like the first location of Camp Trousdale outside of Richland Station, Confederate command abandoned the Cold Spring site due to the pervasiveness of disease. The camp relocated closer to Mitchellville (see Figure 12), and the construction of the floorless wood frame barracks located there was completed by December 1, 1861.<sup>118</sup> This third site served the Confederate Army as winter barracks until Major General William J. Hardee ordered its destruction on February 15, 1862 in the wake of the Confederate losses in Kentucky.<sup>119</sup>

Of the three Camp Trousdale sites, only the Cold Spring Farm retains true historical integrity. Residential construction covers the first site near the Richland Station depot, and the depot itself is no longer extant. Though the third site remains relatively undisturbed, the construction of the Tennessee Gas Pipeline industrial plant on the perimeter of the camp “is a major intrusion,” resulting in the loss of “its sense of time and place.”<sup>120</sup> The Cold Spring site has no physical or viewshed intrusions, and nearly all of

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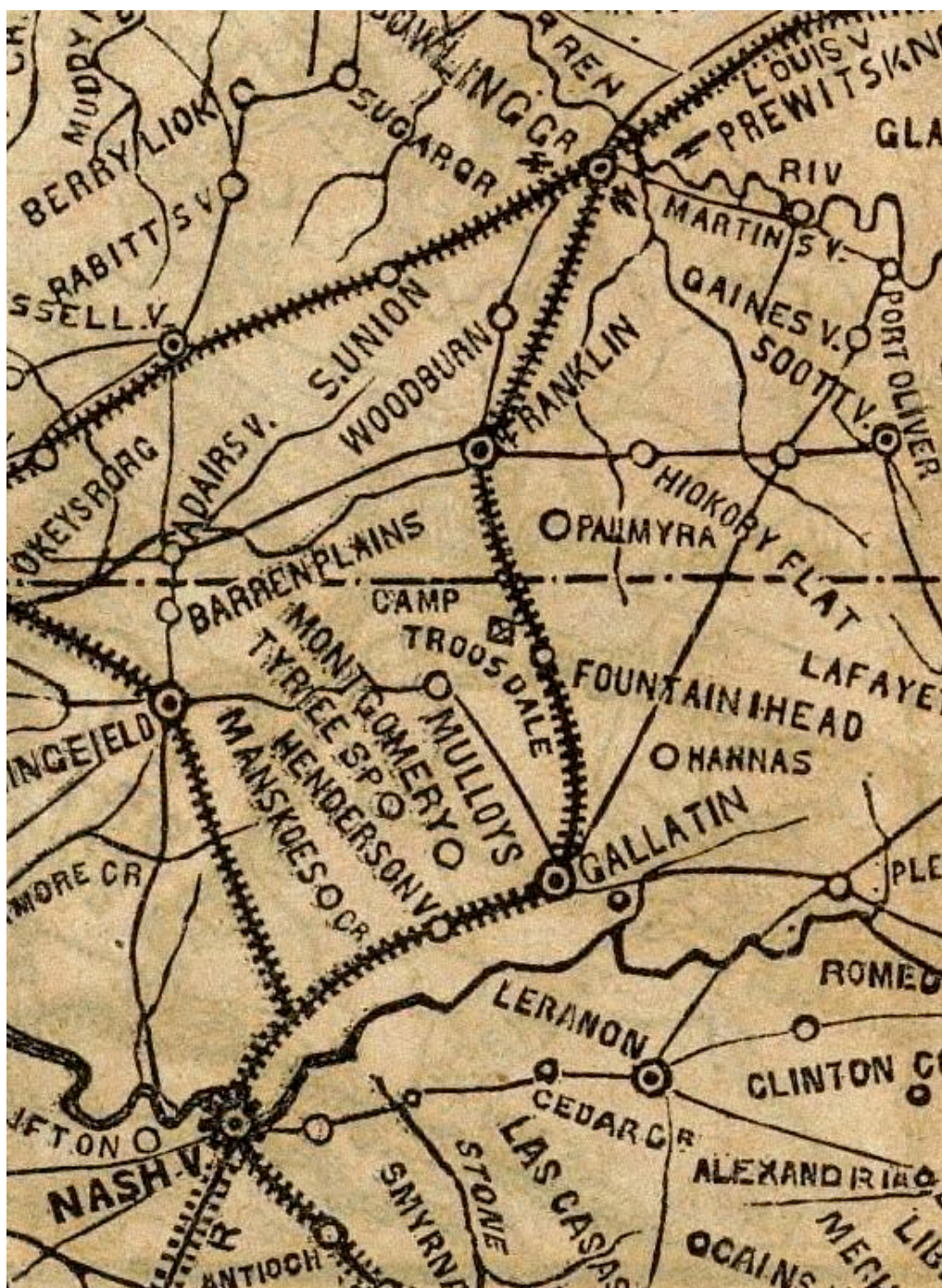
<sup>116</sup> Clark, *My Grandfather's Diary of the War*.

<sup>117</sup> McMurray, *History of the Twentieth Tennessee*, 182.

<sup>118</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 47.

<sup>119</sup> *War of the Rebellion*, 274.

<sup>120</sup> National Register of Historic Places, Camp Trousdale, Portland, Sumner County, Tennessee, National Register #98001187.



**Figure 12.** Map showing the third location of Camp Trousdale (at center) along the Kentucky-Tennessee border near Mitchellville, TN. From the *New York Herald*, November 16, 1861. Courtesy David Rumsey Map Collection.

the camping grounds remain open space through agricultural use. As with the Native American artifacts, the McGlothlin family has also put together a small collection of Civil War era artifacts: fired and unfired bullets, medicine bottles, flasks, eating utensils, bricks, coins, and other items. The site no doubt holds significant archaeological potential, and professional excavation and analysis of such items would shed light on camp layout and camp life, as well as burial sites.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> National Register of Historic Places, Camp Trousdale.

## CHAPTER III

## AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS AT COLD SPRING FARM

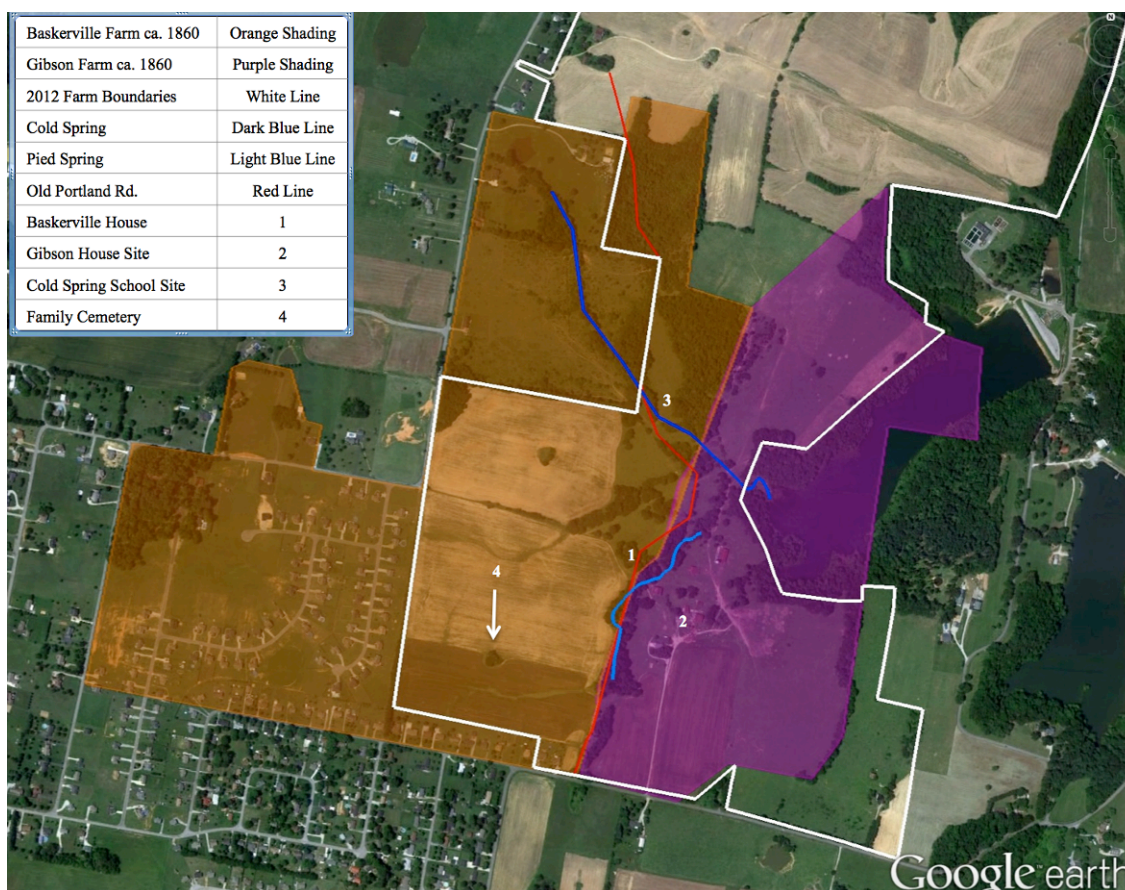
The current boundaries of Cold Spring Farm incorporate the three historic farms of Thomas Baskerville, O.H.P. Duval, and John Gibson. The present day owners, the McGlothlin family, trace their roots back to John Gibson by blood and Thomas Baskerville by marriage rendering the farm eligible for the Tennessee Century Farms Program. Over 150 years of farming has left its imprint on the land, physical evidence of the lives of the families who have called this place “home.” According to Richard Longstreth, “farmstead[s]” are too often “discussed and evaluated primarily for the residence and perhaps for some of its outbuildings but seldom for its setting....” Longstreth urges historians to look past the houses and the barns and to include interpretation of “fence and field patterns, water sources, [and] landforms,” in order to understand how and why the landscape has changed over time.<sup>1</sup>

The Cold and Pied Springs, the historic property lines, the old Portland Road bed, the family cemetery, and the Thomas Baskerville house are all extant evidence of Cold Spring Farm’s early agricultural history. These are the only remaining features of the farm’s pre-1900s agricultural landscape, so much of this period of history is derived from primary sources like deeds, tax records, lawsuits, land surveys, and the 1878 Beers map of Sumner County. In overlaying late 1800s property surveys upon present day aerial

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Longstreth, “Introduction: The Challenges of Cultural Landscape for Preservation,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 2.





**Figure 13.** Pre 1900s agricultural landscape of Cold Spring Farm. Created by author.

imagery as is illustrated in Figure 13, the historic property lines of the farms of Thomas Baskerville, John Gibson, and O. H. P. Duval become apparent. By additionally mapping the site locations of the Cold Springs School (now located in Richland Park), the Portland Road bed, and the John Gibson house, the formation of the mid-1800s Cold Spring farming community materializes.

## The Late Antebellum Era

In the 1850s, crop and livestock production for both home and market characterized Middle Tennessee agriculture, distinguishing it from the more pervasive patterns of subsistence farming in East Tennessee and the cotton plantations of West Tennessee.<sup>2</sup> Sumner County also was an important tobacco producer, capable of producing both the burley and dark fired varieties, burley being more suited to smoking tobacco and dark-fired for snuff and chew.<sup>3</sup> The expansive network of rivers, railroads, and roads provided Middle Tennessee farmers the mechanism through which to get their surplus crops and livestock to markets with relative ease. All of these factors combined to give Middle Tennessee the highest average land value in the state.<sup>4</sup>

The agricultural history of present day Cold Spring Farm begins in 1851 with John Gibson. Little is known about Gibson as he left no letters, no journal, and much of his imprint on the land has long since been lost. Only a few remaining pecan trees mark his house site; there is only one known photograph of his house (see figure 14). Gibson's farming activities are traced through Census schedules, tax and estate records, and deeds. On January 26, 1849, John Gibson married Angeline Snyder in Tennessee.<sup>5</sup> The Gibsons

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<sup>2</sup> Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen: 1840-1860* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942), 8.

<sup>3</sup> Donald L. Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 58-61.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, *Tennessee Yeomen*, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry.com, *Tennessee State Marriages, 1780-2002* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008).



**Figure 14.** Bill McGlothlin in foreground with the Gibson house in the background. Ca. 1955.

established their farm, the genesis of Cold Spring Farm, in February 1851 when they purchased 52.5 acres from Hezekiah Tribble for \$236.75. The eastern boundary of the Gibson place bordered the farm of Thomas Baskerville and the northern boundary bordered the plantation of Dr. Oliver Hazard Perry (“O.H.P.”) Duval.<sup>6</sup>

Twenty-one year old Kentucky native John Gibson and his wife Angeline, age twenty, had only one child at this time, a six-month-old son named William. The 1850

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<sup>6</sup> Deed of sale from Hezekiah Tribble to John Gibson, July 14, 1851, private collection, Portland, Tennessee.

Census places the young Gibson family in the same community as Baskerville and Duval despite the fact that it was enumerated a year before John's land purchase from Hezekiah Tribble. His real estate value was zero though his occupation was farming, indicating that Gibson may have worked as a tenant farmer or renter before his 1851 land purchase.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Baskerville was a Tennessean by birth and a farmer by profession. By 1850, forty-one year old Thomas and thirty-two year old Eliza had five children: Elizabeth, Abner, Richard, William, and Mary. His total investment in real estate was \$1500, and he had four slaves, one thirty-seven year old woman and three males ages eighteen, twelve, and two.<sup>8</sup> Tennessee-born physician-farmer O.H.P. Duval and his wife Caroline, ages twenty-nine and twenty-five respectively, had three children: Mary, Elizabeth, and William. Duval's value of real estate was \$1500, and he had four slaves: two males, ages twenty-nine and six, and two females, ages nineteen and fourteen.<sup>9</sup>

The farms and families of Gibson, Baskerville, and Duval blossomed in the decade following the 1850 census. The Gibsons had five more children before 1860 and

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<sup>7</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm. Robert Tracy McKenzie, *One South or Many? Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era Tennessee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 27.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Slave Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm; U.S. Census, *Population Schedule, 1850*.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Census, *Agricultural Schedules, 1860*.



built a gable-roofed house some time in the years before the war.<sup>10</sup> Tax and census records from the 1850s and 1860s reveal that John was at no point a slave owner, giving him a status within the agricultural middle class as a yeoman farmer.<sup>11</sup> Gibson's non-slaveholding status accounts for his personal wealth in 1860 being so much lower than that of his neighbors. In 1856, the size and value of the Gibson farm more than doubled when John purchased seventy-one acres from his neighbor O.H.P. Duval. The overall size of his farm placed him well within the average acres owned by non-slaveholders, 51 to 200 acres, at that time.<sup>12</sup> Compared to the farms of Duval and Baskerville, Gibson's farm was modest, but it had no trouble producing diverse livestock and staple crops like oats, corn, and wheat. The value of real estate held by Gibson also surged during this decade, going from zero to \$12,800 by 1860.<sup>13</sup>

The Baskervilles had one more child, a son named Henry in 1851, before Eliza died on August 20, 1853. Thomas buried her on the farm, her grave being the first in what becomes the current Baskerville, McGlothlin, and Gibson family cemetery.

Baskerville married his second wife, Kentucky native Jane Gautier, on July 10, 1855.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1860*; William and Penny McGlothlin, interview by author, Portland, TN, March 9, 2012. Though a photograph of the building has been uncovered, the perspective of the shot is not detailed enough to make any arguments for exact construction style, date, or materials.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *Tennessee Yeomen*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 46. Deed of sale from O.H.P. Duval to John Gibson, March 22, 1856, private collection, Portland, Tennessee.

<sup>13</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1860*.

<sup>14</sup> Ancestry.com, *Tennessee State Marriages, 1780-2002*.

Architectural assessment of the extant Baskerville house (see Figure 15) by preservation specialist Michael Gavin indicates that it was built circa 1860, the gable roof frame house most likely replacing a prior dwelling.<sup>15</sup> About 1857, he donated or sold a plot of land for the construction of a schoolhouse. Named Cold Springs School (see Figure 16) for the springs running through Baskerville's property, the gable roofed single room log building served the community as both a school and the meeting place for the Mitchellville Missionary Baptist Church and the Portland Church of Christ.<sup>16</sup>

By 1860, Baskerville had five slaves and no identified slave dwellings. Baskerville's value of real estate spiked from \$1400 to \$6000 in just four years, and his personal estate was valued at \$7820.<sup>17</sup> The cash value of his farm, consisting of 100 improved acres and 200 unimproved acres, was \$3000, and he had \$125 invested in farming machinery. Baskerville had eighty-four heads of livestock, eight of which were horses. For crops like corn and wheat, Baskerville's production was roughly twice that of Gibson's. Baskerville additionally grew the cash crop tobacco, producing about 4500 pounds in 1860.<sup>18</sup> Cultivation of such crops required the use of tobacco barns and corn cribs, but no such buildings remain today.

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<sup>15</sup> *Cold Spring Farm, Portland, TN: Heritage Development Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, 2011), 38.

<sup>16</sup> "A Brief History of Cold Springs School," from an undated pamphlet entitled *Cold Springs School*, private collection, Portland, Tennessee.

<sup>17</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1860*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 15.** Thomas Baskerville house constructed ca. 1860. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.



**Figure 16.** Cold Spring School constructed ca. 1857. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2010.

The 1850s ushered in substantial growth as well as personal loss for O.H.P. and Caroline Duval. Just months after the enumeration for the 1850 census was complete, the Duvals lost their daughter Elizabeth; she was just shy of five years old. A son born in 1856, Charles Oliver, died at seven months old.<sup>19</sup> Despite these hardships, the Duvals had three more children before the 1860 enumeration: Philadelphia, Samuel, and Laura. Duval's investment in real estate surged 91% during these years, going from \$1,500 in 1850 to \$16,000 in 1860.<sup>20</sup> His slave holdings also grew, from four in 1850 to eighteen in 1860. This latter number placed Duval almost within the category of "planter," using the benchmark of twenty slaves owned established by historian F. L. Owsley.<sup>21</sup> In addition to the Duval house, there were three slave dwellings and a few livestock barns. Duval's principal crops were wheat and corn, producing 1300 and 750 bushels respectively in 1860. Like with the Baskerville farm, no extant buildings associated with Duval's farm production or livestock cultivation remain at Cold Spring Farm.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Margaret Gwin Buchanan, *DuVals of Kentucky from Virginia 1794-1935: Descendants and Allied Families* (Lynchburg, Virginia: J.P. Bell Company, Inc., 1937), 174.

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1860*.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Census, *Slave Schedule, 1850*; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Slave Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm; Frank L. Owsley, *The Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1860*; McGlothlin, interview.

## The Coming of War

In 1860, Middle Tennessee farmers suffered a severe drought causing harvest numbers to fall far short of expectations.<sup>23</sup> Farmers were hard hit again as many young sons left to join the Confederacy when Tennessee Governor Isham Harris called for volunteers in April 1861. The Confederate call to arms affected farm operations directly as many farmers relied on the help of their sons. Thomas Baskerville's sons Abner and Richard both joined the Thirtieth Tennessee Infantry Regiment in October 1861, perhaps intentionally waiting to enlist until after the harvest was complete. Farmers also had difficulty moving crops to market due to military use of local railroads and turnpikes. The production of military supplies disrupted the production of agricultural tools and machinery, leaving many farmers without proper equipment.<sup>24</sup>

The Gibsons, Baskervilles, and Duvals encountered these difficulties daily due to the presence of Camp Trousdale. Motivated by the pervasive illness and lack of water at its first site in Richland Station, Confederate command relocated Camp Trousdale to the farm of Thomas Baskerville in early June 1861, operating out of this location until mid-October. Six thousand enlistees encamped on Baskerville's 300-acre farm. Upon arrival, the men spent most of their time prepping the camping area by clearing trees and brush, digging ditches, constructing relevant buildings, and assembling 1500 white cotton tents in neat rows organized first by regiment and then by company. The farm suddenly became a military installation. Cold Spring provided the abundant water source the camp

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<sup>23</sup> Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 65.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

lacked at its first location, and the undulating ground drained better than did the flat fields around Richland Station. Nearby Drake's Creek was used to bathe and clean clothes, and the ease of access via Groves Ford Road (now North Russel Street) resulted in a near unending stream of visiting friends and family. The health of the men improved instantly, but the disease free camping area could not be sustained long term.

Not only was the farm degraded, so too were the surrounding turnpikes and country roads. By the mid 1870s, rough estimates of town population put Richland Station at fifty and nearby Mitchellville at one hundred.<sup>25</sup> The influx of six thousand soldiers into an area with such a small population must have tremendously taxed local resources. How did local citizens cope? Were the Gibsons and Baskervilles victims of theft, violence, or property damage? With their water source contaminated, where did they go for drinkable water? Did the rampantly spreading diseases affect them? After the camp moved, who was responsible for clean up, and how long did it take the landscape to recover? Where were the Confederate dead buried, and were they relocated at a later date?

### **Federal Occupation: 1862-1865**

From letters, journals, and memoirs written by the Federal troops stationed at Mitchellville, a town situated approximately four miles northwest of Cold Spring Farm, it is clear that northwestern Sumner County was not spared the turbulent experience of life under Federal occupation. After the fall of Fort Donelson in February 1862, the

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<sup>25</sup> *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory For 1876-1877* (Nashville: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1876), 265 and 346.

Confederate retreat from Bowling Green, Kentucky brought thousands of men, horses, and wagons along the Louisville and Nashville Railroad through Mitchellville and Richland Station, stripping the area of many resources.<sup>26</sup> A March raid on Gallatin by Confederate cavalryman John Hunt Morgan destroyed “two bridges, a water tank, a construction train, and two locomotives, in addition to telegraph wires and apparatus.”<sup>27</sup> Morgan’s return in August resulted in extensive damage to the South Tunnel of the L & N railroad, effectively disabling the railroad and severing the Federal supply line to Middle Tennessee for a few months.<sup>28</sup>

Mitchellville became the temporary terminus of the L & N for Federal supply trains, and supplies were unloaded here and sent by wagon down the Louisville and Nashville Turnpike. While crews worked to repair the stretch of line from Mitchellville to Gallatin, Federal troops stationed at Mitchellville and other locations protected the railroad from further cavalry attacks. Upon arrival in Mitchellville, Federal soldiers found the town practically deserted and the landscape and farmers’ spirits thoroughly damaged.<sup>29</sup> Soldiers used fence rails for fire wood and picked gardens clean. Dwellings had shattered windows, broken frames, and blackened chimneys. The destruction stood as

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<sup>26</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 64.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 68-69.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>29</sup> L. G. Bennett and William M. Haigh, *History of the Thirty-Sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, During the War of the Rebellion* (Aurora, Illinois: Knickerbocker & Hodder, Printers and Binders, 1876), 306.

“painful monuments of rebellion and grim pictures of its bitter fruits,” wrote one Federal soldier in November 1861. “Ravage and desolation everywhere,” he concluded.<sup>30</sup>

Without the use of the railroad, the Federal army faced a logistical nightmare in supplying its troops in Nashville. At the capital, Federal troops subsisted on quarter rations, and the upper Middle Tennessee area had been so thoroughly stripped of its resources by retreating Confederates in February that Federal forage wagons had to make the 88-mile round trip to Mitchellville for supplies.<sup>31</sup> Those men stationed along the railroad for its repair and protection had to supplement supplies rations with local resources. In Mitchellville, soldiers or contrabands carried water in kettles on poles from nearly two miles away.<sup>32</sup> The lack of rail service also affected local civilians in that they could no longer import or export goods and supplies. Travel to nearby towns had to be made in stagecoach taxis along unsecured routes.<sup>33</sup>

With Federal occupation, the war had truly arrived in Sumner County. Initially, in 1862 Federal command forbade foraging and property destruction in the occupied territory, but overwhelming local support of Morgan’s raids that summer brought about a significant shift in Federal policy.<sup>34</sup> Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commander of the

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<sup>30</sup> W. D. B., *Rosecrans’ Campaign with the Fourteenth Army Corps, or the Army of the Cumberland* (Cincinnati: Moore, Wiltach, Keys & Co., 1863), 50.

<sup>31</sup> Mead Holmes, Jr., *Soldier of the Cumberland: Memoir of Mead Holmes, Jr.* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1864), 105-106.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>33</sup> Walter T. Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 1985), 113.

<sup>34</sup> Holmes, 102.



Federal force, ordered the patrol of local communities with the aim to “know the settlers, and arrest all interlopers. Whoever cannot give a good account of themselves,” he continued, “shoot or hang on the nearest tree.”<sup>35</sup> Instances of property damage and theft rose. In November, Federal troops burned houses and barns of local “Secesh,” an act defended by one soldier who wrote, “to guard the houses of rebels is a service most galling to the spirit of a true soldier; so now comes the retribution.” Many men stole fence rails to make beds, ignoring orders to return them and claiming the rails “were *somehow, broken just then* (emphasis in original).”<sup>36</sup> Hungry men stole potatoes from a garden that had already been picked over.<sup>37</sup> Others absconded with the turkeys and bee hives of a local man and “had turkey and honey for breakfast” the following morning.<sup>38</sup>

The Baskerville, Duval, and Gibson families must have also suffered similarly. After already being hard hit by the retreat of the Confederate Army at Bowling Green, local families constantly battled with the Federal occupiers and Confederate guerillas for the food out of their own gardens. Residents could be taken from their homes at all hours of day or night to be questioned about local Confederate guerilla activity, and, in their absence, their farms were subject to Federal forage parties.<sup>39</sup> Not all interactions between

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<sup>35</sup> Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City*, 135.

<sup>36</sup> Holmes, 106.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>38</sup> J. T. Patton, “Personal Recollections of Four Years in Dixie,” in *War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Michigan* (Detroit: Commandery of the State of Michigan, 1893), 7.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

locals and the occupiers were as traumatic. Many soldiers exchanged extra or unwanted rations, such as coffee, for “dried fruit, apples, cider, pies” and other local eatables.<sup>40</sup>

Once Federal occupation of Murfreesboro was established in 1863 and the battle front moved south to Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Sumner County was isolated from interaction with any major Confederate force.<sup>41</sup> Troops finished repairs to the South Tunnel in November 1862, reopening the railroad on the 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>42</sup> In the country surrounding Gallatin, and probably more so for those communities along the L & N, “the coming and going of large armies,” writes state historian Walter Durham, “interrupted by frequent skirmishes and occasional battles, had left devastation in their wake.”<sup>43</sup> For the remainder of the war, the story stayed much the same: Federal troops guarded the railroad, Confederate cavalry raids attempted to sever Federal supply lines, and local commerce was nearly non-existent.<sup>44</sup>

Devastation and forage raids by both Federal and Confederate troops, a dramatically decreasing labor force, and a propensity of many Southern farmers to plant cash crops like cotton and tobacco left both soldiers and civilians with a deficient food supply. Cornmeal, referred to as “Confederate flour,” was a dietary staple of many

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<sup>40</sup> Holmes, 107.

<sup>41</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 135.

<sup>42</sup> Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City*, 133.

<sup>43</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 136.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

Southern families.<sup>45</sup> In trading coffee for “dried fruit, apples, cider, pies, etc.” with local civilians, a Federal sergeant stationed at Mitchellville complained “they [Southern civilians] are no cooks; the crust is flour and water, Indian bread the same.”<sup>46</sup> The poor quality of baked goods and other homemade eatables is likely attributed to a shortage of ingredients rather than cooking abilities. As the war progressed, a call for Southern farmers to abandon cash crops in favor of foodstuffs helped alleviate the deficit, cotton production plummeting in favor of corn and wheat.<sup>47</sup>

The Baskerville, Duval, and Gibson farms also probably suffered greatly from an ever shrinking labor force. At the beginning of the war, the Confederate states had roughly 2,313,000 white and black males between the ages of 15 and 50. Approximately 80% of these men were employed in agricultural work.<sup>48</sup> Enlistment in Confederate service took many young men away from the farms, leaving them without managers or with fewer laborers. Two of Thomas Baskerville’s sons, Abner and Richard, joined the Thirtieth Tennessee Infantry Regiment in October 1861. Their absence left fifty-three year old Thomas and five slaves to plant and harvest crops.<sup>49</sup> It is unknown how long Baskerville’s slaves stayed. At least three of Duval’s slaves, Jim, Patsey, and John, may have remained at the farm through the war as they were listed as residents on the Duval

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<sup>45</sup> John Solomon Otto, *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 30.

<sup>46</sup> Holmes, 107.

<sup>47</sup> Otto, 30-32.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>49</sup> U.S. Census, *Slave Schedule, 1860*; U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedule, 1870*.

property in the 1870 Census. Some of them may have left as early as the unofficial establishment of a contraband camp in Gallatin in 1863. Others may have joined the majority of freed blacks migrating to urban areas.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately, when the Duval and Baskerville slaves left and where they went remain unknown.

Another aspect of the war these families may have had to deal with was Confederate guerilla violence aimed at those aiding Federal troops. A source detailing the experiences of the Eleventh Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers during its time in Sumner County mentions the use of “Cold Springs” as a “government supply station.”<sup>51</sup> Though no known evidence of war-time violence committed against the Baskerville, Duval, and Gibson families exists, the use of the springs by Federal forces could have very easily put the property owners at risk for harm. For simply allowing Federal troops to camp on his property, guerillas almost killed a man living in northern Sumner County. Managing to outride his pursuers, he escaped to Kentucky and joined the Federal Army.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 135-137.

<sup>51</sup> Rufus Davenport, “Narrative of the Eleventh Regiment,” in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Pioneer Press Company, 1890), 490. Not knowing exactly when the name “Cold Springs” was applied to the springs on Thomas Baskerville’s property, it cannot be said with certainty the name references the area of the present-day Cold Spring Farm. However, the source describes the location as being near the railroad approximately twenty miles outside of Gallatin; the springs on Cold Spring Farm are roughly two miles from the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and are about seventeen miles outside of downtown Gallatin.

<sup>52</sup> Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 152.

### **Post-War Years: The Reorganization of Agriculture and Society**

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation heralded a significant shift in American social and agricultural structure. After completing a survey of nine Tennessee counties, three from each grand division, historian Robert Tracy McKenzie concluded that Tennessee farmers suffered “a marked drop in farm size and farm values,” and that there was an overall “increase in the number of farm units and in the importance of tenancy, and a decline in food output and self-sufficiency among producers.”<sup>53</sup> On average, Middle Tennesseans suffered a 53% decline in real wealth from 1860 to 1870. According to McKenzie, this was due to many factors: “increased landlessness, shrinking farm size, soil deterioration, damage to buildings and fences, and falling market values caused by diminished expectations of future profitability.” A 53% decrease in personal wealth for Middle Tennesseans was also brought about by the war. McKenzie attributes this substantial loss to the emancipation of slaves as their value was considered a form of moveable property and included in the figure for personal wealth in the 1860 Census.<sup>54</sup>

Real and personal wealth losses for the three subjects of this study were substantial (see Table 1). Emancipation hit Duval, who owned 18 slaves, the hardest as he sustained a personal wealth loss of \$17,000, or 96%, during the 1860s. His real wealth also took a substantial loss of \$13,000 or 81%. Gibson, who was not a slave owner, had a personal wealth loss of \$516, or 63%. His real wealth loss was \$12,000 or 94%, but as shown below by the comparison of the data from the agricultural schedules, his farm size

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<sup>53</sup> McKenzie, 193.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

remained unchanged. This may indicate that at some point in the 1850s, Gibson inherited or purchased a substantial amount of land in another county or state; its loss does not affect his Sumner County farm and serves only to skew the numbers. Baskerville's loss percentage rivaled that of Duval. By 1870, the Baskerville family sustained a \$5,200, or 86%, loss in real wealth and a \$7,620, or 97%, loss in personal wealth.

By analyzing the data from the 1860 and 1870 agricultural schedules, one gains a more complete understanding of how these three farms changed in the course of a decade (see Table 2). The Baskervilles were hit hardest, as both the war and Thomas's death resulted in a drastic size reduction of their farm from 300 total acres in 1860 to just 72 in 1870. Thomas no doubt lost a sizeable amount of his personal wealth when the slaves were emancipated, and with the land as her only asset, it is most likely that Jane had to sell off most of the farm in order to pay outstanding debts when Thomas died. When the dust settled, Jane was left with only 15 acres of improved land and a farm that had decreased in value by 73%. At first glance, the war seems to have had a very small effect on Duval's farm, but closer inspection reveals that the improved acreage was reduced by two-thirds while the value of his farm dropped by 62%. Of the three, Gibson's farm was the only one that did not suffer dramatic devaluation or land loss. His farm size remained stable through the 1860s, and the value actually appreciated by 33%.

The leveling of wealth between Baskerville and Gibson and the decrease in Duval's wealth reflect McKenzie's conclusion that the emancipation resulted in a redistribution of wealth across Tennessee.<sup>55</sup> The dramatic post war division of the

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<sup>55</sup> McKenzie, 193.

**Table 1.** Wealth data from the 1860 and 1870 Censuses.

	Baskerville	Duval	Gibson
Value of Real Wealth			
1860	\$6,000	\$16,000	\$12,800
1870	\$800	\$3,000	\$800
Value of Personal Wealth			
1860	\$7,820	\$17,600	\$816
1870	\$200	\$600	\$300
Value of Total Wealth			
1860	\$13,820	\$33,600	\$13,616
1870	\$1,000	\$3,600	\$1,100

**Table 2.** Data from the agricultural schedules of the 1860 and 1870 Censuses.

	Baskerville	Duval	Gibson
Acres of Land (Improved/ Unimproved)			
1860	100/200	300/500	50/75
1870	15/57	100/545	55/67
Cash Value of Farm			
1860	\$3,000	\$8,000	\$600
1870	\$800	\$3,000	\$800

Baskerville farm also reflects the “drastic, widespread decline in the scale of agricultural operations.” From 1860 to 1880, there was a 50% increase in the number of farm units while average farm size decreased by 50% in the state of Tennessee. The change in the labor system also brought about a tendency to scale back crop cultivation.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> McKenzie, 151.

In addition to changes to farm sizes and values, changes in post-war agricultural trends are also apparent on the Gibson, Baskerville, and Duval farms. At some point in the 1860s, John Gibson constructed a mill and took up the practice of growing tobacco. By 1870, he was producing five thousand pounds of tobacco, while his numbers for wheat, oats, and corn remained at the level recorded in 1860. The Baskerville farm reverted to subsistence farming after Thomas's death, Jane having abandoned tobacco completely, and the production of corn dropping dramatically from one thousand bushels in 1860 to just fifty in 1870. Wheat and corn were the principal crops for the Duval farm in 1860, but by 1870, the number of bushels produced for these crops dropped drastically. By 1870, only John Gibson appears to be interested in the production of a cash crop.<sup>57</sup>

### **The Post-War African American Landscape**

The post-war shift was even more dramatic for newly free African Americans. While they had gained freedom, citizenship, and voting rights (for black males only), former slaves had no education or land, few or no possessions, and fractured families. Some found themselves forced out of the only homes they had ever known. Others voluntarily left their former masters, heading toward urban centers or other farms in search of work. In regards to the labor question, two major schools of thought emerged among white farmers in the post war years. No longer able to rely on slave labor in the wake of the emancipation, some farmers hoped to have an all white labor force, a few going so far as to call for the creation of black colonies or the forced removal of all

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<sup>57</sup> *Sumner County Tax Lists 1868-1870*, Sumner County Archives, Gallatin, Tennessee; U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedules, 1870*.



freedmen from the state. Most white farmers, however, “expected, or at least hoped, to continue their reliance on black labor,” and this expectation combined with the efforts of the Freedman’s Bureau resulted in the labor contract system.<sup>58</sup>

Persistent migration of freedmen and their families characterized the fifteen years following emancipation as they set out “to reunite with long-lost relatives, to take advantage of economic opportunities, and to resist exploitation.”<sup>59</sup> From evidence provided by the population and agriculture schedules of the 1870 Census, it appears as though the majority of the former Baskerville and Duval slaves seized their newfound freedom by relocating; however, a few freedmen and freedwomen stayed with their former masters perhaps at the urging of Freedmen’s Bureau officials.<sup>60</sup> Fifty-seven year old Caroline Baskerville continued work for Thomas’s wife Jane, residing in the Baskerville house and serving as a cook. James and John Duval remained on the Duval plantation through 1870 working as sharecroppers. Though the names and races of farm laborers are not provided in the 1870 agriculture schedule, it should also be noted that the Gibsons, Baskervilles, and Duvals all reported wages paid out to hired help. It is currently not known how many of these hired hands were former slaves.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> McKenzie, 126-128.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>60</sup> Paul A. Cimbala, *The Freedmen’s Bureau: Reconstruction the American South after the Civil War* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2005), 66. At the onset of Freedmen’s Bureau operations in 1865, officials encouraged former to stay local, either arranging labor agreements with former masters or securing employment nearby.

<sup>61</sup> McKenzie, 130; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and

Labor contracts formally recognizing the agreements between O.H.P. Duval and his former slaves James and John could not be located in the Freedmen's Bureau records, but the 1870 Census sheds light on their post-war working relations. Enumerated as direct neighbors of O.H.P. Duval, James and John Duvall and their families each worked five acres "on share."<sup>62</sup> Sharecropping agreements emerged from the new post-war free labor system beginning in 1867, allowing freedpeople to work a tract of land with limited white supervision to produce a crop of which they kept a prearranged amount as payment. James and John each worked their share with a mule to cultivate and harvest wheat in the winter and oats and corn in the summer. They kept a small amount of swine and additionally produced butter, molasses, potatoes, and hay. The overall value of farm production was right around \$300 for each family, and both James and John held personal estates totaling \$100.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the ever-present threat of violence in rural Middle Tennessee, freedpeople found economic opportunity in the countryside due to high labor demands. Although the hope that a Confederate loss would result in the far ranging Federal redistribution of Southern land never happened, some even managed to fulfill the dream of landownership. During the 1870s, only one out of eight freedmen acquired land, making landownership

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Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm; U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedules*, 1870.

<sup>62</sup> "Duval" was often misspelled with two "l"s, especially when referring to former slaves of O.H.P. For the purposes of clarity in this study, the "Duvall" spelling is indicative of African American Duvals.

<sup>63</sup> U.S. Census, *Population Schedules*, 1870; U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedules*, 1870; Cimbala, 72.

“a realistic, albeit formidable goal” for James and Patsey Duvall. They overcame the odds in 1871 when their former master O.H.P. deeded them and their children forty-five acres. The tract’s boundaries made the Duvalls the neighbors of O.H.P. Duval, A. J. Pope, Johnathan Smart, and O. H. Marrow. The size of their farm was ten acres above the median size of black owned farms in Middle Tennessee but was less than half the size of median white owned farms in the region. Another distinguishing characteristic was James and Patsey Duvall’s ability to keep the title to their farm long term. By 1880, roughly 38% of Middle Tennessee black landowners had lost their farms.<sup>64</sup>

Though the Duvalls had managed to acquire a farm of their own, the land O.H.P. gave them was not high quality. The 1880 agriculture schedule shows the land to consist of nine improved acres and thirty-six wooded acres worth in total \$20. This value is well below the \$350 median value of black owned Middle Tennessee farms in 1880. The Duvalls had only one mule, one cow, and only \$10 worth of farming machinery and implements. James grew six acres of corn, one acre of irish potatoes, three quarters of an acre of sweet potatoes, and an acre of peach trees. Patsey most likely had charge over their five chickens, and the farm additionally produced twelve cords of wood. With no

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<sup>64</sup> Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 218; McKenzie, 141-148; Deed of sale from O.H.P. Duval to James and Patsey Duvall, December 21, 1871, private collection, Portland, Tennessee; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agricultural Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Tennessee*(Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964), microfilm.

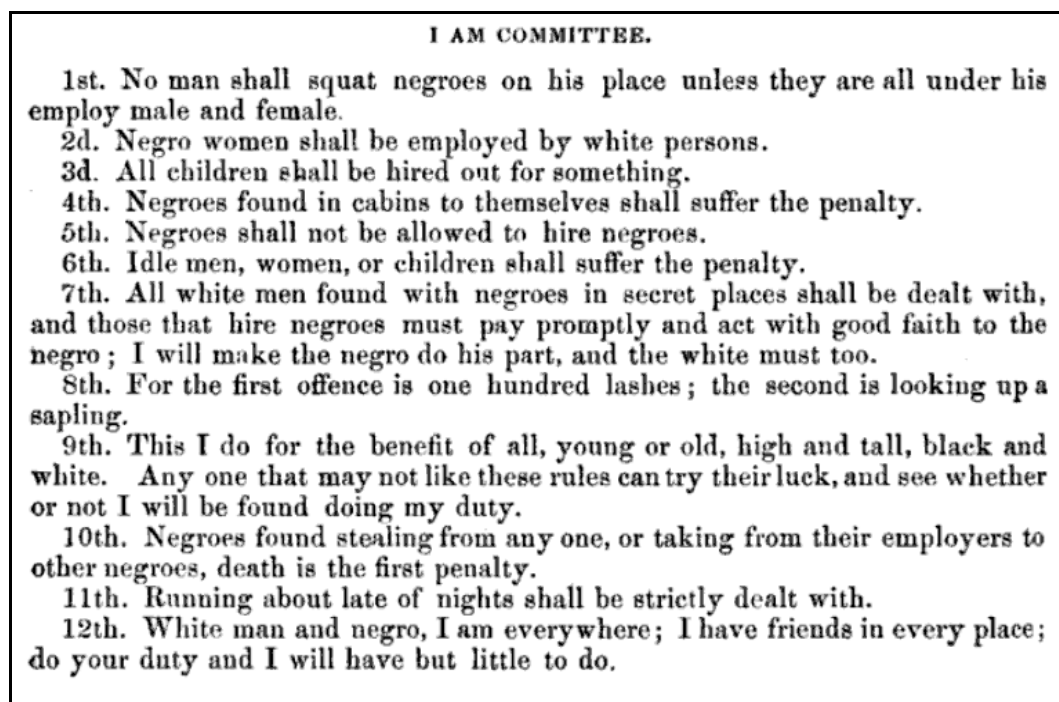
real cash crop and such a small amount of livestock, it is apparent the Duvalls were largely subsistence farmers.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to securing income and living arrangements, freed families also contended with post-war violence. Terrorizing the citizens of northern Sumner County was Confederate cavalryman and Richland Station native Captain Ellis Harper. During the war, Harper's cavalry crew repeatedly targeted the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, Unionist civilians, and anyone else who aided Federal authorities in the area. Characterized by a short temper and unmitigated violence, Harper's alleged connection to numerous wartime atrocities in southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee prompted the states to issue warrants for his arrest in 1865 despite Harper's Federal pardon. Federal command had trouble maintaining authority in Sumner County in the immediate post-war years due to citizen intimidation and loyalty of the sheriff, a man referred to simply as "Lovell" in Federal reports, to the guerillas. Roaming the countryside unchecked, vigilantes attempted to enforce their own set of racial standards through the distribution of a placard entitled "I Am Committee" throughout Logan County, Kentucky and adjacent Tennessee counties in early 1867. Given Harper's well known presence in the area at the time the placards began appearing, it is not a stretch to suspect Harper's involvement. The "Committee's" set of rules dictated how newly freed men and women

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<sup>65</sup> U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedules, 1880*; McKenzie, 147.

should behave and live, including a threat of extreme punishment if any of the rules were broken (see figure 17).<sup>66</sup>



**Figure 17.** This placard began showing up in adjoining counties, including Sumner County, along the Tennessee-Kentucky border in the immediate postwar years.

The post-war increase in guerilla violence in Sumner County drew the attention of Tennessee state governor William G. Brownlow. In forwarding a report on guerilla

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<sup>66</sup> *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives During the Second Session of the Fortieth Congress, 1867-'68* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 202. Though no concrete evidence has been unearthed to undoubtedly connect Harper's crew to the distribution of these signs, it is of the opinion of the author that given Harper's history of violence and intimidation in the area, this was most likely his work or the work of his men.

activity in Gallatin to Federal command, Brownlow summed up the lawlessness saying the “Sumner County rebels...grow meaner and more rebellious every day.” Freedmen’s Bureau reports from August 1866 further describe the vigilantism: “There is reported to be no safety for Union men or Freedmen, especially discharged colored soldiers in the Northern part of Sumner Co., there being a gang of cutthroats and villains, who under the lead of Harper rob and murder without let or hindrance.”<sup>67</sup> Vigilantes did not spare the former slaves of O.H.P. Duval from maltreatment.

Roughly eight months before the “I Am Committee” placards began circulating, John Purth and Wallace Webb paid a visit to the Duval farm during their pursuit of a black man named James Warren. Purth and Webb searched James and Patsey Duvall’s house, and not finding Warren there, demanded that James escort them to Warren’s house or be killed himself. James mounted his mule reluctantly and left with the men under gunpoint. John Duvall, another former Duval slave, was found along the road to Warren’s house and forced to accompany the men. Arriving at Warren’s house, the assailants made entry, confiscated Warren’s gun, and took him as their prisoner. After relocating to a farm field near Duval’s farm, Purth sent John Duvall home, ordered Warren to dismount, and then fired at him. Purth’s shot struck Warren, wounding but not killing his target. Seizing his chance for escape, Warren quickly stumbled off toward the field’s edge and managed to take cover in the tree line, but Webb and James Duvall found Warren after

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<sup>67</sup> *Executive Documents of the Fortieth Congress*, 200; “Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Sub-District of Nashville, Chief Superintendents Office, Nashville, Tenn., Aug 28<sup>th</sup>, 1866,” The Freedman’s Bureau Online, <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/reports/tennreport.htm> (accessed March 15, 2012).

Purth ordered them to pursue. Purth then shot Warren seven or eight more times, scalped him, and left him to die. Following James back to his house, Purth attempted to rape Patsey. When she fought back, he opted to leave and threatened to kill the Duvalls should they report him. His threats were not enough to intimidate the Duvalls as both James and Patsey filed affidavits with the Freedmen's Bureau in November. Federal authorities arrested Purth on the charges of murder and Webb as accessory to murder, their bails being set at \$2,000 and \$1,000, respectively. It is not known if the men were convicted or served any time.<sup>68</sup>

### **A New Generation: The Farms Change Hands**

Most of what is known about John Baskerville's stewardship of the Baskerville farm is gleaned from property deeds dating from the 1880s to 1924. Following Thomas Baskerville's death in 1867, the court established a seventy-three acre dower for Jane, the boundaries of which remain visible on the landscape (see figure 18). John, Thomas and Jane's youngest child, began buying all of his siblings' interests in the property in 1882 and inherited the reunified tract upon Jane's death in 1898. In February 1911, John deeded a small piece of land measuring 150 square rods containing a portion of the spring

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<sup>68</sup> "The Sumner County Military Arrests," *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, January 3, 1867; "Affidavits Relating to Outrages Mar. 1866-August 1868: Patsey Duvall," The Freedman's Bureau Online, <http://freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/affidavits/patseyduvall.htm> (accessed March 15, 2012); "Affidavits Relating to Outrages Mar. 1866-August 1868: Jim Duvall," The Freedman's Bureau Online, <http://freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/affidavits/jimduvall.htm> (accessed March 15, 2012). While Wallace Webb's name appeared consistently in newspapers, affidavits describing the events, and Sumner County Superintendent Thomas Tremble's reports, the name of the other assailant has appeared three different ways: John Purth, Richard Pentlo, and James Purtle. For the sake of consistency and clarity, the author has elected to use the name provided by Thomas Tremble's report.

to William Gibson for the purposes of establishing a beef club (see Figure 18). Operating from 1911 to at least the 1940s, beef club members gathered each Saturday to slaughter a cow, washing and cooling the meat in the spring and then dividing out the cuts. John made another change to the property in 1926 when he sold a portion of the farm containing Cold Spring along the old Portland Road and rights of way for electric lines and a water main to the city of Portland for \$150. The Baskerville property merged with the Gibson farm in 1924 when William Gibson acquired it through a mortgage.<sup>69</sup>

On October 22, 1872, John Gibson died at the age of 43. Research has yet to reveal the exact cause of death, but in the wake of his passing, the probate process reveals outstanding bills for treatment from his neighbor, Dr. Duval, indicating Gibson died of a prolonged injury or illness. Analysis of the family cemetery shared by the Baskervilles, Gibsons, and McGlothlins reveals that he was one of four to die in 1872 or 1873, pointing to a possible wave of illness in the immediate area during that span of time. However, it

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<sup>69</sup> Deed of sale from S.E.M. Bradley and V.M. Bradley to John Baskerville, April 18, 1882 (filed August 7, 1882), Sumner County, Tennessee, Deed Book 34, pages 504-505, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee; Deed of sale from W.Y. Baskerville to John Baskerville, July 8, 1882 (filed August 7, 1882), Sumner County, Tennessee, Deed Book 34, page 505, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee; Deed of sale from Abner Baskerville and N.J. Baskerville to John Baskerville, November 12, 1883 (filed November 39, 1883), Sumner County, Tennessee, Deed Book 35, pages 521-522, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee; Deed of sale from John Baskerville and wife to Wm. and Joe Gibson, February 11, 1911 (filed August 3, 1918), Sumner County, Tennessee, Deed Book 78, page 59, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee; Deed of sale from John Baskerville and wife to Mayor and Alderman Portland, April 19, 1926 (filed December 1, 1926), Sumner County, Tennessee, Deed Book 96, page 183, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee; Mortgage from John Baskerville and wife to W.C. Gibson, November 1, 1924 (filed November 5, 1924), Sumner County, Tennessee, Mortgage Book 43, page 474, Register of Deeds, Gallatin, Tennessee. Junior Lightfoot, interview by author, Portland, TN, March 3, 2012.



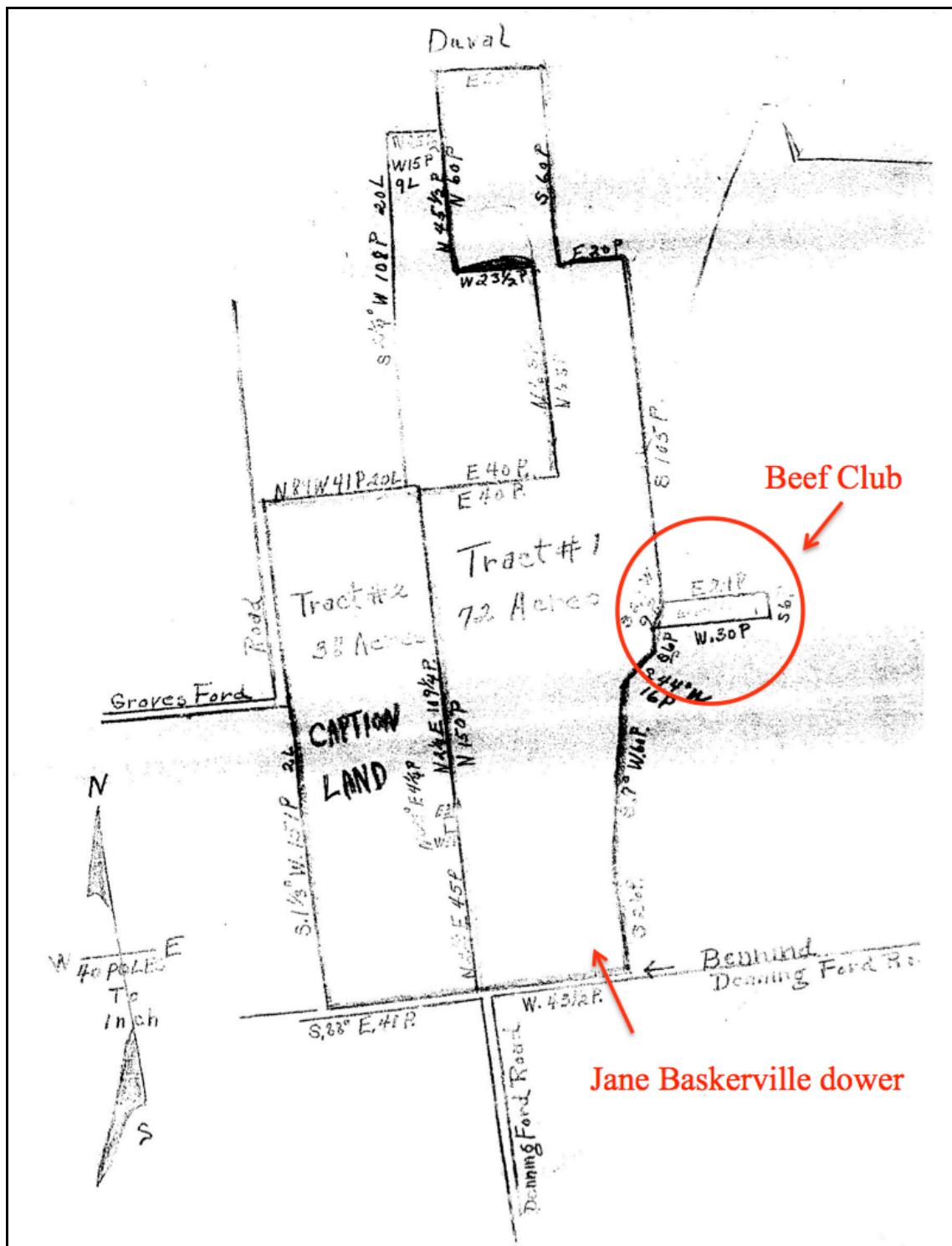


Figure 18. 1911 survey showing both the Jane Baskerville dower and the beef club.

was too soon to be connected to the 1873 cholera epidemic that arrived in Sumner County in May of that year. John's eldest son, twenty-two year old William, assumed the role of farm manager and arranged the payments of all John's debts without having to sell off any property. Under William's charge, the Gibson farm focused on raising livestock and chickens, bee keeping, and cultivating corn, wheat, and tobacco all without the help of hired hands.<sup>70</sup>

The 1878 D. G. Beers map for Sumner County illustrates the postwar layout of the Cold Spring community (see Figure 19). Though there are no physical remnants representative of this period in the farm's history, written primary documents fill the void. In the years following his father's death, William Gibson sought to buy all of his siblings' interests in the farm. His sister Mary "Molly" Gibson kept her interest and married James Knox Polk McGlothlin in 1877. Though research has not uncovered a rent or lease agreement, James Knox Polk McGlothlin farmed part of the Gibson property from the time of his marriage to Molly until his death in 1918. Referred to as "Polk" by family and friends, McGlothlin was among the first to grow strawberries in Sumner County and founded a strawberry growing association, the crop eventually becoming one of Sumner County's largest agricultural exports. In addition to strawberries, Polk also grew tobacco and kept an orchard. He additionally served as a schoolteacher and taught John Gibson's

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<sup>70</sup> John Gibson Estate Record, 1873-1877, Sumner County Loose Records, Sumner County Archives, Gallatin, Tennessee; U.S. Census, *Agriculture Schedules, 1880*; John M. Woodworth, *Cholera Epidemic of 1873 in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), 159.



**Figure 19.** The 1878 Beers Map shows the locations of the Gibson, Baskerville, and Duval households and the Cold Spring Church and Schoolhouse (which was incorrectly labeled "Big Springs Ch. & S. H.").

children during the 1870s. Polk and Molly had three children: William Herschel, Stella, and Hubert.<sup>71</sup>

#### **William Herschel McGlothlin: 1918 to 1947**

Roughly four months after Polk's death in February 1918, William Gibson and Mary McGlothlin sold the Gibson tracts to Polk and Mary's son William Herschel and

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<sup>71</sup> McGlothlin, interview.

his wife Tryphenia Payne.<sup>72</sup> Herschel, as he was called then, and Tryphenia continued to live in Portland while farming at Cold Spring Farm. Acting as manager, Herschel's day job in town kept him from having a daily presence on the farm, leaving hired hands and tenant farmers to complete the labor. They had three children, Russel, William Grady, and William Herschel. The family moved to Cold Spring Farm in 1935 after building a minimal traditional house (the house that stands today) with Tudor Revival influences at a cost of \$3600 equipped with a \$1200 coal stoker furnace (see Figure 20). The Great Depression seems to have had little effect on the McGlothlins, and the family speculates this might be attributed to Tryphenia's wealthy background. Lovingly referred to as "the boss" by the McGlothlin family, Tryphenia's contributions to farm operations included keeping a garden and chickens, raising the boys, and overseeing the household.<sup>73</sup>

During Herschel's time as manager, the farm relied heavily on hired hands and tenant farmers for labor. The aging Gibson and Baskerville houses served as tenant houses, and when the Cold Spring Schoolhouse saw its last school day in 1933, it too housed farm hands. Shortly after the construction of the main house, Herschel had a tenant house built on the farm close to Denning Ford Road.<sup>74</sup> Odell and Flora Lightfoot and their son Junior arrived at the farm about 1940 and resided in this house. Odell sharecropped tobacco, and Flora helped with domestic chores like cooking and cleaning.

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<sup>72</sup> Deed of sale from W. C. Gibson, Ida Gibson, and Mary McGlothlin to W. H. McGlothlin and Tryphenia McGlothlin, June 18, 1918, private collection, Portland, Tennessee.

<sup>73</sup> McGlothlin, interview.

<sup>74</sup> McGlothlin, interview.



**Figure 20.** McGlothin house, built in 1935. Photo courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.

The Lightfoots eventually moved to town, but Junior continued as a farm hand through the 1960s.<sup>75</sup>

Herschel followed in his father's footsteps largely growing strawberries and tobacco for market, and his farm yielded corn, wheat, and hay on a smaller scale. He built the large bank barn and tobacco barns that are standing on the Cold Spring Farm today. Portland's proximity to the railroad and its soil type made it a prime location for strawberry planting, the town being so successful with the fruit that it eventually came to be known as the "Strawberry Capital of Tennessee." Tenant farmers residing in the

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<sup>75</sup> Lightfoot, interview.

Gibson house picked strawberries when they were in season, the strawberries then being sent to a cannery in Portland which then shipped them via the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Farm hands conducted all the plowing with mules, and the feed for livestock was stored in trench silos.<sup>76</sup> Trench silos were a cheaper alternative to upright silos, required “mainly man- and mule-labor” for construction, and could be built to whatever size the farmer required, characteristics which suited Herschel’s needs perfectly.<sup>77</sup> In 1945, the landscape of the farm changed drastically when the city of Portland installed a lake and an access road on part of the John Gibson tract. This portion of the property was where Herschel located many of his strawberry fields. The farmers added terracing to the fields about this same time (see Figure 21).<sup>78</sup>

#### **Russel McGlothlin: 1947 to 1974**

Russel McGlothlin, an avid outdoorsman and traveler, became the next owner and operator of Cold Spring Farm after his father Herschel passed away in 1947. In the 1948 or 1949, he began dairy operations on the farm and oversaw the construction of the milk barns and the silo, all of which still stand today (see Figures 22-24). Russel registered his herd of Holsteins, numbering from 140 to 150, with the Dairy Herd Improvement Association. In 1964, Russel reserved the name “Trousdale” for his herd with the Holstein-Friesian Association of America, a tribute to his farm’s past use as the

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<sup>76</sup> McGlothlin, interview; Lightfoot, interview.

<sup>77</sup> J. C. Grimes and M. L. Nichols, *The Trench Silo* (Auburn, Alabama: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1931), 7.

<sup>78</sup> McGlothlin, interview; Lightfoot, interview.





**Figure 21.** 1951 aerial image of the southern half of Cold Spring Farm. Courtesy, USGS.

Confederate camp of instruction. Agnes, Russel’s wife, maintained the “Lifetime Register of Individual Cows” and dehorned the calves, in addition to running the household and caring for their two young sons James and William.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> “Herd Name Prefix Reserved for Russel W. McGlothlin,” *Sumner County Leader*, August 20, 1964; McGlothlin, interview.



**Figure 22.** Circa 1963 milk barn built by Russel McGlothlin. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.



**Figure 23.** Circa 1947 milk barn built by Russel McGlothlin. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.





**Figure 24.** Circa 1960 silo constructed by Russel McGlothlin. Courtesy TCWNHA, 2011.

Russel's presence on the farm lessened when Agnes passed away from breast cancer. In his wife's absence, it became difficult for Russel to physically be present on the farm. Though he continued to manage farm operations, he left much of the labor to the tenant farmers and other farm laborers. In 1967, Russel began terminating dairy operations on the farm and started selling the herd, reflecting a larger trend within the state. Despite a stable and even slightly increasing demand for milk, the number of farms with dairy cows decreased by 72 percent between 1959 to 1969. Junior Lightfoot continued milking the cows that did not sell for about a year before he moved on. The entire herd was gone by the fall of 1969.<sup>80</sup>

#### **William "Bill" Steadman McGlothlin: 1974 to Present**

Shortly after Bill completed his degree in Business Administration at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in December 1973, his father Russel passed away. Bill and his brother James "Jim" McGlothlin split the farm as equally as possible, and the brothers determined to bring dairy farming back to Cold Spring Farm. In addition to growing silage (chopped corn to be stored in the silo) and hay to support dairy operations, the farm also cultivated tobacco, soybeans, and wheat. Jim, an engineer by training, eventually elected to sell his portion of the farm for residential development. Alternately, Bill began acquiring surrounding tracts of land to expand the farm. In 1976, he purchased

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<sup>80</sup> James G. Snell and Gonzalee Martin, *Changes in the Tennessee Dairy Industry* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1976), 4-5; McGlothlin, interview.

what is now the northern half of Cold Spring Farm: the OHP Duval tract (see Figure 25).<sup>81</sup>

About the same time Bill began expanding the farm and dairy operations, he also started a family. On July 1, 1975, he married schoolteacher Penny Taylor from nearby Mitchellville, and the couple had three children: Molly, Russel, and Sarah Agnes. The family needed room to grow, so in 1982, they built an addition off the back of the main house. The addition expanded the kitchen and dining area as well as adding additional square footage to the second floor. Bill made another change to the house in the 1980s by dismantling the deteriorating brick carport located off the north gable end. He then used the bricks in the construction of the sidewalk located in front of the house.<sup>82</sup>

Two of the major income producers for the farm, tobacco and dairying, have ended in the twenty-first century. In 2004, the family opted to take advantage of the Fair and Equitable Tobacco Reform Act (FETRA).<sup>83</sup> Beginning in 2005, this legislation accomplished three goals: it “terminated the federal tobacco price support and supply-control programs; made compensation payments to tobacco quota owners and to tobacco growers for the elimination of the tobacco quota asset; and provided for the orderly

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<sup>81</sup> McGlothlin, interview.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Matthew Nis Leerberg, “Takings and Statutory Entitlements: Does the Tobacco Buyout Take Quota Rights without Just Compensation?” *Duke Law Journal* 55 (February 2006): 872. It should be noted that the family had little choice in accepting the terms of FETRA. According to Leerberg, FETRA “negates the value of the quota rights regardless of whether the ‘offer’ is accepted” or not, leaving quota holders with “little incentive to reject the Buyout Payments.”



**Figure 25.** 1953 aerial image of the northern portion of Cold Spring Farm (the Duval tract). Courtesy USGS.

disposal of the existing CCC tobacco pool stocks.”<sup>84</sup> Essentially FETRA served to reverse the New Deal’s Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, which had established the quota system to regulate tobacco production and market prices. From 2005 to 2014, the McGlothlins receive “\$7.00 per pound of quota owned as of 2002...paid in equal [annual] installments” as compensation.<sup>85</sup> Direct contracts between tobacco farmers and tobacco companies have replaced the quota system, but Bill and Penny’s daughter Sarah Agnes McGlothlin states they are very hard to get.<sup>86</sup>

After thirty-three years as a Grade A dairy, Bill ceased dairy operations on Cold Spring Farm due to effects of the 2007 drought. The pasture dried up, resulting in a shortage of feed. Government standards for dairying have become so high in the years since Bill began the dairy operation that it would require a major monetary investment in order for the farm to meet modern codes and return to the practice.<sup>87</sup>

Since the abandonment of dairy operations and the tobacco buyout, the family has focused on the cultivation and harvest of soybeans, corn, and wheat in addition to raising and grazing cows. Today, the farm continues to operate under extreme drought conditions. During a time of low yields and high crop prices, the McGlothlins sold beans in 2012 at roughly \$18.00 a bushel, the highest amount they have ever received for the crop

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<sup>84</sup> Andrew Schmitz, Troy G. Schmitz, and Frederick Rossi, “Agricultural Subsidies in Developed Countries: Impact on Global Welfare,” *Review of Agricultural Economics* 28, no. 3 (2006): 423-424.

<sup>85</sup> Leerberg, 868.

<sup>86</sup> Sarah Agnes McGlothlin, interview by author, Portland, TN, March 9, 2012.

<sup>87</sup> McGlothlin, interview.

according to Penny. All three of Bill and Penny's children and their families reside on the farm, the next generation poised to continue the agricultural legacy began by John Gibson so many years ago.<sup>88</sup>

The extant buildings and landscape features on Cold Spring Farm represent 150 years of agricultural history. Thomas Baskerville's house is the only remaining building from the farm's beginning in the 1850s, but historic fence patterns and property lines are evident on the farm today. While buildings and structures relating to the Duval family and their slaves no longer stand, this portion of the farm's history is evidence by Census and tax records, deeds, and estate records. Much of the Baskerville story is apparent both in the written and physical record as the post-war division of the Baskerville farm can be seen in both historic surveys and property lines. A good portion of the original Gibson farm now lies under the Portland City Lake, but aerial images from the 1950s capture many of the buildings associated with John's and William's, his son, times as farm owners and operators.

The majority of the extant buildings and structures are associated with the progressive farming movement, and the farm retains a high level of integrity for this time period. Such items include the bank barn, the field terracing, and the silo. With the exception of the installation of the Portland City Lake in the 1940s, the Cold Spring Farm landscape remains relatively unchanged from its early days.

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<sup>88</sup> McGlothlin, interview.

## CONCLUSION

“*Landscape* denotes the interaction of people and place,” asserts Paul Groth. It is a “social group and its spaces, particularly the spaces to which the group belongs and from which its members derive some part of their shared identity and meaning,” Groth summarizes.<sup>1</sup> The land within the present day boundaries of Cold Spring Farm has been home to a variety of distinctive cultural groups, from Paleo-era hunter-gatherers to raw Confederate recruits to 1900s progressive farmers. All three significant historic landscapes co-exist, each layer lying on top of the previous layer.

Though prehistoric Native Americans left no lasting changes to the farm property, we know that the springs drew them to this place. We also know how they interacted with the landscape in hunting and fishing, how they buried their dead, and how they used the nearby Twin Caves site. Additionally, the artifacts discovered through agricultural practices reveal who these early Native American inhabitants were and how they used the site. Supplementing primary sources with maps, artifacts, and property surveys, a thorough narrative of Confederate use of the Thomas Baskerville portion of the farm in 1861 sheds much needed light on a historical layer of the Cold Spring Farm landscape that has left little physical evidence. Finally, in pairing survey of the extant buildings and structures with contextual information on Middle Tennessee farming, we can fully assess the historical significance of Cold Spring Farm.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Groth, “Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study,” in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1.

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