MATERIAL CULTURE AS A PRIMARY SOURCE FOR UNDERSTANDING

BEDFORD COUNTY, TENNESSEE IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA

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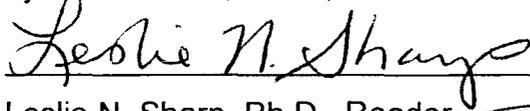
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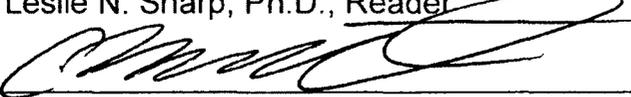
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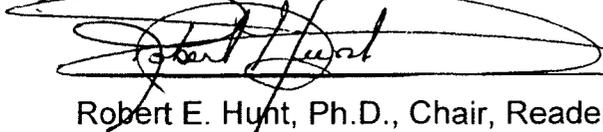
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To
Martha Stackhouse Grafton
who lived life-long learning and would enjoy this

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Universities are full of professors, but occasionally a graduate student gets lucky and finds teachers. I have been exceptionally lucky in the composition of my dissertation committee. The members of my committee are all skilled historians and innate teachers who share a concern that I master not only my chosen subject, but the craft of history as well. If I accomplished that in any degree, it is to their credit. Any shortcomings are mine and are in spite of their efforts. My first and lasting thanks are to Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle, the chair of my committee, who accepted an unknown student for directed study and wound up with a multi-year obligation. From directed study, to class, to dissertation, her guidance improved my proficiency as a historian and interpreter of material culture. Dr. Hoffschwelle's patience and support beyond her job description made my completion of the dissertation possible. As I began work on my dissertation, Dr. Lynn Nelson's comments helped organize my thinking on some critical points. Particularly helpful was his caution to remember the *land* in cultural landscapes. I am grateful for his advice to consider the land first, rather than starting with man-made alterations. From it, I gained insights on how natural features influenced the cultural landscapes I studied. Class projects for Dr. Leslie Sharp when she taught at MTSU were early germs of ideas for this dissertation. As a teacher, she did not require agreement with her thinking or with that of "authorities" if contrariness was supported with sound argument. My approach to the analysis of material culture in this dissertation benefited from that open-mindedness and

from her teaching that buildings are more than a collection of features, that they have meanings connected to their surroundings and to the activities associated with them. I am extremely grateful for her willingness to serve on my committee after her move to Georgia Tech. Dr. Van West asked the first question that launched this dissertation. Learning my interest was Bedford County where gaps exist in public records, he encouraged my idea of using other sources including material culture. I am grateful for his help with information on objects and sites and for his yard sale find that became my key resource for Bedford County's history. Although not a member of my dissertation committee, Dr. Antoinette van Zelm is a teacher who guided my early identification of resources available for a study of Bedford County. I am grateful for her help and scholarly example as my mentor in a professional residency in Public History, and I thank the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area and the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University for sponsoring my residency.

The support of Middle Tennessee State University through a Provost's Dissertation Writing Fellowship encouraged and hastened the completion of my dissertation. I am grateful for that institutional support and for the support of colleagues in the university's Ph.D. Program in Public History, particularly the long-running encouragement from fellow Guinea Pigs Dr. Brian Hackett and Dr. Tara White.

To locate the extant Civil War era material culture resources of Bedford County, I cast a wide net. It brought many people into my project. Some were

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were extremely helpful locating resources I thought might exist but for which I did not have a name or a reference to a collection. Their patience with odd questions and their ability to come up with the right sources are both admired and appreciated. Ron Westphal, Curator of Science and Technology at the Tennessee State Museum, provided access to artifacts of Civil War era Bedford County.

Every historical researcher working on Bedford County, Tennessee stands on the shoulders of Helen and Tim Marsh. I used their articles, maps, and transcriptions of primary sources. Without their comprehensive work on the county's cemeteries, my analysis of graveyards would not have been possible. Without their foresight and preservation efforts, gravemarkers and county documents critical to my work might not have been available for use. I am both grateful for and in awe of the scope of their work.

Without understanding what I've been doing, or why I've been doing it, friends and family have put up with my work and many inconveniences to their lives. I am extremely grateful to them. Linda Fly politely listened to more historical minutiae than any non-historian can enjoy, identified my first tollgate house and only gravehouse, and provided company on river float trips. Because my brother and sister-in-law Dan and Natalie Townes, nephews Daniel Townes, Jeffrey Townes, Travis Townes, Ben Townes, Andy Townes and niece-in-law Becca Townes have had Civil War era Bedford County with meals for years and refrained from asking "So what?" they have my thanks. My greatest outstanding

debt is to my parents, George Townes and the late Katherine Townes, who were inconvenienced more than anyone by the time I spent working on this dissertation. They have my gratitude and the assurances that there will be no more late meals while I check just one more gravemarker, and that yes, I will walk.

ABSTRACT

Bedford County, Tennessee, in the middle of the state, has been a center of agricultural production since its establishment in 1807. By 1860, water powered mills producing textiles and milled grain, state-of-the-art turnpikes, and a new railroad had created a thriving industrial and commercial landscape. The combination of available war materiel and transportation routes made the county a target for control by Civil War armies.

Although continuously occupied by armies from early 1862 until the end of the war, there was relatively little destruction in the county. Consequently, a rich and varied material culture survives from the Civil War era as a primary source to interpret the county in the years 1860-1865. A multi-disciplinary approach to a selective study of that material culture developed a methodology that starts with objects and landscapes as established points of information about people, place, and period. From those known points, with documentary records as contributing sources, it was possible to work to supportable conclusions on previously unknown points in a process of information triangulation.

The human-altered landscape, roads, towns, graveyards, buildings, and other objects were the starting points of this study. Triangulating information they provided created an interpretive framework for the county and the period, one that described a county-wide settlement pattern that developed as a number of towns connected to each other. From consistency in types of gravemarkers and

buildings, and from ubiquitous Greek Revival architecture, material culture described Bedford County in the Civil War era as a cultural entity.

This study of Bedford County was a test case that demonstrated the usefulness of material culture as a primary source. By beginning with a different lens on the Civil War era, it was possible to expand the historical narrative and provide a setting for wartime activity, develop new insights into a key area of the Upland South, and raise new questions for inquiry, particularly about the possibilities of female wage workers in 1860 Shelbyville, and the possibility of a connection between the architecture of a local church and the state capital.

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INTRODUCTION

Hawthorne existed. In Civil War era Bedford County, it was a place, a

village of orientation for nearby residents. But where was Hawthorne? Work on

this project started with an attempt to find Hawthorne. I had seen the name as a

Bedford County locality. Older county residents thought they had heard of it, but

no one knew where to look or could give directions to a place known as

Hawthorne.

The best but sketchy direction I received was a pointing hand and the

comment "That's Hawthorne Hill Road."[1] So I drove that road trying to find

Hawthorne. The road itself suggested information on the locality known as

Hawthorne. Although a modern paved county road, the roadbed was an

extremely narrow flat to pitched ledge or ramp cut into the steeply sloping

Hawthorne Hill. While it accommodated two-way traffic, the road had a sheer

downhill drop on one side and a steeply rising edge of the road cut on the other

that encouraged careful driving when vehicles met. Both sides of the road had

trees of considerable girth and age. The narrow ramp curving up the steep hill

had never been a much-traveled trunk road (figure 1). It was a purposeful access

between two locations, lands at the bottom and top of Hawthorne Hill. The road

was a connector between Civil War era residents and activities at structures

including log outbuildings along the road. At its highest point, Hawthorne Hill

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[1]Marie Blackburn, personal communication with Jane Townes, October
2007.

Road intersects Mount Herman Road that runs along the ridge that is the watershed between the Duck River and the Elk River and the division between Bedford and Lincoln Counties. Unoccupied and converted buildings on Hawthorne Hill Road and Mount Herman Road appeared to have been a blacksmith shop and a store, public sites for services on the southern edge of the county.

Figure 1. Hawthorne Hill Road, steep slope to the right, sheer drop to the left, photograph by author.

Driving Hawthorne Hill Road I could not identify a specific site that had been Hawthorne, but the road's location and construction, the lay of the land along the road, and the remaining Civil War era buildings it connects suggested I

had found the locality of Hawthorne and could describe it at least generally as a Civil War era location in Bedford County. The exercise of looking for Hawthorne and considering what physical evidence conveys was instructive for what might be possible in interpreting Bedford County through material culture and cultural landscapes. Although this locality would not become a part of my dissertation, "Finding Hawthorne" became a metaphor for the research process, sources, and analysis of this project on Bedford County, Tennessee, in the Civil War era.

That county has figured in several major studies of the antebellum and Civil War era South. It was one of thirteen Middle Tennessee counties comprising what Stephen V. Ash labeled a "third South" in *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South.* The county seat, Shelbyville, was one of the four towns Lisa C. Tolbert studied to describe community growth and development in *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee.*[2] In spite of this attention by scholars, the county has a reputation as difficult to research because so many of its historical records have been lost. That is true in part because two courthouse fires and a tornado destroyed some public records. While useful runs of public records remain in several offices, there are also frustrating gaps in the county's documentary record.

[2]Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-70, War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

Work on a professional residency project to identify the surviving historical resources of Bedford County for the Civil War era brought my attention to the county's material culture *circa* 1860-1865, and consideration of material culture as a primary source began to expand the historical narrative of Bedford County beyond information available in remaining documents.[3] Like the documentary record, the county's material culture has suffered losses, but significant resources of material culture exist from the Civil War era. This study utilizes those assets of material culture as well as more traditional documentary sources for primary research to describe and analyze Bedford County, Tennessee in the Civil War era.

A basic definition of material culture is anything used, altered, or made by human beings. That includes not just human-made objects, but also natural landscapes that become cultural landscapes with human activity. For example, virgin forest becomes cultural landscape when prehistoric Native Americans begin to use animal paths as trails. Material culture is historical evidence that is

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[3] I am grateful to Dr. Antoinette van Zelm, my mentor during a residency in Public History. Her guidance, encouragement, and knowledge of potential historical resources made it possible to identify sources for examination of the Civil War era in a county reputed to be difficult to study. I am also grateful to the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area and the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University for sponsoring my residency that resulted in recognition of the rich extant material culture of Bedford County, Tennessee.

best understood in a multi-disciplinary approach combining varied resources.[4]

Landscapes, transportation routes, buildings, and artifacts are useful as historical

resources, particularly in a location where the traditional documentary sources

have gaps. Their use as primary sources requires the approaches of

geographers and cartographers, architects and architectural historians,

archaeologists and curators.

In this study of Bedford County, the methodologies of architectural history,

industrial history, and curatorial analysis are as necessary as archival research.

Resources of material culture include the physical locale, that is, the layout of the

county, the relationships and interconnections of localities, and their

commonalities and differences. The material culture of each locality in the county

consists of its buildings, sites, cultural landscapes, and individual artifacts.

Surviving features considered historical resources include roads and rail lines,

residences, farm buildings, public structures, burial grounds, and artifacts.

Documentary sources descriptive of material culture include census entries for

craftsmen, newspaper ads of goods for sale, and wills mentioning buildings and

personal property. Information on localities from crossroads post offices like

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[4]Among statements of the value of material culture as a primary source for social and historical studies are Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds. *History from Things, Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, eds., *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978); Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1980).

Palmetto and Hawthorne, to railroad towns like Wartrace and Bell Buckle, and

the prosperous county seat, Shelbyville, enrich the historical record of the county.

This study uses selected features of material culture from a broad survey

of Bedford County's resources of the Civil War era as an interpretive framework

to describe and understand interconnections and separations among people and

places that broadly characterize the county. In selecting which features to use as

sources, I have attempted to include examples from each general category of the

county's material culture, i.e. structures, roads, landscapes, and objects. Within

categories, I have selected individual features for their singularity or typicality and

the degree to which they demonstrate or contradict cultural patterns.

Historical research in Bedford County has long depended upon accidents

of survival for documentary primary sources. Regrettably, the rate of destruction

of material culture sources–historical buildings, cultural landscapes, even roads–

is accelerating in the county. Like work with documentary sources that have

gaps, the methodology to work from surviving material culture to a description of

Bedford County in the Civil War era is a process of information triangulation, that

is, working from known points to supportable conclusions about unknown points.

This dissertation demonstrates the utility of that process and of material culture

as a resource in the historical record and as evidence for understanding

development of a particular place.

Material culture is the starting point and primary source for this research,

but instead of a descriptive catalog, this is a case study demonstrating a

methodology for understanding a place through its material culture as well as its documentary sources. By selecting features of material culture to use as reference points for the county's social history, this study does not attempt to identify or incorporate all material culture or all historical resources for the county, rather it is an attempt to develop a framework for analysis and interpretation that can guide other researchers working in Bedford County or other locations. A research methodology that combines material culture with more familiar types of historical resources expands the available historical database. That is a particular benefit to historians of localities like Bedford County where gaps in documentary sources discourage study.

Because material culture and cultural landscapes exist for years, some resources for this study pre-date the Civil War, and some continued to exist for many years after the war. For that reason, the period of study is the Civil War era. The focus is on Bedford County from 1860 to 1865 to accommodate discussion of material culture of those years that was created much earlier and survived to a much later date. With the centennial of the Civil War underway, that temporal focus makes Bedford County part of the whole story of the Civil War in Tennessee. Because the county was occupied by Union troops consistently, though not continuously, from March 1862 through the end of the war, that time frame permits a look at a largely unstudied aspect of the Civil War era, civilian life in an occupied community of the Upland South.

Located near the geographic center of Tennessee, Bedford County and its Euro-American landscape developed quickly from Native American hunting grounds in 1800 to a prosperous community of agricultural, political, and social influence by 1860. Agricultural resources, industries processing foodstuffs and textiles, and a network of improved turnpikes running through the county made it strategically important for both Confederate and Union armies. Although authority and control of the county shifted between the two armies from early 1862 through 1863, there was no major battle or systematic devastation. Consequently, assets survived the Civil War to describe the cultural landscape that existed from 1860 to 1865, making the county a good test case of methodology relying on material culture for understanding a locality.

For the purposes of this dissertation, Bedford County includes all of the area within the current county boundaries. Within this area of study, places such as Shelbyville, Wartrace, Fairfield, and other towns past and present are considered. Shelbyville, as the county seat and principal commercial center in the Civil War era, receives more attention than other localities.

Studying Bedford County and its localities through material culture adds to the scholarship on Middle Tennessee by expanding the social history of a county that has otherwise been subsumed into broader studies, and linking that social history to existing political and military histories of Bedford County in the Civil War era. By including Shelbyville as one locality for study, this dissertation expands on and revises Lisa C. Tolbert's physical description of that town and

her interpretation of antebellum town life. The material culture examined here supports Tolbert's thesis that county seats like Shelbyville were economic and social focal points as well as administrative centers of their counties. This study also finds, however, that Bedford County had a network of small towns that were more immediate focal points of orientation for rural homes than the county seat. Local material culture adds specific descriptive detail for a county used by Stephen V. Ash in general terms to support his regional description of Middle Tennessee as a third South, a region dominated by neither the plantations of the Deep South nor the self-sufficient yeomen of the Southern highlands. In Bedford County, farmsteads organized around mixed agriculture, numerous mills processing agricultural products, and a well-established commercial base fit Ash's distinction of a third South. Furthermore, by specifically addressing material culture, this study expands on general histories of the area. For example, Tolbert's subject is the built environment of Middle Tennessee towns, but she often creates descriptions of town plans primarily from documents instead of from material culture as a primary source. While my subject location is the same as Ash's and Tolbert's and they provide background and reference points for my study, this dissertation differs from their work and others in its dependence upon surviving material culture and cultural landscapes, thereby describing social history for a county that is only part of their broader studies.

Similarly, it is in reliance on material culture and attention to social history of Bedford County that this dissertation differs from other studies focused on the

same area. Published local histories of the county are primarily compilations of information from unattributed sources; several concentrate on genealogical information. Academic histories detail other subject areas. Although he provided sketches of selected county structures, Paul Cross concentrated on county politics from settlement to Secession. Charles Gunter's dissertation and work by Michael Bradley detailed Civil War military activity in the county.[5]

Bedford County's social history is an open field, and my approach to that subject is in a long tradition of community studies that rely on material culture as a primary historical source. Several precedents exist with characteristics that are in some degree parallel to this study. Like this dissertation, each is a localized study. Most examine social history, and some use material culture as primary sources.

In 1970, John Demos's *A Little Commonwealth* established structures and artifacts as valid sources for historical inquiry.[6] His combination of architecture,

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[5]Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 7 October 1969); René Atwood Capley, *Bedford County Bicentennial: Celebrating the Past, 1807-2007* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 2007); Lucile Frizzell Jacobs, *Duck River Valley in Tennessee and Its Pioneers*, 1968, bound typescript, History Room, Argie Cooper Public Library, Shelbyville, TN; Robert Paul Cross, "Bedford County Tennessee: Settlement to Secession, 1785-1861" (MA thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1974); Charles Raymond Gunter, Jr., "Bedford County During the Civil War" (MA thesis, University of Tennessee, 1963); Michael R. Bradley, *With Blood and Fire: Life Behind Union Lines in Middle Tennessee, 1863-65* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2003).

[6]John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

objects, and psychology with traditional documentary sources for a multidisciplinary analysis of families and the community of the Plymouth Colony became a takeoff point for the genre of community studies. For over forty years since Demos's work, American social history, particularly of groups that rarely appear in the documentary record, has been based in community studies. Their multidisciplinary sources revealed entire communities by including settlement and land use patterns, demographics, and life ways that were not evident from documents alone.

For research in a county like Bedford that has gaps in its documentary record, community studies of the genre that developed from Demos's work provide good examples of what is possible with material culture as a primary source. Although their communities appeared primarily through quantified demographic information from documentary sources, Darrett and Anita Rutman and Robert C. Kenzer also studied cultural landscapes to understand a community's social history.[7] The Rutmans' example of using roads and the lay of the land in Tidewater Virginia to approach a community, figuratively and literally, is useful in considering interconnections among Bedford County's localities. Robert C. Kenzer also did not use material culture but depended upon documents for quantitative analysis and statistical delineation of community in

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[7]Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984); Robert C. Kenzer, Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community, Orange County, North Carolina,1849-1881 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987).

Orange County, North Carolina. However, by plotting paths of census takers and analyzing data on distances between houses he began to sketch the man-made layout of a community. In similar detailed reading of censuses for Bedford County, relative positions of households and occupations of residents describe areas of the cultural landscape with towns, farms, and industries.

Instead of a study of the genre of the Rutmans and Kenzer using quantified demographic data, this study of Bedford County has much more in common with Charles E. Martin's *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community.*[8] Because buildings are his principal source to trace and describe societal change, *Hollybush* is a good example for this work's use of objects as primary sources. Martin found that both of his primary sources, architecture and oral history, had significant informational gaps, making it necessary to mesh the two to develop and verify a complete story. Martin's continual testing of material evidence against oral history in a process of mutual verification or correction is a model for weighing Bedford County's artifactual evidence against popular local tradition and sometimes incomplete documentary sources.

Another parallel for work on social history in Bedford County is *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth,* in which Laurel Thatcher Ulrich demonstrated the value of objects as starting points for

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[8]Charles E. Martin, Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984).

historical research.[9] Investigation of artifacts led her to documentary evidence for description of communities. In a similar process of starting with objects and moving to documents when they exist, burial places and gravemarkers across Bedford County inform my analysis of county settlement patterns and access to goods and markets.

Work on a previous academic project that centered on the 1862 diary of Laura Cowan demonstrated the feasibility of the Ulrich model using material culture as a starting point for research.[10] With a methodology similar to Ulrich's, even without contemporary images, it was possible to construct a reasonable description of the diarist's home from known physical artifacts and diary references to her material culture. Sufficient material culture exists to follow Ulrich's example and use a combination of artifacts and written evidence of material culture to construct a reasonable description of Bedford County in the Civil War era. For example, gravemarkers are physical material culture describing occupation of the county, stylistic choices, and eschatology. Wills specifying gravemarkers are written evidence of material culture that can convey the same information.

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[9]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).

[10]Eliza L. Cowan Atwood (1835-1895), "Diaries, 1862-1863," Atwood Collection, Archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO. For purposes of identifying this source in its archive, this paper uses the attribution of record, "Eliza L. Cowan Atwood." However, the content of the manuscript clearly indicates the diarist is Laura Cowan, not her elder sister Eliza.

In Bedford County towns and along rural roads, it is possible to recognize vernacular architecture of the Civil War era by materials, floor plans, and stylistic elements. Structures from imposing homes in good repair to dilapidated farm buildings survive as potential sources of information. Many are building types identified as characteristic of the Upland South by Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov. In a number of maps showing states and counties of the region, he graphically demonstrates the distribution of its characteristic material culture that includes construction with corner-notched logs and the dominance of half-dovetail notching, dogtrot houses, transverse-crib barns, courthouse squares with a central block plan, and a high density of named cemeteries. Many of the maps indicate that Bedford is among counties with the highest concentrations of material culture characteristic of the Upland South. Therefore, study of Bedford County provides a composite physical description of a community that exhibited, in Jordan-Bychkov's phrasing, the highest degree of "Upland Southern-ness."[11]

A description of Civil War era material culture in Bedford County provides useful background for interpreting and understanding towns that developed during the post-war western migration. After the Civil War, a large number of Bedford Countians moved west, particularly to Texas. Jordan-Bychkov found the concentration of characteristics of the Upland South in several Texas counties

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[11]Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2003), 29, 39, 55, 68, 76, 84.

equals that of Bedford County, indicating the subject of this dissertation is one stage in a broad geographic transfer of material culture.

My methodology for studying Bedford County's material culture and cultural landscapes was similar to that of Martin, Ulrich, and Jordan-Bychkov in that I examined buildings and sites noting their typical, variant, and unique characteristics. I assessed material culture and cultural landscapes both as individuals and within categories that indicated cultural patterns. I tried to determine what they indicated about their origins, uses, and relationships to other artifacts and what that information indicated about Bedford County in the Civil War era.

Through fieldwork, I identified resources of material culture that could inform the study. With extensive windshield surveys and specific site visits throughout the county, I located sites, buildings, and artifacts that survive from the Civil War era. Several kayak trips on the Duck River made it familiar as a cultural landscape and made it possible to understand the river as an early industrial complex. Through questions in public forums and by following leads suggested by individuals who took an interest in my work, I made contacts that opened access to private properties and collections that I examined. With a number of public discussions of sites and objects, and with the number of supportive contributors of suggestions and information, "Finding Hawthorne" truly became a *public* history project.

Historical and modern maps facilitated the identification of sites during windshield surveys and river floats. In previous work on Laura Cowan's diary, attempts to locate homes and properties of members of the Eakin and Cowan families in 1862 demonstrated that the 1878 Beers Map of Bedford County was generally reliable for locating Civil War era properties and landmarks. By comparing that map, a few 1860s military maps, and modern topographic maps to present roads and to structures that survive from the Civil War era, it was possible to describe Bedford County as a cultural landscape in its physical setting. Even early twentieth-century maps of the county printed before schools were consolidated into one system, and before roads were consolidated into cross-county thoroughfares were useful indicators of landmarks of social orientation existing from the 1860s.

At the same time that I investigated sites, buildings, and artifacts, I continually asked what documents would have had information on them and where would those documents be. Answering those questions was easier, faster, and more productive with electronic access and searches than it would have been if physical visits to repositories of documents had been necessary. Electronic searches led to a wide variety of resources that would not have been located with fieldwork or research in physical archives. For example, an internet search located an informative image of a Shelbyville building that was for sale online. Electronic databases made it possible to work in never transcribed or published public and private records from the Civil War era.

When the Bedford County Courthouse was the answer to the question where would records be, it was a relief and a surprise to discover that although records have been destroyed, there is still a significant volume of primary documentary material available in the county. Extant local records informed this study, particularly with site and building descriptions in deeds. Documentary sources both intentionally and inadvertently provided information on material culture. Records of goods in wills, inventories, and claims for property losses during the Civil War were intentional descriptions of contemporary material culture. The 1860 US Census of population is an example of a record that unintentionally provided information on material culture. By listing occupations, it indicated a number of mills along the Duck River, a variety of types of conveyance in the community, and some degree of luxury provided by silversmiths.

In a county with a reputation as difficult to research because of missing records, the sources identified while "Finding Hawthorne" are surprisingly plentiful. This study is not an attempt to catalog the available Civil War era material culture and documentary resources for the subject county. Instead, it is an example of the advantages of combining material culture with documentary evidence to create datum points of information that permit triangulation to reasonable conclusions about selected features of a Civil War era landscape. This approach is useful for analysis and interpretation of Bedford County in the Civil War era and may prove useful for researchers of other places and eras.

CHAPTER ONE

LAND AND A RIVER:

THE TOPOGRAPHY AND RIPARIAN SYSTEM OF BEDFORD COUNTY

Middle Tennessee is a geographical region between the Cumberland

Plateau on the east and the Tennessee River on the west. From the 1760s,

hunters' and surveyors' reports on the quality of land and water and abundance

of game in the region encouraged its settlement by Euro-Americans.[1] Modern

Bedford County, in the south central portion of the region, is the geographic area

of this study. Although survey parties, hunters and squatters date Euro-American

activity there to the 1780s, in 1804, twenty-five years after permanent settlement

began in Nashville, the area of modern Bedford County was by treaties still

Native American territory.[2] A number of early land grants in what became

Bedford County date from he 1780s and 1790s, indicating there was interest in

opening the area for settlement and certainly pressure on authorities to remove

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[1]John R. Finger, *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 76-77.

[2]Timothy R. Marsh, Helen C. Marsh, and Garland King, *Early History of Bedford County Tennessee, Two Hundred Years Along The Three Forks of Duck River* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh and Garland King Museum, 2007), 41, 48-51.

restrictions on occupation by Euro-Americans.[3] The Tellico and Dearborn treaties

of 1805 and 1806 removed those restrictions, pushing Native American land

claims south and west and opening all of Middle Tennessee for Euro-American

settlement.[4]

Concentration on the area within present Bedford County lines is justified

for a study of the county's material culture 1860-1865 by the fact that county

boundaries are approximately the same as county lines of those years. Other

than small adjustments to boundary lines, the area of the modern county differs

from that of 1860-1865 only in a small portion of southeastern Bedford County

that was reassigned to create Moore County in 1871.

Most of Bedford County lies in the Nashville or Central Basin of Middle

Tennessee that is characterized by undulating or rolling surfaces. A band of the

Highland Rim escarpment—hilly to steep slopes with narrow valleys and sharp

ridges—roughly coincides with county boundaries from the northeast corner,

along the eastern and southern lines to the southwestern corner of the county.

Fingers and monadnocks of the Highland Rim escarpment interrupt undulating

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[3]Irene M. Griffey, *Earliest Tennessee Land Records & Earliest Tennessee Land History* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. for Clearfield Co., 2003), 89, 106-7, 198, 207, 279, 322, 374.

[4]Finger, *Tennessee Frontiers*, 218-9.

land of the Central Basin through most of eastern and southern Bedford County.[5]

Bottom lands along numerous water courses offer the most fertile soil and

partially explain the concentration of early land grant surveys on the riverine

system. Streams also provided most numerous fixed reference points for early

landgrant surveyors. County physiography results in a range of soils from rich

alluvial bottoms, to productive loams, to unproductive stony soil, but 94% of the

area has moderately to very fertile soils, making Bedford County part of the

"Garden of Tennessee" and a center of agricultural production since its

establishment.[6]

With varied terrain and soil types, Bedford County developed as an area

dependent upon mixed farming, rather than on a staple cash crop. A large area

of the county supported tillage and cultivation of grains. Somewhat less fertile or

steeper land provided pasture suitable for livestock production, and steep and

heavily wooded areas provided timber and forage, particularly for hogs. Although

it did not appear in the top twenty counties of cotton or tobacco production, by

1850, Bedford ranked first among Tennessee counties in production of oats and

eighth in production of corn. It was sixteenth among Tennessee counties in the

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[5]L.J. Strickland, Foster Rudolph, M.E. Swann, Wallace Roberts, and B.L. Matzek, *Soil Survey: Bedford County Tennessee* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Agriculture, 1947), 4-7.

[6]Ibid., 2-11, soil map inserted back cover; Louis D. Wallace, ed., *A Century of Tennessee Agriculture* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1954), 361.

number of dairy cows and seventeenth in number of cattle of all types. It ranked

eighth in the state in number of sheep, and fourteenth in hog production.[7]

Ten years later, the beginning of this study, Bedford County continued as

a center of mixed agriculture. The agricultural census for 1860 tallied only thirty-

three farms of plantation size, 500 acres or more. The largest category of farm

size was 100 to 500 acres, but the majority of Bedford County farms in the late

antebellum period were small, less than 100 acres. In comparison to other

counties in 1860, neither of the cash crops, cotton nor tobacco, was a mainstay

of Bedford County agriculture. In its position relative to other counties, Bedford's

production of oats fell off between 1850 and 1860, but the county continued

among the leaders in corn production, and heads of cattle, sheep, and swine. In

1860, the county was among leaders in production of butter and wool. In

valuation of animals slaughtered, Bedford led most counties, probably because of

a "large Pork-packing establishment" operating in Shelbyville by at least the mid

1850s.[8]

In a study of material culture, a history of mixed agriculture suggests what

may be expected in the cultural landscape and artifact assemblage of the county.

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[7]Wallace, *A Century of Tennessee Agriculture*, 313-6, 318, 320, 322, 325, 329.

[8]Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 132-5; John P. Campbell, comp., *Nashville Business Directory, Vol. III, 1857* (Nashville, TN: Smith, Camp & Co., 1857), 252.

With a preponderance of small farms instead of large landholdings, spaces for public activities and services were numerous and scattered across the county to be conveniently accessible at short distances from homes on small farms. Churches and graveyards, mills and blacksmith shops, stores and schools were features of the 1860-1865 Bedford County cultural landscape, as were numerous roads connecting homes and barns to each other, to convenient public sites, and to markets and communities beyond the county. A few clusters of public activity expanded into villages or towns that were both points of access to goods and services and markets for a community dependent upon mixed agriculture. In an area that was not dependent upon a staple cash crop capable of producing great wealth, few homes were mansions. Residential structures varied from simple log buildings to large frame or brick homes. With mixed agriculture, farmsteads had several building types for different purposes. A landscape with small farms engaged in mixed agriculture as the norm was broken up by numerous fences, not only property boundaries, but also cross-fencing separating crops from livestock. From field to market, mixed agriculture required a varied material culture of tools and machines for cultivation, animal husbandry, and processing farm products. Proceeds from marketable agricultural products made consumer goods obtainable and stimulated development of county commercial centers that increased the volume and variety of artifacts in Bedford County from settlement to Civil War.

Material culture and cultural landscapes, however, have a longer story in the area that is modern Bedford County. Lithic artifacts found across the county in cultivated and streamside sites describe a locus of prehistoric activity. Fluted projectile points characteristic of Paleo-Indian culture identify Bedford County as a cultural landscape since before 8,000 BC.[9] In the early 1970s, archaeologists from the University of Tennessee conducted the most systematic and extensive study to date of prehistoric cultures in the upper Duck River valley on the eastern edge of Bedford County. Although their work was primarily across the boundary line with Coffee County, their findings on prehistoric material culture and cultural landscapes permit description of Bedford County by extrapolation.

Applied to Bedford County, archaeological evidence from the Normandy Reservoir indicates the area of this study has been a cultural landscape for at least 10,000 years. Evidence of "every major prehistoric period recognized in eastern North America" describes the persistence of human activity here.[10] The area that is now Bedford County had similar attractions for prehistoric and historic people regardless of their different material cultures. Biodiversity provided natural foods in adequate to ample supply most months of the year. Rich, well-drained soils attracted late prehistoric and Euro-American cultivators. Banks Terrace in

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[9]Charles H. Faulkner and C.R. McCollough, *Introductory Report of the Normandy Reservoir Salvage Project: Environmental Setting, Typology, and Survey, Normandy Archaeological Project, Volume 1* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1973), 412-3.

[10]Ibid.

the Normandy impoundment area "was apparently almost continually occupied

from Middle Archaic [4,000-6,000 BC] to historic times." The 1808 area of early

settlement for Bedford County's Lutherans on Thompson Creek was a large

Middle Woodland site which archaeologists Charles Faulkner and C.R.

McCollough date "from the beginning of the Christian Era to at least 500-600

A.D."[11]

One aspect of the ancient cultural landscape of prehistoric people was a

determinant in the historic cultural landscape of Euro-American settlement of

Bedford County. An extensive and complex network of Indian trails covered the

southeastern United States connecting Middle Tennessee with places of origin of

Bedford County's earliest Euro-American explorers and settlers. Taking

advantage of the best ground for land passage, those trails became access

paths for survey parties locating land grants and were widened to wagon roads

for Euro-American migration. At least two ancient trails crossed modern Bedford

County. One known as the Old Waterloo Road ran roughly from north central

Bedford County into Marshall County where the Duck River crosses the county

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[11]Charles H. Faulkner and C.R. McCollough, *Excavations and Testing, Normandy Reservoir Salvage Project: 1972 Seasons, Normandy Archaeological Project, Volume 2* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1974), 119; Faulkner and McCollough, *Introductory Report*, 424, 426; Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 7 October 1969), 184.

line. It continued beyond Bedford County to the Natchez Trace and connections

with trails crisscrossing all of Tennessee.[12]

Another prehistoric path, the Great South Trail, wound from the Great Salt

Lick at Nashville through present Williamson and Rutherford Counties to enter

Bedford near the mid-point of its northern line and continue through the county to

beyond its southeastern corner. The earliest Euro-Americans in the area were

familiar with the Great South Trail, probably used it for access to the Duck River

Valley, and identified it as an overland route for Indian war parties. They named

an intersecting stream Wartrace Creek and used both trail and stream as

reference points for pre-settlement land grant surveys. Following river bottoms,

flood plains, and tributary streambeds of the relatively low ground among fingers

of the steep Highland Rim Escarpment that project into Bedford County, after

1807 the well-known prehistoric trail became a connector between areas of

settlement and in 1852 the route of the railroad between Nashville and

Chattanooga.[13]

When Euro-American colonial settlements developed along the Atlantic

and Gulf Coasts from Charleston, South Carolina to New Orleans, they were

already linked by prehistoric trails. Connections from those coastal paths to

multiple inland trails provided ingress for white settlement to all the area east of

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[12]William E. Myer, *Indian Trails of the Southwest* (1928; repr., Nashville,
TN: Blue & Gray Press, 1971), 117, plate 14.

[13]Griffey, *Land Records,* 106-7; Myer, *Indian Trails,* 116-7, plate 14.

the Mississippi River and south of the Ohio River. After treaties of 1805 and 1806

opened Middle Tennessee to Euro-American settlement, existing trails across

Virginia, down its Shennandoah Valley, and those running west from North

Carolina encouraged an influx from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina.[14]

Within two years of its opening for legal settlement by Euro-Americans,

south central Tennessee had a population that justified formation of a county

government. At the time it was created by an act of the Tennessee Legislature,

December 3, 1807, Bedford County was one of the largest counties in the state.

It included all the area south of modern Rutherford County to the Alabama line,

that is, the present Bedford, Lincoln, and Moore counties. West to east, it

included most of modern Marshall County, part of Giles and Franklin Counties,

and almost half of modern Coffee County.[15]

The extent of the county and an east-west ridge across its width made

communication across the county and travel to the county court difficult for some

residents regardless of the court's location. Legislative acts of November 14,

1809 created Lincoln County from the southern half of the original Bedford,

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[14]Myer, *Indian Trails*, plate 15.

[15]Edmund Cooper, *Centennial Celebration, 4ᵗʰ of July, 1876, at Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee* (Chattanooga, TN: W.I. Crandall, Printer; Times Job Office, 1877), 11; *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Seventh General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: William Moore, 1808), 71-72; Robert Paul Cross, "Bedford County Tennessee: Settlement to Secession, 1785-1861" (MA thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1974), 10-13.

added a small area of Williamson County to Bedford, reassigned a portion of the original Bedford to Franklin County, and made the county seats and courts as convenient to residents as possible with the specification that county seats be established close to the center of each county. The seat of Bedford County was to be "a place on Duck River, within two miles of the centre of said county" and was "to be known by the name of Shelbyville."[16]

Bedford County continued as a large governmental area until the new state constitution of 1835 regulated formation of new counties and specified reduction of Bedford County to 475 square miles. Formation in 1836 and 1837 of Coffee County on the east and Marshall County on the west accomplished the required reduction of Bedford County and set its eastern and western county lines.[17] For those boundaries, the legislature drew generally straight human-made lines running north-south. The northern and southern boundaries of Bedford County, however, were fixed by legislative action along ridges dividing natural watersheds. The act of 1807 creating the county located its northwest corner "on the Duck-river ridge" and made the northern county line "the ridge that divides the waters of Duck river from those of Cumberland." The 1809 act to

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[16]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1809), 112-5, 133-6; Cross, "Bedford County Tennessee," 14-16, 24-28; John H. Long, ed., and Peggy Tuck Sinko, comp., *Tennessee Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000), 75-76.

[17]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 11-12; Long and Sinko, *Tennessee Atlas*, 77-78; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 9.

establish permanent boundaries for the county specified that the southern line should run along "the extreme height of the ridge dividing the waters of Duck river from the waters of Elk river."[18]

Establishing boundaries along divisions between watersheds was more than a legislative convenience to describe a line; there were practical benefits as well. The earliest claims to Middle Tennessee lands that became Bedford and adjacent counties predated Tennessee statehood. Their entries in the North Carolina Land Office dating from the 1780s used streams and watersheds as directions to properties, such as the claim of Amos Balch "On N side of Duck River &c," and those of Robert Washington Smith "S side of Duck River &c" and "On N side of N fork of Duck River."[19] Overlapping claims, inadequate surveys, and outright fraud in the North Carolina Land Office resulted in land disputes that became more complex with Tennessee statehood and the new state's interest in and attempts to administer land grants. John Overton of Tennessee negotiated a North Carolina act of 1803 that gave his state authority to settle claims to Tennessee lands. The Tennessee legislature accepted and ratified the North Carolina act in 1804, but the interstate compact required agreement of the federal government which held title to some Tennessee lands. On April 18, 1806, Congress agreed to the action between the states, and Tennessee received authority over land claims and titles that were within its borders, excluding lands

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[18] *Acts, 1808,* 71; *Acts,* 1809, 133.

[19] Griffey, *Land Records,* 89, 374.

with US titles. It specified the boundaries of unappropriated land to which the

federal government retained title as the Congressional Reservation and keyed

those boundaries to the Duck and Elk Rivers.[20]

As landowners themselves, Tennessee legislators who specified the

boundaries of Bedford and adjacent counties in 1807 and 1809 would have been

aware that the earliest claims, upon which all later claims were based, had

descriptions keyed to watercourses, and they would have been familiar with the

disputatious claims and titles in the Middle Tennessee territory where counties

were forming. They would have participated in the interstate compact, and would

have followed Congressional action authorizing Tennessee to settle claims. That

experience in years immediately preceding establishment of boundaries for

Bedford County made the decision to draw county lines along ridges dividing

watersheds an eminently practical one. Two major watercourses in 1807 Bedford

County, the Duck and Elk rivers, the ridges that separated their watersheds, and

the ridge that separated Duck River lands from those described by rivers to the

north, all ran roughly east to west, providing natural potential county lines. By

making the Duck River Ridge the 1807 northern line of Bedford County, and by

making the ridge dividing the Duck and Elk River watersheds the southern

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[20]Griffey, *Land Records,* 38-40; Kristofer Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 94-96.

boundary in 1809, legislators gave the Bedford County court jurisdiction over land disputes coterminous with the potential disputed claims of one watershed.

Although key to early land grants and successors' claims, the Duck River's importance to early Euro-American settlement and development of Bedford County is far greater than as a reference point for locating properties. On a topographic map of Bedford County, the most obvious natural feature is the Duck River, which enters the county near its southeastern corner with Coffee County and flows to the northeast, leaving Bedford above the mid-point of its western boundary with Marshall County. With a number of horseshoe and hairpin bends, approximately fifty-five river miles of the Duck run generally on a diagonal east to west, roughly bisecting the county. A number of tributaries, some navigable by small boats, drain into the Duck. Lands along the river and streams are generally level to rolling with productive soils that made the area attractive to early settlers.

In the twenty-first century, the Normandy Dam on the eastern edge of Bedford County impounds the Duck River near its source. The dam and Normandy Reservoir provide flood control and regulate flow of the primary water supply for several towns downstream. Except in heavy rains with flash flooding or in drought conditions that threaten public water supplies, the modern Duck's flow westward across the county is so diminished by the dam and removal of water for municipal use that few people regularly notice the river. Recreational boaters, staffs of industries and sewage treatment plants that discharge effluent, and officials monitoring available public water supplies are a small minority of modern

Bedford Countians routinely aware of Duck River. That modern lack of attention to the river is far different from public interest in and dependence on the Duck from the establishment of the county through the Civil War era. Throughout the period of this study and for decades after 1865, the Duck River was a significant cultural landscape and the driver of industry for Bedford County.

With more than 150 species of fish including varieties of bass, bluegill, redhorse, and catfish, the river was a rich food supply and source of income. In 1860 a Shelbyville woman who appeared to be the only employed person in her household listed her occupation as fisherwoman, and a man in Rowesville identified himself as a fisherman.[21] Joe Brooks's survey of the river recorded remains of a number of fishtraps, submerged wood or rock pens that collect numbers of fish. They cannot be dated in situ, but Brooks is convinced the method of fishing was in use in the Civil War era.[22] Fish baskets mentioned in Samuel E. Tillman's memoir may be a reference to trapping fish in the 1860s.[23]

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[21]United States Bureau of the Census, 1860, Tennessee, Bedford, District 7, District 25, accessed 30 January 2009, Ancestry.com, HeritageQuestOnline.com, and other subscription services. Manuscript census pages on microfilm produced by the National Archives of the United States are in many libraries. All references herein to the 1860 census of population are to images accessed through HeritageQuestOnline.com.

[22]Joe D. Brooks III mapped the Duck River from its source to the Tennessee River. He sketched and researched man-made features along the river and its tributaries creating extensive files of unpublished notes that he generously shared. He graciously spent hours responding to my questions and thereby increased my understanding of the river, its characteristics, and its history. His notes have no pagination. Citations to the Joe D. Brooks III collection are to his hand-drawn Duck River Atlas, or to vertical files or research notes that

The extent of riparian land across the county encouraged early settlements scattered across the county rather than a pattern of localized early settlement that spread outwards with population growth. In addition to fertile soils, the Duck River and its tributaries across the county provided necessary waterpower that encouraged development of early industrial sites and growth of settlements around them. In many county locations, watercourses cutting through limestone had left stone banks rising above streams and creating attractive mill seats that would be less prone to flood damage than mills constructed at stream level. For the convenience of growers and millers, water-powered grist, flour, and sawmill sites were numerous enough to locate processing sites close to the sources of agricultural raw products.

The Duck River and its tributaries that provided landmarks for early surveys and land grants across the width of Bedford County, and the mills established along the river were early points of orientation for public activity. As a source of power for processing agricultural products and an early connector to markets, the riverine system was a significant contributor to the early economic development and prosperity of the county. The river was still part of the transportation landscape into the Civil War era. In 1860 a man in the eastern part

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are organized by locations and subjects. Fishtraps were a subject of Joe Brooks, personal communication with Jane Townes, 18 November 2009.

[23]Dwight L. Smith, "Leaving Home, Former Slaves, and an Ex-President: Samuel E. Tillman's Transition Years, 1865-1869," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1992): 218.

of the county reported his occupation as "boathand," and a man with reportable

personal property and real estate in western Bedford County gave his occupation

as "lumber floater." The Duck continued to be a route to market for loggers late

enough for Jimmy Caperton to tell the author in the 1980s that he remembered

men who told him stories of floating logs from Bedford County to New Orleans.[24]

Although the river continued to move products out of the county until well

after the Civil War, internal improvements after 1830 decreased its utility as a

route to markets. As a source of power, however, the industrial landscape of the

Duck River increased in importance through the Civil War era with a number of

mills that contributed to the county's becoming a military objective.

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[24]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 2, p. 19, Western Division
District 18, p. 170, accessed 30 January 2009; Jimmy Caperton, personal
communication with Jane Townes, November 2005.

CHAPTER TWO

BEDFORD COUNTY ROADS AND RAILROADS

Even though legislation authorizing dams provided protection for navigation, neither the ideal of the Duck River as a navigable waterway nor the Tennessee legislature's legal designation overrode realities of weather and topography. At best, passage for freight-laden boats in Bedford County was problematic. In dry weather, the river had many shoals that made it impassable for heavy loads, thus limiting its usefulness as a navigable waterway. With population growth, by the 1820s there were a number of distinct localities across the county, many of them not on the riparian system. As point-to-point roads connecting them began to be improved, the river's utility declined. Except for local short trips or materials like logs that could be floated to market in the wet season more easily than they could be loaded on wagons and hauled out of the county, by the Civil War era, roads rather than the river were key to transportation within and beyond the county. The completion of a railroad through Bedford County in 1852 expanded access to goods and markets well beyond Tennessee, and completed the county's Civil War era transportation landscape.

Since before 1828, a network of national post roads had included stops in Bedford County, connecting them to a national landscape. Although no features of the original roads are now evident, lifelong rural residents of the county

indicate areas of their properties that family traditions noted as old stage roads that were part of the national post road network. Extant buildings have associations with the post or stage roads. The Singleton house in Fairfield, for example, has a history as a tavern on a stage road between Nashville and Knoxville before 1850. A small building near the Skull Camp Ford and later bridge is known in Shelbyville as a stagecoach stop, and Eastover Farm eight miles south of Shelbyville is on an old stage road.[1] In the Civil War, Bedford County's long established network of roads with distant connections gave it strategic value as a thoroughfare for troop movements as well as access routes to agricultural products for military provisions.

Matthew Rhea's 1832 map of Tennessee, the first map of the state made from a survey, shows the network of early roads that made Bedford County part of the national landscape. It is a reasonable assumption that the map shows what was important to the surveyor and the potential users of his map. It has the county's boundary lines at its full original width before portions were removed to

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[1]Statutes at Large, 20th Congress, 1st Session, 319, and Statutes at Large, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, 470-5, Library of Congress, *American Memory,* "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875," http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsl.html, accessed 10 December 2010; Dwight Smith, Geraldine Phillips, and Howard Phillips, personal communication with Jane Townes, 8 January 2009; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors to the Past: Homes of Shelbyville and Bedford County* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 1969), 43-44, 57; Timothy R. Marsh, Helen C. Marsh, and Garland King, *Early History of Bedford County Tennessee, Two Hundred Years Along The Three Forks of Duck River* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh and Garland King Museum, 2007), 178.

form or add to counties to the east and west. The county seat is on the map with only one other town that was still in the county in 1860. In addition to Shelbyville, Davis (which became known as Fairfield) appears on the map, indicating its importance in the early county. The Duck River and its major tributaries are the natural features receiving the most attention from the surveyor. The human-made features of greatest interest are roads. Roads radiate from Shelbyville across Bedford County, crossing county lines at numerous points where they are connections to a complex network of Middle Tennessee roads that make connections beyond the state.[2]

In the three decades preceding the Civil War, construction of turnpikes and bridges across major streams greatly altered the natural landscape of Bedford County and created a new cultural landscape of physically connected localities. The shift in interest away from the river as thoroughfare and toward road construction was evident in 1831 when legislative action created a Board of Internal Improvements for Davidson, Rutherford, and Bedford Counties. The new board's purview was construction of a turnpike connecting the three county seats. The enabling act made no mention of navigation as an internal improvement. That act ordered organization of a stock company, the Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike Company, to raise money from individual stockholders

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[2]Robert M. McBride and Owen Meredith, eds., *Eastin Morris' Tennessee Gazetteer 1834 and Matthew Rhea's Map of the State of Tennessee 1832* (Nashville, TN: Gazetteer Press, 1971).

in order to qualify for state matching funds for internal improvements. It specified

the financial structure and operations of the turnpike construction company and

ordered company commissioners to begin construction on or before April 1,

1832.[3]

A number of different bidders undertook to build different sections of the

pike and completed their obligations at different times, making the completion

date for the county's first turnpike uncertain. An 1876 review of important events

in Bedford County history gave the completion date as 1833 or 1834, indicating

an expeditious fundraising and construction effort. However, the completion date

for the entire route of the pike was not that early. John Shofner was an early

settler in eastern Bedford County. Beginning in 1822 and continuing for fifty

years, his and his family members' letters to relatives who stayed in North

Carolina reported family and Bedford County news with frequent comments on

internal improvements. In the summer of 1834 he projected a completion date for

the pike in summer or fall 1835. A year later, he anticipated completion in

October 1835. The Nashville-Murfreesboro-Shelbyville Turnpike was complete

before June 13, 1837, when Shofner reported "Our turnpike road is done."[4]

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[3]*Public Acts Passed at the Stated Session of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1831* (Nashville, TN: Allen A. Hall & F.S. Heiskell, 1832), 69-72.

[4]Edmund Cooper, *Centennial Celebration, 4th of July, 1876, at Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee* (Chattanooga, TN: W.I. Crandall, Printer; Times Job Office, 1877), 16; John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 28 August 1834, John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner and Salley Shofner, 25 July 1835,

The act creating the Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Shelbyville Turnpike Company reflects both a wide national movement of internal improvements and a demand for improvements across Tennessee that created partisan and sectional rivalry over projects and funding. Copying English models of improved roads, in the late eighteenth century, Pennsylvania began construction of roadbeds graded and sloped to improve sustainability under heavy traffic. Because early Pennsylvania turnpikes provided efficient military and market routes and more rapid communication than older wagon roads, they were examples that New England and East Coast states with large populations quickly followed, beginning an era of turnpike construction across the United States.

From about 1819 in England, the roadbed innovations of John Loudon McAdam revolutionized road construction with techniques that were quickly copied in American turnpikes. McAdam used broken stones and gravel that compacted to form a solid roadbed that drained well, withstood freezing weather, and supported heavy loads and traffic better than earlier roads of dirt or combined dirt and stone layers. He stressed the importance of a convex road surface with stone deeper in the center than at the sides of the road and grades reduced to less than 10%. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century,

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John Shoffner and Milly Shoffner to Michael Shoffner and family, 13 June 1837, Michael Shoffner Papers #4067, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, NC. The collection name uses Shoffner with two F's. Descendents of the family spell the surname differently, either with one F or two. This author uses the spelling as given in each document.

"macadamized" roads became the gold standard for American road construction. Because new thoroughfares built in the United States on McAdam's model were often publicly funded or stock company projects, they required income for construction, maintenance, and returns on stockholder investment. A series of tollgates collecting user fees along the new roads was typical of turnpikes. To provide a barrier to travel in order to collect fees, tollgates often had a wooden pole similar to a pike that pivoted on a vertical wood post to swing across the road. Thus, a pike that turned provided a term for roads with the characteristics of state-of-the-art construction and tolls for users.[5]

Tennessee's legislative acts authorizing turnpike construction specified tolls for a number of categories of road traffic and usually required that tollgates would be at intervals of five miles.[6] So tollgates would have been numerous and familiar features on Bedford County roads between 1860 and 1865. Indeed,

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[5]J.L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States* (1888; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), 29-34, 40-41.

[6]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-Second General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1837-8* (Nashville, TN: S. Nye & Co., 1838), 268-9; *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-third General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1839-40* (Nashville, TN: J. Geo. Harris, 1840), 253; *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-sixth General Assembly for the Years 1845-6* (Knoxville, TN: James C. Moses, 1846), 84; *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly for the Years 1849-50* (Nashville, TN: M'Kennie & Watterson, 1850), 81, 454, 470.

military maps from the Civil War years and the 1878 Beers Map noted some

tollgate locations, permitting estimation of the locations of others.[7]

In addition to a moveable physical bar to traffic, each site would have had

a house for the tollgate keeper and up to five acres of company-owned land.[8]

Two structures identified by local historians as tollhouses survived northwest of

Shelbyville along US Highway 41-A, the route that would have been the pike

connecting Shelbyville, Unionville, and Rover.[9] Since tollgates operated in

Bedford County into the 1920s, construction dates of these surviving houses

were uncertain. One with a considerably altered exterior appeared to be a story-

and-a-half frame building with one or two ground-floor rooms, a gable roof, a

possibly original shed extension at the rear, and a large stone chimney at its

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[7]"Shelbyville and Vicinity From general information By Capt. W.E. Merrill, Chief of Top. Engs.A.C.," June 10, 1863, and "Shelbyville and Vicinity From a Survey by Capt. C. Dunham, Actg. Asst. Engr. Under the direction of Capt. W.E. Merrill," July 17, 1863, in George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Fairfax Press, 1983); Bedford County, Tennessee Map Resources, http-/www.tngenweb.org/bedford/maps.htm, accessed 24 May 2009; D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," reproduction, possession of author.

[8]*Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Murfreesborough, TN: J. Norvell & G.A. & A.C. Sublett, 1824), 151; Civil War Direct Tax Assessment Lists 1862: Tennessee, Bedford County, District 6, p. 16, District 7, p. 18, National Archives Microfilm, Middle Tennessee State University MFM 470, microcopy T227, reel 1.

[9] Linda Fly, personal communication with Jane Townes, 24 January 2010; Wendell Rowland, personal communication with Jane Townes, 27 January 2010.

north end. Local sources advised it earlier had a porch on its long facade facing

the road that was removed during modern road widening. The owner of the

second tollhouse, now at the site of the old Rover School where it had been

moved from its original roadside location, advised that its footprint and framing

are original.[10] It was a one-and-a-half-story gabled house with a rear shed

extension. It had one first-floor room with a large fireplace and a smaller room in

the shed extension. The front room had a turning corner stair to the half-story

room. Its entrance was from a small front porch running the width of the one-

room façade. A published photograph of a tollhouse with construction date of

1860 or before shows a structure with a similar porch location immediately at the

edge of the road.[11]

In the same way that mills, distilleries, and factories received specific

notation as taxable assets, Bedford County's tollgates appeared in the 1862

property tax assessed by the United States in occupied insurrectionary districts.

Although stores, hotels, taverns, and blacksmith shops did not rate particular

notice from the tax assessor, tax lists specified tollgates as important income-

producing properties. The 1862 tax record, therefore, indicated a perceived

importance of the tollgates in the Civil War era landscape. In Civil District 6, an

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[10]Rowland, personal communication.

[11]René Atwood Capley, Bedford County Bicentennial: Celebrating the Past, 1807-2007 (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 2007), 85; Michael Gavin, email message to Jane Townes, 16 February 2010.

unnamed turnpike company had a gate valued at $1,000 though its five acres

had a value of only $200. In District 7, the vicinity of Shelbyville, one acre and a

gate had a value of $1,000, the same value as many town lots. In District 21,

gate number one on the Shelbyville-Farmington-Lewisburg Turnpike was

probably the first tollgate on that pike outside Shelbyville. With no indication of

acreage attached to that tollgate, its valuation was $1,000.[12]

Legislative acts for construction of turnpikes named commissioners for

each project. Those individuals had the responsibility of selling stock to fund

construction, letting bids, determining routes, and overseeing construction to

completion. A comparison of lists of commissioners on several projects with the

1862 property tax list demonstrated that men who owned property in the civil

districts along proposed turnpike routes often assumed responsibility for carrying

out those projects. Turnpike commissioners probably expected the projects they

managed to benefit their areas of the county and their individual holdings. James

L. Armstrong, for example, served as commissioner for two projects nearly a

decade apart. Both pikes for which he had responsibility ran from the center

toward the eastern edge of the county. In 1862, Armstrong's property tax

assessment reported six hundred acres in the second civil district in eastern

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[12]Civil War Direct Tax 1862, District 6, p. 16, District 7, p. 18, District 10, p. 31, District 11, p. 37, District 21, p. 50.

Bedford County. Both turnpike projects on which he was a commissioner ran through that district.[13]

Similarly, Alfred Campbell was commissioner on two projects that brought improved roads from Shelbyville toward his property in the southeastern part of the county. With other commissioners, he oversaw extension of a macadamized road from Shelbyville to Duck River and construction of a bridge to replace a ford that had been the river crossing between the southeastern county and the county seat. Two years later he was a commissioner to construct a pike to Flat Creek near the southeastern corner of the county. At least three of the four commissioners serving with Campbell on the earlier board, and at least four of the six serving with him on the later project had high value properties in southeastern Bedford County in 1862.[14]

While some landowners anticipated benefits from turnpike projects, there was also the possibility of detriment to properties crossed by the new roads. Legislative action conveying authority to turnpike company commissioners included a multi-step appellate process of redress for "any person or persons who may conceive themselves injured by the location of said road through their

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[13]*Acts, 1837-8*, 81; *Acts, 1845-6*, 163; Direct Tax 1862, District 2, p. 3.

[14]Civil War Direct Tax 1862, Districts 22, 23; *Acts of the State of Tennessee 1847-8 Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly for the Years 1847-8* (Jackson, TN: Gates & Parker, 1848), 249; *Acts 1849-50*, 469.

lands, or by the gravel, earth or timber which may be taken therefrom."[15] An act

passed a year after the provision for legal redress for property damages

suggested some aggrieved individuals not satisfied by the legal process may

have acted maliciously against turnpikes. It provided for orders of compensation,

fines, or imprisonment for "any person or persons [who] shall erect or cause to be

erected across or on the…turnpike road, any fence, or throw any other

obstruction thereon, or shall dig up or remove the stone, gravel or earth of which

said road is constructed, or in any wise obstruct or injure said road, or shall knock

down or in any wise injure or deface any of the mile posts on said road, or shall

pull down or injure, or set fire to any bridge, culvert or other building erected by

the said turnpike company on said road, willfully and intentionally."[16]

The passage of legislative acts addressing malicious action against

turnpikes makes it clear that support for the new roads was not universal.

Attitudes toward the toll roads ranged from those of turnpike investors and

commissioners promoting projects near their properties, to people willfully and

intentionally obstructing or injuring the new roads. Tolls on the pikes benefited

turnpike companies and their investors. Landowners and commercial interests

benefited from improved roads. Bedford Countians with less property who

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[15] *Public Acts Passed at the Called Session of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1832* (Nashville, TN: Republican and Gazette, 1832), 28.

[16] *Public Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twentieth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1833* (Nashville, TN: Republican and Gazette, 1833), 116-7.

traveled or moved livestock or freight more than the five miles between tollgates may not have recognized a benefit to tolls required for their use of public roads and may have demonstrated opposition to turnpikes either with vandalism or attempts to evade tolls. The severity of penalties set by law for failure to pay tolls on the Nashville, Murfreesboro and Shelbyville Turnpike suggested both that resistance to tolls was anticipated and that turnpike operators took collection of tolls seriously. The toll for wagons and teams depended on loads and ranged from twelve and a half cents to twenty-five cents. The number of wheels on carriages determined their tolls from twelve and a half cents to twenty-five cents, and the toll for a man on a horse was six and one-fourth cents. Compared to those charges, the five-dollar penalty specified for non-payment of each was strong motivation to pay at tollgates regardless of opposition to tolls.[17]

As a farmer, John Shofner's attitude toward improved roads was one of strong support, as was evident in several letters. On June 2, 1832, he wrote that "people here are about to make a paved rode from Shelbyville to Nashville our commersicle sitty about fifty miles it is let out by shares at $100 a Share I have taken one Share." Two months later he wrote that "internal improvements is the life of any country we have commensed a rode from Shelbyville to Nashville." Two years later, on August 28, 1834 the farmer's reason for supporting improved roads was clear: "we now have large farms open and our lands are prodective

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[17]*Acts, 1824*, 152-3; *Acts, 1832*, 28-9.

consequently [price of] produse is low and our rodes are muddey in the winter time So that it is harde to get to market to remedy this evil the legislater chartered a rode from Shelbyville to Nashvilll by way of Murphresburrow...and the rode is now in rappid progress a parte of it finished and the [w]hole will be done in 12 or 15 month more it is thought then that a teem can pull from 5 to 6 thousand pounds."[18]

Describing the road's construction as "throd up leavel thirty feete wide and made leavel and then graveld over twenty feete wide and the gravel to be nine inches thick," Shofner's language was very close to that of the act authorizing construction of Bedford County's first macadamized turnpike. Running almost due north from Shelbyville to Murfreesboro, it became a model for county turnpike construction through the antebellum period.[19]

Between 1831 and 1854, a number of legislative acts authorized construction of several turnpikes within and beyond the county. Their common characteristic was collection of tolls. Although macadamized surfaces were ideal, commissioners for some construction projects like the pikes from Columbia to Shelbyville and from Shelbyville to McMinnville had options to construct graded

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[18]John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner and Salley Shofner, 2 June 1832, John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner and Salley Shofner, 4 August 1832, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 28 August 1834, Shoffner Papers.

[19]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 28 August 1834, Shoffner Papers; Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16; *Acts, 1832*, 27; *Acts, 1847-8*, 249, 406.

dirt roads.[20] Language of the act authorizing construction of a turnpike from

Shelbyville to Winchester and beyond into Marion County suggested that

commissioners' decisions to settle for graded dirt turnpikes might be influenced

by terrain over which it was difficult to haul and pack gravel. That act authorized

commissioners "to make the whole of said road by grading only, or [they] may

grade part and cover a part thereof with stone, as they may deem most

advisable, and [they may determine] the manner in which said grading shall be

done, when the same [road] ascends or descends the Cumberland mountain."[21]

Authorization for construction of a Shelbyville to Fayetteville turnpike crossing the

high ground dividing Bedford and Lincoln Counties reinforced the idea that

difficult terrain made macadamized surfaces less likely on improved roads and

that commissioners had discretion over construction methods. For that project,

"so much of said road as may be located upon the Elk ridge, may be graded only

without any graveling, if said Company shall prefer it; and the balance of said

road may at the election of said company be graveled for the width of twenty feet,

or of only sixteen feet."[22]

Construction specifications in acts establishing companies to build county

turnpikes usually ordered widths of graded and graveled surfaces, convex

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[20]*Acts, 1837-8,* 368-9.

[21]*Acts, 1839-40,* 252-3.

[22] *Acts, 1845-6,* 84-85.

surfaces, drainage ditches, and graduated compacted stone surfaces consistent

with McAdam's standards. In almost identical language, two acts passed four

years apart gave the same construction specifications, indicating accepted

construction and characteristics of turnpikes in Civil War era Bedford County.

Both required "said road shall be opened at last thirty feet, and graded sixteen

feet, with ditches at each side to carry off the water; the surface shall gradually

descend from the centre to the ditches; it shall be gradually paved with stone or

gravel, and shall have substantial and sufficient bridges wherever they are

necessary."[23]

The proliferation of turnpikes in Bedford County was part of an era of

widespread demand for internal improvements in Tennessee that influenced

divisive state politics into the Civil War era. Because of topographic differences

among the three grand divisions of the state, support for types of internal

improvements, particularly river navigation, turnpike construction, and railroads,

was sectional. Differences in the economies of East, Middle, and West

Tennessee created different attitudes toward funding internal improvements.

Relative to other parts of the state, East Tennessee had difficult terrain limiting

agricultural production, access to markets, and economic development. Although

the Whig Party was not the usual political affiliation of poor farmers, it was the

party supporting federal or state aid for internal improvements so it became the

dominant party of East Tennesseans who supported improved river navigation

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[23]*Acts, 1849-50,* 80; *Acts, 1853-4,* 477.

and railroad construction. The prosperous region of Middle Tennessee had fewer physical barriers to road construction than East Tennessee, so a network of turnpikes was the improvement of choice. Stock companies in the mid-state successfully raised project funds, encouraging Middle Tennesseans to support the Democratic Party and its opposition to state aid for improvements that increased the public debt. West Tennesseans favored railroad construction at federal or state expense. Through the 1830s, legislative battles on improvements and their funding created antagonism, particularly between East Tennessee and the rest of the state. Sharp divisions between improved and unimproved areas of the state, Whigs and Democrats, and attitudes toward the role of central government characterized Tennessee politics through the antebellum period and into the secession crisis and Civil War.[24]

When the Civil War began, at least five turnpikes and several older roads radiated from Shelbyville connecting the towns of Bedford County and its county seat to each other and to the principal towns of adjacent counties. Either directly, or through connections in other towns, Bedford County roads extended to Nashville, Franklin, and Chattanooga in Tennessee and beyond the state into Kentucky and Alabama.

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[24]Paul H. Bergeron, *Antebellum Politics in Tennessee* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982) and Stanley John Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee 1796-1845* (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1939) present detailed analysis of antebellum Tennessee's sectional differences as they influenced party politics and attitudes to internal improvements.

After the fall of Fort Donelson in February, US troops moved into Bedford County in March 1862. From that date until August 1864 when Federal forces gained control of Atlanta and the Nashville-Chattanooga-Atlanta railroad through the county, Confederate and Union forces jockeyed for control of Bedford County. For more than two years, large numbers of troops of both armies, thousands of men and horses with wagons and gun carriages for heavy artillery, and livestock driven with armies for provisions moved back and forth over county roads.[25] The fact that the roads sustained heavy military traffic through the war indicates the quality of pre-war construction and maintenance and raises questions about the condition of roads at the war's end.

Military maps of the war years provide images of the layout of county turnpikes and roads thirty years into the turnpike era. Those maps, however, even two produced by the same Federal topographic command only thirty-seven days apart, differ in roads and features shown and in shapes and routes of roads and watercourses. Legends on those two maps suggest different cartographic methods may have been employed that may account in part for their differences. A map dated June 10, 1863 is of "Shelbyville and Vicinity from general

[25]United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 10, Part 2, p. 71-72, Series 1, Volume 30, Part 4, pp. 157, 159, 218, Series 1, Volume 31, Part 1, p. 727, Series 1, Volume 45, Part 1, pp. 1101, 1127, Series 1, Volume 45, Part 2, p. 526, Series 1, Volume 52, Part 1, pp. 58, 352-3 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1889). All citations herein to *Official Records* are to the Cornell University Library, *Making of America*, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar//waro.html.

information." A second map of July 17, 1863 with the same title and covering a similar area states it is "from a survey." It may be that these maps had different purposes that influenced their content. The earlier of the two maps identifies and locates a number of property owners, mills, stores, shops, and neighborhood connector roads in addition to main roads, bridges, and gaps that would have been important for troop movements, but it does not identify military positions. Its attention to civilian properties and connector roads would have been useful for foraging teams and supervision of a population in which both Unionists and Secessionists were known by name. The map dated five weeks later shows fewer roads and less property detail than the earlier map, but it locates military positions, dams, fords, and a good camp ground for troops.[26]

Differences between these two maps demonstrate that available military maps from the Civil War may not chart all roads for Bedford County, and plotted courses of roads may be more general than actual routes. A third 1863 map of Bedford County dated April and an 1862 map of Middle Tennessee that includes just a portion of Bedford County north of Shelbyville support these two conclusions when compared to the June and July 1863 maps. The two earlier maps show a number of county localities not identified by the other maps, and draw connector roads among them that are not mapped in June and July 1863. For example, the 1862 map shows at least seven roads leaving Unionville while

[26]Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Survey Map, July 1863.

the most detailed of the 1863 maps shows only three roads at the same town.

Although the 1862 cartographer took pains to plot bends and branches of

watercourses, his roads are simplified directional point-to-point connectors

among localities.[27]

Roads of varied quality and purposes made up the transportation network

of Bedford County in the Civil War era. Military map notations like "pike," "graded

dirt road," or "bridle path," and the symbols with which roads were drawn

distinguished turnpikes from less improved roads. The 1862 map and the April

and June 1863 maps distinguished turnpikes from less improved roads with

symbols and notations (figure 2). The July 1863 map with more attention to

military features not only distinguished between turnpikes and other roads, it also

included a symbol for a path to a ford suitable for cavalry. The April 1863 map

showed a "Rough Road" that the July 1863 map identified as the Tullahoma Dirt

Road (figure 3). Contrasting descriptions of that road and a turnpike in a three-

day period that would have had similar weather demonstrated the advantages of

turnpike construction. To Federal troops in March 1862, the Tullahoma Dirt Road

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[27]"Sketch of the environs of Shelbyville, Wartrace & Normandy, Tennessee Compiled from the best information under the direction of Capt. N. Michler, Corps of Topographical Engrs. U.S.A., by John E. Weyss, Maj. Ky. Vols., Chief Asst. Drawn by C. S. Mergell," April 1863, *American Memory Map Collections.* Library of Congress http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3964s+cw0434500)) (accessed 15 November 2011); "Benjamin F. Cheatham [Civil War] Map, *Circa* 1862," Map Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.
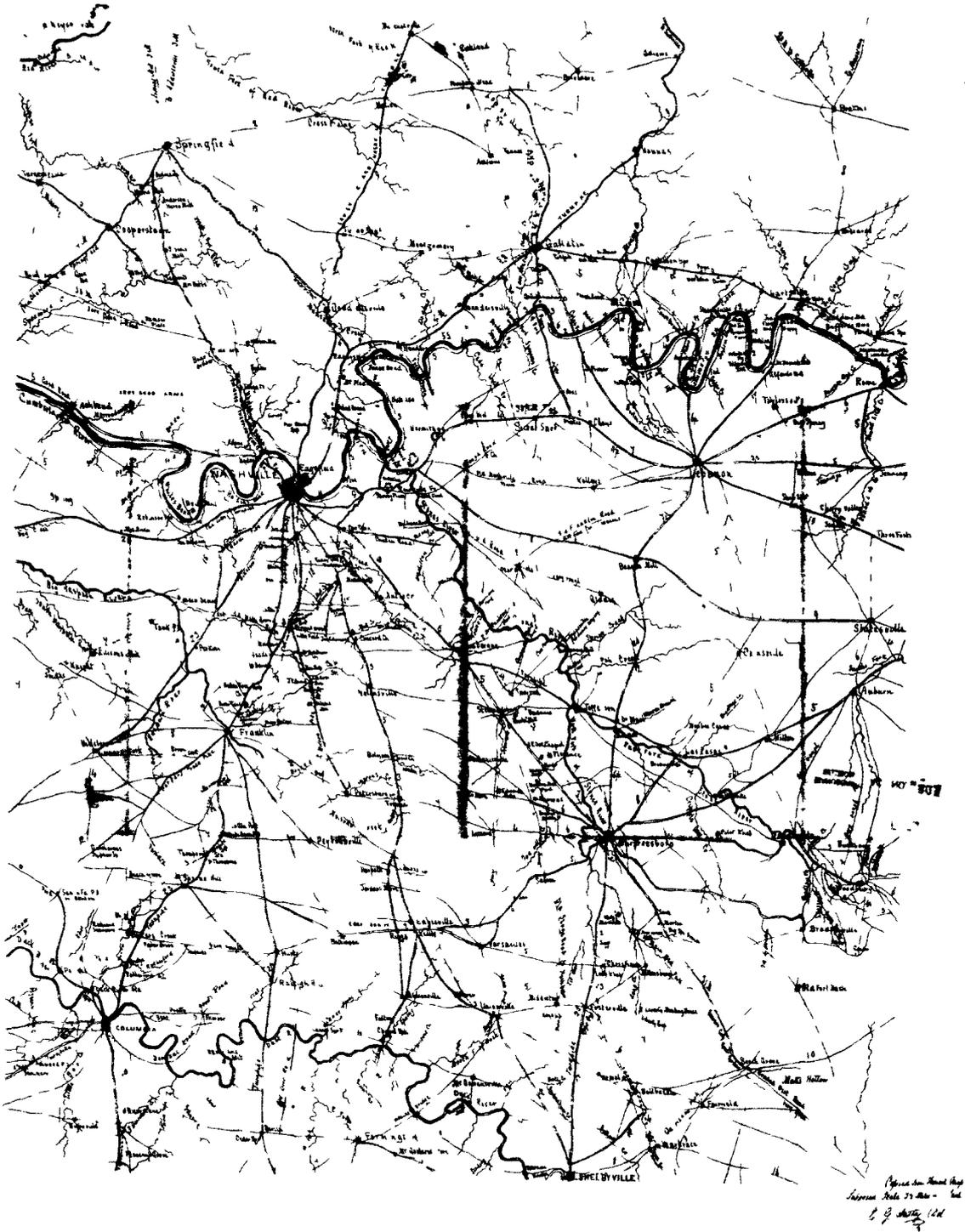
Figure 2. "Benjamin F. Cheatham [Civil War] Map, Circa 1862," Map Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.
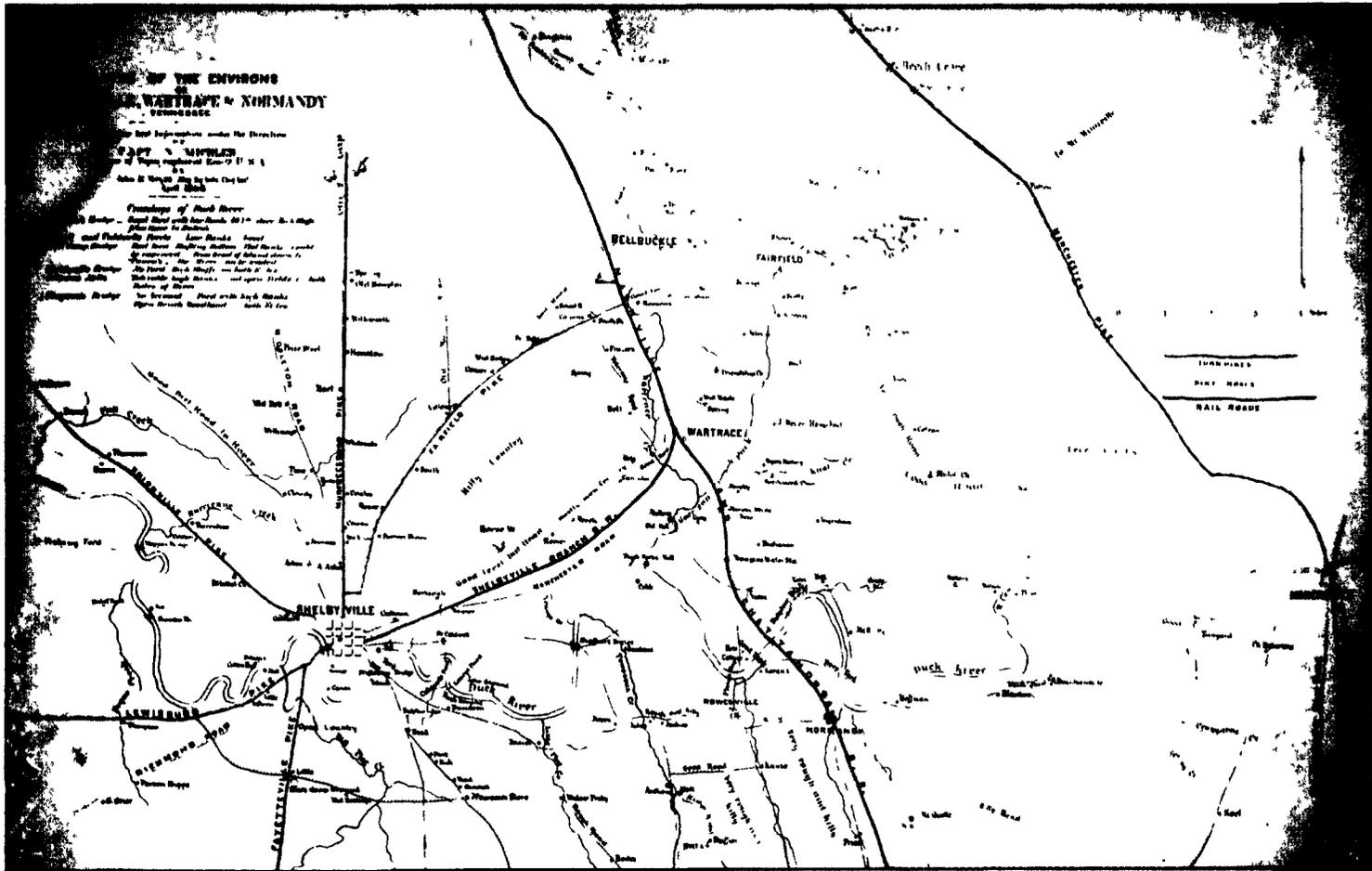
Figure 3. "Sketch of the environs of Shelbyville, Wartrace & Normandy, Tennessee ... April 1863,"
American Memory Map Collections. Library of Congress http://memory.loc.gov/cgi ... (accessed 15
November 2011).

was "the most abominable road it was ever [their] lot to travel, mostly over solid

and detached rock, miry lanes, and miry woods, the horses sinking over knee-

deep in the mud." Mentioned in the same report, "the [Murfreesboro ?] pike

rendered it easy of transportation."[28] Communications on troop movements

between Murfreesboro and Shelbyville included mention of the old stage road,

also known as Middleton Dirt Road that nearly paralleled the macadamized

Murfreesboro pike. Notation of the "Old Stage Road to Nashville" and the

comment "good" on the 1862 map confirmed proximity of the two roads, the

original destination and purpose of the dirt road, and its continued usefulness

without McAdam's improvements.[29]

All of the military maps showed turnpikes radiating in five directions from

Shelbyville. Comparison of that Civil War pattern of roads from the county seat

into the county with a very similar pattern on the 1832 Rhea map indicated that

turnpikes were generally improvements along very old routes. With the exception

of the southeastern quadrant of the county, which did not yet have completed

state-of-the-art pikes, from most of the county, it was possible to reach good

roads to markets and adjacent counties with relatively short trips on the

[28]Cheatham Map, 1862; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Survey Map, July 1863; Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 47, 49.

[29]Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 52, part 1, p. 338, 353; Cheatham Map, 1862.

unimproved roads connecting the turnpikes.[30] That transportation and

communication web made Bedford County a strategic military asset and

expanded the cultural landscape of Civil War era residents by connecting them to

each other, to public places, and to communities in neighboring counties.

A problem with the military maps as sources for Bedford County's Civil

War era landscape is that none of the maps located to date includes the southern

half of the county. Neither the 1862 nor the June 1863 map includes anything

below the south bank of Duck River at Shelbyville. The April and July 1863 maps

include only slightly more area below the river to show approaches of main roads

into Shelbyville. Apparently the lower county was of less interest to military

planners. That may have been because the railroad of strategic concern left the

county on its eastern edge above its southeastern quadrant, or perhaps the more

difficult terrain of the Highland Rim Escarpment in the southern county presented

less strategic threat or potential benefit for occupying troops.

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[30] *The Goodspeed Histories of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford, & Marshall Counties of Tennessee* (Columbia, TN: Woodward & Stinson Printing Co., 1971), 866-7; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863; Rhea Map, 1832. In the late 1860s, a second wave of turnpike construction brought improved roads to southeastern Bedford County. *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the Second Session of the General Assembly For the Years 1868-69* (Nashville, TN: S.C. Mercer, 1869), 182-3, 323.

The cartographic source closest to the Civil War era that includes southern Bedford County is the Beers Map of 1878.[31] It is reasonable to use it judiciously as a reference for the lower county between 1860 and 1865 because comparison of military maps and Beers demonstrates that roads of 1862-1863 in the upper portion of the county continued in use with little alteration of routes through 1878. Whether they were mapped during the war with characteristics of specific routes or as directional lines between points, it is possible to locate nearly all the roads shown on military maps north of Duck River on the Beers Map. Knowing that the Beers Map is useful for Civil War era roads in the northern half of the county, it is reasonable to assume a similar degree of continuity in the southern half of the county and that many of the lower county roads on Beers were also part of the cultural landscape of the Civil War era.

Using the Beers Map to compare patterns of roads in the upper and lower parts of Bedford County it is clear that development of Civil War era localities had been influenced by topography, specifically the Central Basin and the Highland Rim Escarpment. The Beers Map shows, and Civil War maps confirm, that cultural features of localities in the Central Basin of northwestern Bedford County were connected by roads with a general pattern of straightaways and right angles. That is true not only of turnpikes, but also of lesser connector roads. In

[31]D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," reproduction, possession of author.

contrast, Beers' pattern of roads connecting cultural features of localities of the southern county on the Highland Rim Escarpment has winding routes of many curves following watercourses. Roads shown by Beers in the vicinities of Fairfield, Rowesville, and Normandy on the Highland Rim Escarpment in Eastern Bedford County had the same pattern of following watercourses, and inclusion of that area on the military map of April 1863 verified the pattern existed in the Civil War landscape.[32]

Roads develop along routes determined by repeated use or by intent to connect particular points as conveniently as possible. Since the shortest route between two points is a straight line and the easiest and cheapest road to build is the shortest, it is reasonable to assume that when a road does not follow a straight line there must be a reason.

In the flat to undulating Central Basin, it was feasible for straight roads to connect farmsteads to each other and to local services like blacksmith shops, stores, schools, and churches. But in the southern part of the county on the Highland Rim Escarpment, roads took routes around numerous obstacles like watercourses or hills and avoided difficult terrain like wetlands or steep slopes. Winding streams marked property lines, and farmsteads were in desirable bottomlands oriented not to straight roads but to curving watercourses. Because streams were in flatter ground that more easily accommodated development of

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[32]Beers Map, 1878; Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863.

roads, routes among farmsteads and services in southern Bedford County

followed them, creating a pattern of winding roads. For example, the present New

Herman Road appeared on the Beers Map running southwest from the town of

Flat Creek along the stream of the same name toward its source near the Elk

River Ridge that separates Bedford and Lincoln Counties. Goose Creek, west of

the town of Flat Creek, had a similar pattern of stream and road running along

together.[33]

The few roads shown on the 1832 Rhea map confirmed the tendency of

early roads to develop along streams through hilly country and to develop more

nearly point-to-point routes in the flatter Central Basin. In the northeastern area of

the county, roads followed streams around Davis (later Fairfield). A road roughly

following Garrison Fork south from Davis crossed the Duck River and roughly

followed Thompson's Creek into southern Bedford County, where it connected

with a road into Franklin County. The low ground through which Wartrace Creek

flowed south provided road access from the Duck River to Rutherford County and

Murfreesboro. From Shelbyville, a road south along the line of Big Flat Creek ran

to the southernmost point of the county and into Lincoln County. In contrast to the

roads through hilly parts of the county, several routes from Shelbyville running

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[33]Beers Map, 1878.

north and west through the Central Basin crossed streams instead of following

their courses.[34]

With a large number of streams and the Duck River crossing the width of

Bedford County, fords and bridges were common and necessary features along

county roads. Military maps of 1862 and 1863 noted a number of each. Fords

were natural features that facilitated water crossings. They usually had climbable

opposing banks with relatively shallow water and rock or gravel streambeds that

provided footing for horses and purchase for wagon wheels. Frequently, both

fords and bridges had the names of adjacent property owners, often the

individuals or families originally responsible for their improvement and

maintenance.

Until the early 1830s, bridge construction was privately and locally funded

making it difficult to carry out large or difficult projects. In the era of internal

improvements funded by stock companies and matching public funds, bridge

construction over wider spans and from high steep bluffs became more feasible.

In 1831, legislative action authorized another method of public funding, a lottery,

to construct the first large Bedford County bridge over Duck River. The act

specified the bridge's location as "at or near Shelbyville."[35] This first major river

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[34]Rhea Map, 1832.

[35]*Acts, 1831*, 48.

crossing was probably a wood bridge raised well above river floods on wood piles or stone-filled log cribs and located off the northwest corner of the public square.

A bridge, possibly at this location, appears in two early images with unknown dates; they show a deck with railing raised on two pairs of pilings in the river and abutments that may be wood or stone cribs on each bank. A third image is of a bridge off the northwest corner of Shelbyville's public square, but it shows a different bridge railing and two supports for the bridge deck that are constructions in the river, not piles. That third image is by an artist embedded with Union troops occupying Shelbyville in 1862. His illustration may be artistic license rather than an accurate rendering of bridge construction, but it places a bridge at Shelbyville connecting the town with the Lewisburg Pike.[36]

Although construction of a macadamized pike and river bridge leaving the diagonally opposite corner of Shelbyville was authorized in 1848, according to Goodspeed's history it was twenty-five years after the first Shelbyville bridge crossed the river from the northwest corner of town before a bridge replaced Skull Camp Ford and improved access to county properties from the southeast

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[36]Town Bridge Shelbyville Tenn., "Profile for Shelbyville, Tennessee, TN," http://www.edpdunk.com/cgi-bin/genInfo.php?locIndex=12665, accessed 22 June 2008; Timothy R. Marsh, Helen C. Marsh, and Garland King, *Early History of Bedford County Tennessee, Two Hundred Years Along The Three Forks of Duck River* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh and Garland King Museum, 2007), 26; H. Hubner, "Shelbyville, The Only Union Town in Tennessee," *Harper's Weekly*, October 18, 1862, 661-2, http://www.sonofthesouth.net/leefoundation/civil-war/1862/october/shelbyville-tennessee.htm, accessed 11 March 2008.

corner of the county seat. By 1860, at least nine bridges crossed the Duck River

and its major tributaries across the county.[37] Of those nine antebellum bridges,

military maps of 1862 and 1863 confirm at least six as part of the Civil War era

landscape.

The principal stream crossings created by bridges, turnpikes, and

established connector roads rarely relocate. In spite of modernized construction,

safety improvements, wider rights of way, and route adjustments over time, they

continue as landmarks for long periods. Roads mapped by Civil War

cartographers are easily identifiable, not only on the 1878 Beers Map but also on

a 1952 county highway map and on modern topographic maps of the US

Geological Survey (USGS).[38] That continuity in routes makes it possible to drive

Bedford County roads today using the Civil War and Beers maps to look for

evidence of the Civil War era landscape. From windshield surveys of the county it

is possible to find evidence of rural locales familiar to Bedford Countians of the

1860s, to locate buildings of the period that have not been recorded or publicized

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[37]*Acts, 1847-8*, 249-50; *Goodspeed Histories*, 866.

[38]Tennessee State Highway Department Division of Traffic & Finance
Studies, "General Highway Map, Bedford County, Tennessee," 1952, possession
of author; United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey,
topographic maps, 7.5 minute series. Tennessee quadrangles used for Bedford
County are: Bedford 1947 revised 1981, Belleville 1949 revised 1982, Deason
1966 revised 1981, Lynchburg West 1949 revised 1982, Normandy 1947 revised
1983, Rover 1949 revised 1981, Shelbyville 1966 revised 1981, Unionville 1947
revised 1981, Wartrace 1949 revised 1980, Webbs Jungle 1949 revised 1980.
Citations are to USGS quadrangle names.

as historic structures, and to identify details of material culture that were too ordinary to be recorded.

Farmers would not anticipate future interest in the organization and orientation of buildings to roads and would probably not document that information. However, windshield surveys along old Bedford County roads, suggest characteristics of the Civil War era rural road landscape. In the southern part of the county, the Ike Farrar home dates from the 1840s. It faces and sits within hailing distance of what is now called Ike Farrar Road that appears as a minor road or lane on the Beers map. The large Farrar barn that dates from the 1850s is slightly north of the house and faces the opposite edge of the road, making it easily accessible from the old road.[39] House and barn are close together with a clear line of sight between the two structures. Along the New Herman Road, also in the southern part of the county, sits a house with a large stone chimney and a footprint that suggests it may be a log building under its siding. It is located very close to the road and has a short line of sight directly to the door of a barn on the opposite edge of the road. At the opposite end of the county, on Liberty Pike, the road running north from Bell Buckle to the Rutherford County line, there is log barn at the western edge of the road. It faces a house on the opposite side of the road that is later than the Civil War era, but which may have an older antebellum core.

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[39]Ike Farrar, personal communication with Jane Townes, 26 May 2009.

The pattern of houses facing barns, all closely oriented to roads, suggests the layout of the Civil War era countryside and the mindset of rural families. Houses close to roads promoted contact with passersby and facilitated social interaction at home and with trips to neighbors or towns. Proximity of barns and houses with front doors, porches, and parlor windows looking out on barns with their lots and pens is indicative of the importance of barns to the households. Barns close to houses were integral features of household activity. As necessary and valued features of properties, they were not out of view behind houses, but were in sight and accessible to protect them from fire. The proximity of barns to roads facilitated the delivery of supplies, the putting by of farm products, or their transportation to markets.

With close attention to topography and roadside features while conducting windshield surveys along identifiable Civil War era roads, it is possible to locate long-unused ghost roads. Flat-bottomed depressions roughly three feet below grade with slightly sloping sides run back from roads into fields. Impossible to date without archaeology or site documents, they are old roads worn down by wagon wheels. When two parallel fencerows several feet apart run back from a road and have trees of smaller diameter between the fences than in the fencerows, they are evidence of an old road between fenced properties.

Driving the turnpikes and old connector roads, it is clear that rock fences were common features of the Civil War era cultural landscape in all parts of Bedford County. Discontinuous extant runs of rock fences are visible along many

roads. Some are roadside fences erected to separate thoroughfares from private properties. Some are property fences running distances away from roadsides. Others appear to be cross-fencing separating fields from each other, or agricultural from domestic lots. The county's ubiquitous limestone is the material of most fences that are dry stacked without mortar. They have construction characteristics of "turnpike fences" and "plantation fences" described in John George's study of rock fences in adjacent Rutherford County, Tennessee.[40] Sloping sides of plantation fence construction are clearly visible in a fence that runs south from Wartrace Pike near its intersection with Hillcrest Drive in Shelbyville. Discontinuous sections of a turnpike fence are visible along both sides of Fairfield Pike from Shelbyville to Wartrace Road.

Usually rocks in fences are natural shapes stacked to fit together. Some fences, like those along Hawthorne Hill Road in southern Bedford County, have large rocks in bottom courses and smaller rocks above. Some fences' rocks appear to have been split to have flat stackable surfaces along planes of fractures. A fence running along the west side of Fairfield Pike across from the Arnold Road intersection has rocks of unusually consistent thickness that may be semi-dressed. It marked the line between the turnpike and the large property of John Eakin, a prosperous antebellum farmer and supporter of turnpike

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[40]John George, "Landscape and Material Culture, A Study of Rock Fences," unpublished paper, 4-5, possession of author.

construction who had access to both slave labor and resources to pay laborers building his property fence.

Upright coping stones typically finish the tops of rock fences in Bedford County, making fence heights approximately four to five and a half feet. A popular explanation for the row of stones set on edge is that gaps between stones provided gunports for Civil War soldiers taking cover behind the fences. That is unlikely since miles of coping stones predate the war and exist in areas unlikely to be of military interest. It may be that standing the stones on their edges was the quickest way to attain the fences' intended heights. Upright stones are often the height of two or three thicknesses of the upper courses of stones, and it is faster and easier to place one standing row of stones than to fit stones together in two or more courses.

In a few locations along older roads where small streambeds can be seen close to the roads, there are rock walls constructed similarly to fences but differently situated. They have carefully stacked and fitted stones that rise in courses as high as four or four and a half feet. Unlike fences, they do not have two exposed sides; they are built tightly against stream banks like retaining walls. Some are visible for some distance but only on one side of the streams. A farmer familiar with one of the walls assumed it was a retaining wall to prevent bank erosion, but that did not explain why only one side of the stream had a wall.[41]

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[41]Jack Cummings, personal communication with Jane Townes, 24 April 1990.

With bends in the streambed and changes in direction of moving water, erosion would occur on both sides of the stream, requiring walls on both banks to prevent erosion. In the case of one such wall, property ownership includes land and the streambed that borders it, but no land on the side of the stream with the wall built against the bank. That property line may explain the purpose of stone walls built against banks along small streams. When a property's boundary was the opposite side of a bordering stream, the landowner without ownership of the streambed would have an interest in preventing erosion and encroachment of the streambed into his land.

A windshield survey cannot locate perishable wood fences that were casualties of weather, time, and war. In addition to rock fences, wood fences of both planks and rails would have been common in Bedford County's landscape of the Civil War era. In 1842, John Shofner reported on damage to his "outside fence" and cross-fence from a flood "that moved about twelve hundred pannel of fence." That language probably referred not to a rock fence but to wood fencing, either of planks or more likely rails. Three years later he was improving his property by "making some rock fence...and going to make some Seeder fence."[42] His "seeder" fence was probably stacked cedar rails, or a stake-and-rider "worm" fence like that described by Terry Jordan-Bychkov as typical of farms in the Upland South, where farming practice mixed land rotation and free-range swine

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[42]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 29 March 1842, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 20 February 1845, Shoffner Papers.

production, both characteristics of Shofner's farming.[43] In a letter of 1850,

Shofner's comment on the longevity of cedar fencing supported the idea that

antebellum fencing would be part of the Civil War era landscape. He expected

that "when I get my fensin all made of Seeder it will then last me my lifetime."[44]

Some plank fences were substantial barriers; one postwar civilian claim for

property losses was for 800 yards of plank fencing seven planks high.[45]

During the Civil War, both armies destroyed wood fencing in the occupied

and contested areas of Bedford County. Fence rails and planks were

construction material for shelters and fuel in both Union and Confederate camps.

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[43]Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2003), 44; John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 16 October 1837, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 22 October 1841, Shoffner Papers.

[44]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 14 January 1850, Shoffner Papers.

[45] In 1871, Congress passed legislation establishing a process through which pro-Union citizens in the former seceded states could request reimbursement for personal property given to or taken by US troops for military use during the Civil War. The Southern Claims Commission received applications with supporting information, investigated claims, judged the claimants' war-time loyalty and losses, and determined amounts of compensation if any. Documentation supporting the claims is an under-utilized source of information on social history and material culture. The US National Archives holds originals of the claims documents. Disallowed and barred claims are available on National Archives microfiche in a number of libraries including the Tennessee State Library and Archives (TSLA). Digital images of approved claims are available online with a premium subscription to footnote.com. All disallowed and barred claims cited herein were accessed at TSLA; all approved claims were accessed through footnote.com. Claim of Robert S. Clark, Bedford County, TN, Commission Number 13059, Southern Claims Commission Barred and Disallowed Claims, 1871-1880, National Archives Record Group 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, TSLA microfiche 1515.

Military commanders ordered destruction of fences to prevent the enemy's use of

wood. As late as September 1864, the Assistant Adjutant-General of Union

forces in Nashville ordered that "the citizens along the railroad from within six

miles of this place to Bridgeport remove at once all fences within 600 yards of the

road except those around corn-fields, and those you will have removed as soon

as it can be done without great hardship to the people. This order is given to put

out of reach of the enemy fuel for burning the road. If the order is not carried out

by the citizens have it done by burning the fences where they stand."[46]

Improvement of roads and construction of state-of-the-art turnpikes was

only one aspect of the national era of internal improvements manifested in Middle

Tennessee in the three decades leading up to the Civil War. At the same time

that Bedford County citizens began to subscribe to turnpike construction to

connect towns within the county and their county beyond the state, there was

interest in linking Bedford County with more distant cities and markets by

railroad. Historian, Stanley John Folmsbee gave 1831 as the beginning of Middle

Tennessee's interest in railroad construction. Even though their attention and

financial support focused on the Nashville-Murfreesboro-Shelbyville Turnpike that

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[46]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 39, part 3, p. 472. This order impacted the rail line South of Nashville to Bridgeport, Alabama, including that part of the line through Bedford County.

began that year, Bedford Countians were considering railroads as well because adjacent counties began to have chartered railroad companies at that time.[47]

In his 2009 study, *Railroads in the Old South: Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society*, Aaron W. Marrs emphasized how fundamental the development of railroads was to the economic and development strategies of southern farmers, planters, and commercial interests.[48] Writing from Bedford County to family in North Carolina, John Shofner left evidence of farmers' early interest in railroads in the county. In August 1832, he acknowledged receipt of a letter from North Carolina that "stated [the North Carolina] Legislator had passed an act to have a ralerode threw the senter of [the] state and that it was to be bilt by subscroption that I think a good thing." A year later, after reporting progress in construction of the new Nashville-Murfreesboro-Shelbyville Turnpike and commenting on the "grate good" the pike would bring, Shofner commented that "the sittisens are turning there attention to the subject of a ralerode [and saying] that we must have a line of ralerode from Shelbyville to Memphis." Listing railroad projects planned or already undertaken in counties west of Bedford that would provide most of the line to Memphis, Shofner wrote "Bedford will have to bild a rode 40 miles to collumbia then we cold have an easy conveyence to markit."[49]

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[47]Folmsbee, *Internal Improvements*, 96-97.

[48]Aaron W. Marrs, *Railroads in the Old South: Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

[49]John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner and Salley Shofner, 4

The potential benefit of rail access to major markets was clear to farmers like John Shofner who wrote "a farmer cold put his hole crop in the cars and in three days go to markit sell out lay in and come home." The same Shofner letter made it clear that as early as 1834 railroad construction through Bedford County was not just wishful thinking of area citizens; there was also official consideration of a line through the area. According to Shofner, "Mr long the united states inginear was in Shelbyvill ...vewing a rout from Memphis to the chessapick in merriland...that wold bee a grate work if it is ever accomplished to connect the town of memphies and Baltimore by a ralerode." By the following year, the project to connect Memphis to the East coast "lay still...and a raleroade [was] in adgetation from Nashville to new Orleans" with a Middle Tennessee route under consideration.[50]

Two years later, John Shofner's interest in railroads continued even though no construction had begun in Bedford County. In a letter to North Carolina, he suggested that lack of progress in rail construction was due to a poor national economy and that "the pressure in money matters will give a check to the works." Although the turnpike connecting Shelbyville to Murfreesboro and Nashville was complete, "there [was] but little done [toward] rale rode. In some

August 1832, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 28 August 1834, Shoffner Papers.

[50]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 28 August 1834, John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner and Salley Shofner, 25 July 1835, Shoffner Papers.

places in the west they have made a beginning and the spirit of internal

improvements is up very high."[51]

That spirit continued high for several more years. While Bedford County

had multiple turnpike projects underway in 1839, there was a meeting at Beech

Grove that resulted in a petition to the legislature from 185 residents of Coffee

and Bedford Counties requesting construction of a railroad though their area and

connecting Louisville, Kentucky, to Chattanooga.[52] The petitioners described the

problems of Middle Tennessee that a railroad would alleviate and offered

reasons why the state's sectional rivalries over internal improvements should not

cause legislative opposition for a railroad in the middle of the state. Holding up

Georgia as an example of progressive thinking and accomplishment in railroad

construction, the petitioners argued that rails from Nashville to Chattanooga

where they would connect with the Georgia system would bring the advantages

of a connection to the east coast. Aware of sectional rivalries on the subject of

internal improvements, they included language to elicit support from legislators

representing other parts of the state. With one sentence, the petitioners courted

support from East Tennessee that would also benefit "because we consider a

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[51]John Shoffner and Milly Shoffner to Michael Shoffner and family, 13 June 1837, Shoffner Papers.

[52] Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 7 October 1969), 62; Legislative Petition, 91-1839, Reel 15, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN. A note on the 1839 petition indicates 137 petitioners, but by actual count there are 185.

lateral road to the interior of that section of our State as a part of our petition in this memorial; & equally as much required as the main stem." Potential benefit of the Middle Tennessee rail line to West Tennessee was less direct, so to plead for support there the petitioners relied on an appeal to fairness: "will our brethren there hesitate in granting us this boon? The God of nature has given them an outlet...is it not natural & right, that all should enjoy equal advantages?"[53]

Whether it was in response to the 1839 petition or not, in 1845, the state legislature considered a bill to incorporate the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company (N&CRR) with stock to be sold by commissioners from several counties, including Bedford and Coffee. The *Weekly Nashville Union* described benefits of the proposed line in papers for several months in 1845. By November, if the editor was accurate in reporting on the bill to charter that rail line, there was widespread support for its construction. He was "not aware that any serious opposition will be made to the proposed charter. The importance of the project is conceded by all and its practicability is beginning to be so manifest that scarcely any now doubt on the subject."[54]

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[53]Petition, 1839.

[54]Anson, "Railroad from Nashville to Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, Ga.," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 5 March 1845; "The Railroad—Progress of Opinion," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 29 October 1845; "The Chattanooga Road— The Work begun," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 12 November 1845; "The Eastern Mail," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 19 November 1845; "Nashville Railroad Convention," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 3 December 1845, *Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers*, accessed 13 April 2010.

The act to incorporate the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company passed December 11, 1845. Publication of the act was over the name of H.M. Watterson, Speaker of the Senate. The facts that he was a resident of Beech Grove, a Bedford County community until 1836, a Shelbyville lawyer and newspaper publisher, and soon to be the editor of the Nashville *Union* suggest a continuity of Bedford County influence from the 1839 meeting to the railroad's charter.[55] John Shofner enthusiastically reported the railroad charter to his North Carolina family, writing that by connecting to a line in Georgia there would be a railroad from Nashville to Charleston, South Carolina. The people were "all in high Sperrits" expecting the railroad to provide "an outlet for our produse."[56]

Probably to garner the support of shareholders in turnpike companies by protecting their investments, language of the incorporating act made it clear that the railroad that would probably pass through Bedford County, would be an internal improvement in addition to turnpikes, and that it would not interfere with their operation. Section twenty-two specified "That such railroad shall not be located so near any turnpike road as to injure or prejudice the interests of the stockholders in such turnpike road, except upon such terms as may be agreed

[55]*Acts 1845-6*, 17-27; "Watterson, Harvey Magee (1811-1891)," http://www.infoplease.com/biography/us/congress/watterson-harvey-magee.html, accessed 16 April 2010; John H. Long, ed., and Peggy Tuck Sinko, comp., *Tennessee Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000), 77.

[56]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 1 January 1846, Shoffner Papers.

upon by the President and directors of the same, on behalf of the stockholders."

Although section twenty-three permitted purchase of a "turnpike road over which

it may be necessary to carry the said railroad," it provided "That the said

company shall not obstruct any public road without constructing another as

convenient as may be."[57]

Activity to develop a rail line was swift after the fall 1845 passage of the

act incorporating the N&CRR. In the summer and fall of 1846, John Edgar

Thomson, a civil engineer with experience planning rail lines, surveyed the region

between Chattanooga and Nashville to identify feasible routes.[58] Thomson's

report to the commissioners appeared in the *Weekly Nashville Union* in March of

that year. Describing the topography in the area of Lookout Mountain and the

Highland Rim east of Bedford County, Thomson reported that "A direct line from

[Chattanooga] to Nashville would cross these mountains nearly at right-

angles....Upon such a route, or any line approximating very near to it, there

would be almost insurmountable difficulties to overcome." He found, however,

that a route incorporating natural passes, running along ridges, and following

streambeds "though circuitous [was] not only entirely practicable, but upon which

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[57]*Acts, 1845-6*, 23.

[58]Dain L. Schult, *Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis: A History of "The Dixie Line"* (Lynchburg, VA: TLC Publishing Inc., 2002), 3.

a road [could] be constructed, at a cost, which, from the character of the obstacles encountered, [would] be considered quite low."[59]

Thomson's preference for a route that avoided steep grades resulted in a railroad following lower elevations through eastern Bedford County instead of a more direct but more difficult route farther North through Rutherford County. The early roads that followed Native American trails and advantageous ground became part of the rail line. Leaving Chattanooga, the route utilized a mountain pass "along which the old Federal Road, from Augusta to Nashville, formerly passed." It entered Bedford County "along the valley of Norman's creek, [in the general area of modern Normandy] without encountering much expensive work." Generally following the old Native American Great South Trail that had provided original access to the county, Thomson's route followed the Barren Fork of Duck River "to the Three Forks, thence up the Garrison to War Trace, and along the latter to Bell Buckle." North of Bell Buckle, near Fosterville and Lee's Knob, the line continued into Rutherford County.[60] The modern CSX system still carries heavy daily traffic on Thomson's route through Bedford County (figure 4).

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[59]John Edgar Thomson, "Report to the Commissioners of the Nashville and Chattanooga Rail Road," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 17 March 1847, *Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers*, accessed 15 April 2010.

[60]Thomson, "Report."

Figure 4. John Edgar Thomson's advantageous route through Bedford County, north from Bell Buckle, photograph by author.

The route of the railroad through eastern Bedford County was through

early areas of settlement now known as Normandy, Wartrace, and Bell Buckle,

but the line did not pass through the then more established towns of Rowesville

and Fairfield. Although the latter two towns had grown as population centers from

early settlement into the 1840s, having churches, schools, mills, shops,

tradesmen and professional men, they declined rapidly when the railroad created new activity in towns along the rail line. Businesses and population relocated from Fairfield and Rowesville to the railroad towns. From his experience with other railroads, Thomson predicted the new rail line's effect on the cultural and commercial landscape. In his 1847 survey report, he warned that "the causes which have heretofore tended to fix and seemingly render permanent, the location of cities, have in great measure lost their influence, and hence it has become the part of wisdom, in those interested in sustaining the present Depots of Commerce to call to their aid, this comparatively new agent,--availing themselves of its powers to preserve and increase their prosperity, rather than permit it to minister, to the rise of another rival city."[61]

Bedford County farmers like John Shofner eagerly anticipated completion of the railroad. Since early settlement, they had driven stock overland to markets in North Carolina and Virginia, and they looked forward to more efficient market access. Shofner quantified the railroad advantage writing that "when we get our ralerode done we then can bring our hogs to your cuntrey [North Carolina]...we think we can make more on our produse in getting it off quick and cheepe...Bedford County drives 20 thousand hogs every year it costs one dollar on the hog to drive it to markit the hog looses one dollar in wate which is a clear loss of 40 thousand dollars the cars will take the hogs to markit for 50 cents a

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[61]Thomson, "Report."

head and they wont loos a pound to the hog which will bee a saving to Bedford of 30 thousand dollars a year in the hogs a loon." Shofner and his neighbors anticipated that with completion of the railroad "we can then trade any where and to any markets in the united states."[62]

Construction of the N&CRR began in March 1848 with enslaved laborers making cuts through rock, grading roadbed, and laying iron imported from England.[63] Apparently the survey for the route did not specify siting of track but left placement to localized necessities of construction. Property owners eager to benefit from a railroad gave up rights of way without knowing precisely what land would be taken. Not for money, but for the benefits they might realize from construction of the railroad over their land, in May, twenty Bedford County landowners deeded unspecified rights of way to the N&CRR. They transferred rights to an "amount of land required by the Charter of said company to build the said Rail Road upon as soon as the road shall have been permanently located upon any of our lands."[64]

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[62]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 27 January 1848, Shoffner Papers.

[63] Schult, *Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis*, 5-6. For information on construction of the entire N&CRR line, see Schult's work and Richard E. Prince, *The Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway: History and Steam Locomotives* (Green River, WY: Prince, 1967).

[64]Deed Book SS, Bedford County, Tennessee Deed Books 1808-1865, Office of the Register of Deeds, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN, 71.

Property owners in the areas that became Wartrace and Bell Buckle

donated land for the railroad right of way and for depots.[65] John Shofner followed

the progress of construction and reported in early 1850 that "our ralerode is still

progressing...the iron is all reddy to lay down as soon as the rode is graded." A

few months later he reported an eight-mile spur from the main line to Shelbyville

was under construction. Even without a working line in 1850, the railroad

conducted business in Shelbyville that September when Robert Moffatt, a native

of Pennsylvania, listed his occupation as railroad clerk.[66] Both the main line

through Bedford County and the Shelbyville spur were in operation by 1852. By

January 1854, local access to rail surpassed John Shofner's early expectations

for increased markets for hog farmers. Although drives to market continued, "a

good many [hogs] went by ralerode," and "they have put up a slaughtering

establish at Shelblyville and have sluaghtred beteean 12 and 14 thousand...most

of the porke is barreld up and findes a europian markit."[67]

Without question the railroad spur to Shelbyville encouraged industrial and

commercial development of the county seat. The pork slaughterhouse mentioned

by John Shofner depended on the railroad to reach European markets. With

railroad access to markets, Duck River's commercial flour and textile mills grew

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[65]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 250, 253.

[66]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 14 January 1850, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 4 May 1850, Shoffner Papers; Deane Porch, trans., *1850 Census of Bedford County, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Deane Porch), 112.

[67]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 17 January 1854, Shoffner Papers.

from the mid 1850s to the twentieth century. John Shofner's son Joel reported an unusually good wheat crop to his North Carolina uncle in 1855, saying "Bedford County with a little help from Lyncoln must have sold nearly or quite one hundred thousand bushels of wheat this summer...when one house in Shelbyville bought forty thousand its self all that has been sold has been to ship off from the cuntry."[68] Even after the war and occupation of Bedford County began, John W. Cowan, a farmer and merchant, shipped cotton by train and probably received his store's inventory from Northern suppliers by rail.[69] The combination of abundant agricultural products, processing sites, and infrastructure to move goods made Bedford County a desirable asset for both Civil War armies.

Since benefits to a town located on a railroad were well known, even publicized by the railroad surveyor in the 1847 *Nashville Weekly Union*, Bedford County historians have speculated about why the mainline did not run through the county seat. The usual explanation is that Shelbyville did not purchase sufficient stock to support construction. Local histories also mention a group of prominent Shelbyville businessmen who lobbied against a mainline into town and for their preference of a branch railroad making the county seat a rail terminus

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[68]Joel Shofner to Michael Shofner, 22 July 1855, Shoffner Papers.

[69]Eliza L. Cowan Atwood, "Diaries, 1862-1863," 29 July, Atwood Collection, Archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. The author worked with a photocopy of the original provided by the Missouri Historical Society. The diary does not have page numbers. Instead, citations include for reference the diary date. Because the diary included only the month of January in 1863, all dates given without a year are 1862.

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that might prosper as a departure point for southwestern settlement or as a connecting point for future southern railroads.[70]

Any opinion Shelbyville's leaders had on the route of the railroad is not known. They may have preferred that the town not be on the mainline. Although that preference does not satisfy logic given the known benefits, other towns perceived potential negative impacts to being railroad towns. Shelbyville's leaders may have shared the concerns of town fathers of Decatur, Georgia. During that state's planning for the Western and Atlantic Railroad that would connect with the N&CRR, "they didn't want the smoke and noise of being the terminating point of the railroad with all the attendant buildings and freight yard."[71]

Construction of the mainline through developed areas in and close to the county seat would have resulted in loss of valuable developed properties. Shelbyville's leaders might also have preferred to remain off the mainline because of the sorts of people expected to locate along the railroad. Single, transient males like timber cutters, wagoners, train and track crews, and gangs of enslaved laborers worked along the lines. Drummers expected housing along the rails. Population groups oriented to the railroad differed from the church-centered society of Shelbyville. The county's 1850 census had no occupations that suggested prostitution, but after the railroad came through, the 1860 census listed a number of harlots, twelve in the vicinity of the railroad town of Wartrace,

[70]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial,* 62; Capley, *Bicentennial,* 80-81.

[71]Schult, *Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis,* 11.

and five more in the civil district that included the newly flourishing railroad town

of Normandy.[72] The Shelbyville return for 1860 did not include any occupation

that suggested prostitution. A comment by John Shofner indicated that even a

stockholder with strong interest in access to a railroad did not want it in his

backyard. Updating his brother in North Carolina on railroad progress he wrote

"the mane rode runs about 5 miles from my house and the arm leeding to

Shelbyville about two miles just as close as I want it."[73]

Given John Edgar Thomson's two priorities when surveying the route for a

railroad, the most direct route, and the route with the fewest topographic

challenges to construction and locomotive power, it is unlikely that a mainline

through Shelbyville was ever considered. Running a main line from Chattanooga

to Shelbyville would have been contrary to Thomason's determining principle of

laying track through the most accommodating terrain. Even if a workable route to

Shelbyville had been available, a line from there to Nashville would be

perpendicular to the Tennessee Valley Divide northwest of Bedford County. A

route across that elevated ridge connecting steep knobs was not practicable.

Regardless of past speculation, realities of topography and John Edgar

Thomason's pragmatism argue that Shelbyville was never considered as a stop

on the N&CRR. His 1847 report makes it clear that the most feasible line to

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[72]United States Bureau of the Census, 1860, Tennessee, Bedford, District 3, District 25, accessed 30 January 2009.

[73]John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 4 May 1850, Shoffner Papers.

connect Nashville and Chattanooga is along the streams and lower elevations of eastern Bedford County.[74]

If Shelbyville's leaders attempted to influence routes, it was probably to make sure that Shelbyville had a connector line to the N&CRR. Modern topographic maps of Bedford County show that the route of the spur line from Wartrace to Shelbyville is the most feasible rail route to reach the county seat from the eastern county. Any line leaving the mainline south of Wartrace would have to cross difficult high ground to reach Shelbyville. Any line to Shelbyville off the mainline north of Wartrace would not only have obstacles of terrain, it would be longer than the eight-mile spur from Wartrace. Even the short Wartrace spur cannot follow a direct line to Shelbyville but must have a number of bends around hills, some of which required difficult and expensive rock cuts.[75]

The county's natural landscape determined the route of the railroad that influenced the cultural landscape of the Civil War era. From the beginning of construction in Bedford County, the N&CRR with its Shelbyville spur altered the physical and cultural landscape. Rocky cuts to decrease grades on the line, and roadbeds of gravel, timber and iron broke up fields and woods. Well-established towns off the line declined while new railroad towns grew rapidly with support features like water tanks, fuel stops, and repair sheds, as well as stores and

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[74]Thomson, "Report."

[75]USGS, Deason, Normandy, Rover, Shelbyville, Wartrace Quadrangles; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 62.

hotels. With locomotives the largest machines experienced by locals, the railroad altered the sights and sounds of county landscape, a fact commented upon by a second generation of Shofners when Michael Shofner wrote "[our country] is being checked all over by railrodes and the whistle of the iron horse is heard from evry quater."[76] Newly accessible distant markets for hogs, processed pork, and flour were also access points for mass-produced goods of the Industrial Revolution, expanding Bedford Countians' landscape of material culture.

John Shofner realized the new railroad greatly expanded the accessible landscape of his life. At age sixty-eight, more than forty years after leaving North Carolina and only three years after rail service began in the county, he wrote to his brother, "you invited us so politely to come to see you when the ralerode is done I in turn will ask you and Sally to come and see us first and then ... me and mine wold be well pleesed to pay you a nother vesset while in this life." Three years later the trip to Bedford County from North Carolina took only three days.[77]

With word-of-mouth reports from railroad travelers and rapid delivery of newspapers from distant cities, Bedford Countians became more engaged in current events. Telegraph lines that followed the rails added a new feature to the human-made landscape and increased the immediacy of distant

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[76]Michael Shoffner to [uncle] Michael Shoffner, 17 January 1858, Shoffner Papers.

[77] John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 1 April 1855, John Shofner to Michael Shofner, 17 January 1858, Shoffner Papers.

communication.[78] A line in John Shofner's obituary suggested the telegraph was

familiar to him by late 1856. Shofner died in the first week of 1857, and his

eulogist reviewed the changes he had witnessed, from early settlement with

Indian trails to knowing "that electricity was taught to speak the English

language."[79]

As predicted by John Shofner and other proponents, internal

improvements were an economic boon to Bedford County. By increasing access

to markets and sources of goods and machinery, turnpikes increased the wealth

of Middle Tennessee producers and merchants who became stock subscribers of

the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, making that line the first completed in

Tennessee.[80] With the coming of the railroad, agricultural and industrial activity

and values dramatically increased. Comparisons of aggregate census data from

1850, two years before rail service for the county, and 1860, the eighth year of

benefit from the railroad, demonstrate greatly increased property and production

values (in table 1).

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[78]Cowan Diary, 13 February, 10 April, 5 May, 17 July, 21 July.

[79]Dain L. Schult's description of communication problems along the N&CRR in 1854 indicates that the telegraph was not in operation during the first years of rail service through Bedford County. Schult, *Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis*, 9; Obituary of John Shofner in letter of Joel Shofner and family to Michael Shoffner, 11 January 1857, Shoffner Papers.

[80]Folmsbee, *Internal Improvements*, 265.

TABLE 1
AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL CENSUS DATA
BEFORE AND AFTER RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION
IN BEDFORD COUNTY, TENNESSEE

	1850	1860
Total Population	21,511	21,584
Total Farms	986	1,784
Acres of Improved Land in Farms	101,650	184,768
Cash Value of Farms	$ 2,282,346	$ 7,071,904
Value of Farming Implements & Machinery	$ 87,314	$ 156,458
Value of Livestock	$ 686,011	$ 1,493,052
Value of Animals Slaughtered	$ 98,516	$ 295,384
Total Capital invested in Manufacturing	$ 19,821	$ 103,900
Annual Value of Products in Manufacturing	$ 33,990	$ 105,925

Source: Agricultural and Industrial Census Data, Bedford County, Tennessee,
University of Virginia Library, Historical Census Browser,
http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/, accessed 13 April 2008.

Even though total population was constant, the number of farms and

improved acres of farmland increased over 80%, and the cash value of Bedford

County farms more than tripled in the decade before the Civil War.[81] It is

improbable that inflation created a threefold increase in the value of farmland. A

more likely cause is increased market demand for agricultural stock and crops as

a result of rail transportation. With the coming of the railroad, state of the art

agricultural machinery from northern factories was more accessible to make

farms more productive and valuable.[82] The value of livestock more than doubled,

but attention to breeding in the 1850s may account for some of that increase. The

increased value of slaughtered animals is a statistic more indicative of the rail-to-

market effect. Since county population was constant, a nearly threefold increase

in the value of animals slaughtered required markets beyond the county. The

pork packing and shipping factory mentioned by John Shofner undoubtedly

accounted for a large percentage of that statistic.

The pork factory was a relative newcomer to the industrial landscape

along Duck River; it probably developed with the coming of the railroad. Older

industries like textile, flour, grist, and sawmills had earlier origins but grew with

expanded and more rapid access to markets outside the county. Joel Shofner's

1855 comment that a Shelbyville firm bought forty thousand bushels of wheat for

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[81]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 12.

[82]John P. Campbell, comp., *Nashville Business Directory Vol. III, 1857*
(Nashville, TN: Smith, Camp & Co., 1857), 257.

shipment was indicative of the rise of commercial flour mills. An 1857

advertisement for Sylvan Mills listed a number of textile products from both

spinning and weaving factories.[83] Although there is less comparative census

information for industry than for agriculture, industrial data also shows a dramatic

increase in values after rail service began in Bedford County. In the first decade

impacted by the railroad, capital invested in manufacturing increased more than

fivefold, and the value of products in manufacturing tripled.

By the beginning of the Civil War, railroads linked Nashville and Louisville,

Kentucky, and short lines linked towns in most counties of Middle Tennessee to

the N&CRR. Rails ran from Memphis east with lines connecting to Nashville,

Alabama, and Georgia. Chattanooga was a hub with lines running north to

Knoxville, beyond into Virginia, and with a connection to the Western and Atlantic

Railroad that ran to Atlanta where there were rail links across Georgia and to

Charleston, South Carolina. According to Richard E. Prince, "It is quite evident

that with all these connecting lines, the NASHVILLE & CHATTANOOGA RR soon

became one of the most important railroads in the entire South."[84] With the

coming of war, that track through Bedford County became a critical artery for

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[83]Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 259.

[84]Prince, *Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway*, 6-7.

movements of men and materiel of both armies, and a potential access route for Federal troops from the upper to lower South.[85]

The county's interconnected value of production and transportation resources made it a potential military asset and therefore a target for control. Only ten months after surrendering Fort Sumter, Federal troops captured Fort Donelson on the Tennessee River, opening the way to occupation of Middle Tennessee. One week later, February 23, 1862, US troops occupied Nashville, Bedford County's closest large market and the northern terminal of the N&CRR. Only five weeks after the fall of Fort Donelson, a Shelbyville woman working in her garden saw six men riding fast toward the public square and knew they were Yankees.[86] Federal control of Bedford County had begun and would continue with few serious military challenges until the end of the war.

Although Bedford County had fewer major military engagements than surrounding counties, from Confederate withdrawal south along the N&CRR in the spring of 1862 until the end of the war, there was activity along the rail line to disrupt train service and telegraphic communication. Controlling the county's railroads was an important part of the Union occupation strategy. As historian John E. Clark found, the Union army's "superior organization and management"

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[85]For summaries of the N&CRR during the war see Schult, *Dixie Line*, 13-36, and Prince, *Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway*, 7-12.

[86]Cowan Diary, 26 March.

of the railroad system "made a genuine contribution to Union victory."[87] At

different times, both armies occupied earthworks, blockhouses, and stockades at

critical points along the line. A log blockhouse protected the rail bridge over Duck

River between river miles 243 and 244.[88] Reports of actions in the county to

destroy track, bridges, telegraph lines and locomotive service sites were

frequent. The first Federal troops moving into Bedford County in March 1862

rode to protect rails and bridges near Wartrace from Confederate cavalryman

John Morgan. As late as September 1864 field officers reported "The road from

[Tullahoma] to Wartrace was intact yesterday; don't know how it is this

morning....At dusk yesterday, and last night, small parties were prowling about

Duck River bridge; did no damage" and "A rebel force...crossed the railroad

between Bell Buckle and Wartrace, tearing up a few rails and burning a few

ties."[89]

At war's end the county's rail bridges and sections of track had been

destroyed and rebuilt several times, usually hurriedly to restore service.

"Beginning in February 1864 the Federal Army turned the reconstruction and

operation of the NASHVILLE & CHATTANOOGA RR over to the UNITED

[87]John E. Clark, *Railroads in the Civil War: The Impact of Management on Victory and Defeat* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 2.

[88]Joe D. Brooks III, Duck River Atlas, plate iv, Joe D. Brooks III Collection.

[89]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 10, part 1, p. 47-8; ser. 1, vol. 10, part 2, p. 376; ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 689, 700, 702, 713-5, 721-2, 724; ser. 1, vol. 38, part 5, pp. 738-9, 741, 832, 835; ser. 1, vol. 45, part 1, pp. 776, 1071, 1188.

STATES MILITARY RAILROAD" to rebuild and maintain the line. "During that period about 115 miles of track were relaid with new iron, crossties and ballast....Telegraph stations were established...and 45 new water tanks were also erected....Terminating more than two years of operation by the Union Army, the NASHVILLE & CHATTANOOGA RAILROAD was returned to its owners after the War, on September 15, 1865."[90] So Bedford County's rail access to markets, travel, and communication was re-established shortly after war's end.

The transportation landscape of the roads and the railroad that made Bedford County essential to both Civil War armies originated as streambeds and prehistoric trails that followed natural topography. Before the era of macadamized turnpikes, the old trails and a national network of postroads facilitated travel and communication across Tennessee and beyond the state. Those routes, however, were inefficient for transporting agricultural products out of the county and consumer goods to the county from outside markets. As John Shofner's correspondence explained to his family in North Carolina, economic success through increased agricultural production required markets beyond the county.

The era of internal improvements that began in the 1830s in Middle Tennessee brought the benefits that Shofner expected, first with improved roads, then in 1852 with a railroad through Bedford County. From 1830, turnpike construction through the relatively unobstructed Central Basin connected

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[90] Prince, *Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway*, 12.

Shelbyville to nearby county seats, and by the Civil War improved roads radiated from Shelbyville connecting the towns of Bedford County to their administrative center. The topography of the county also influenced the route of the railroad that created new towns and caused the decline of others. Together the improved roads and the railroad created a new cultural landscape by physically connecting county localities to each other and by making them part of an accessible national landscape.

Many of Bedford County's modern roads have routes similar to those of the Civil War era, they are, therefore, artifacts of the period that are useful sources in a study of material culture. The roads document relationships among localities, some of which, like Rowesville and Fairfield, are now difficult to identify as the busy towns that predated the railroad's construction. Windshield surveys along the old roads can yield information for an architectural inventory of the county in the Civil War. And features along the roads like streambeds that determined their routes, stone fences, and ghost roads survive as clues to activity and land use in the Civil War era landscape.

CHAPTER THREE

BEDFORD COUNTY TOWNS

Concerted Euro-American activity in the area that became Bedford County

probably began in the early 1780s when multiple expeditions based in the

Cumberland settlements made surveys south through Middle Tennessee to the

Elk River near the Alabama line. Surveys of 1783 and 1784 through the future

Bedford County and numerous land claims that predate the treaties opening the

region to settlement are evidence of early Euro-American familiarity with the area

and raise the possibility that settlers took up land before it was legally open. The

history of Enon Church as handed down within its congregation supports that

possibility by dating the origin of the church in Bedford County to 1794.[1]

Settlers occupied what became northeastern Bedford County before a

state-ordered survey in 1806 sectioned off townships with tracts reserved as

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[1]Timothy R. Marsh, Helen C. Marsh, and Garland King, *Early History of Bedford County Tennessee, Two Hundred Years Along The Three Forks of Duck River* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh and Garland King Museum, 2007), 48-66, 119, 164-5, 181, 183; Irene M. Griffey, *Earliest Tennessee Land Records & Earliest Tennessee Land History* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. for Clearfield Co., 2003), Alexander grants 43 and 290 p. 77, Balch grant 23 p. 89, Blount grants 216-7, 219-25, and 230-5 p. 106-7, Gilbreath grants 2 and 61 p. 198, Patton grants 10, 39, and 56 p. 322; Rover Historical Society, *History of Rover and the 10th District of Bedford County* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1999), 4; Jerry Wayne Cook, *Historic Normandy, Bedford County, Tennessee* (Normandy, TN: Jerry Wayne Cook, 1976), 14-15; James S. Read, *History of Enon Church: Bedford County, Tennessee* (Atwood, TN: Christian Baptist Publishing, 1978), 14.

school lands. Fifty-two county petitioners to the legislature in 1812 swore that

some part of them had been living on approximately 640 acres on the

headwaters of Wartrace Creek when legislative action appropriated that tract for

the use of schools.[2]

From the treaties of 1805 and 1806 opening the region to legal settlement,

population grew quickly to warrant the establishment of Bedford County in 1807.

The early county did not have a locus of settlement from which new settlements

radiated. Instead, from the beginning, settlers dispersed through the county.

Natural features and prehistoric human activity facilitated countywide ingress of

Euro-Americans. The Duck River with its numerous tributaries and the easily

traversed Central Basin making up the largest part of the county provided

attractive settlement sites with waterpower, timber, and tillable ground.

Prehistoric trails on each side of the county provided early access to new land.

The Enon Church that claims a pre-statehood establishment date was in the

northwestern part of the county. The petitioners who claimed to have taken up

lands before 1806 were in the northeastern corner, and settlers were in the

eastern county by the same year. Methodist camp meetings took place in the

southwestern section of the county in 1806, and the locales in the southern

county that became Flat Creek and Raus had settlers by 1806 and 1807.[3]

[2]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 222-3.

[3]Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 1969), 253; Carolyn Odle

Across the county, religious services at early campgrounds and meeting

houses counteracted isolation for a dispersed population. Settlements required

convenient service sites like mills and blacksmith shops that were also public

places. In many cases, those early sites of communication and gatherings that

were points of cultural and commercial orientation for their surrounding

populations developed into towns of various sizes.[4] Footpaths and wagon roads

connected early settlers to their closest towns and towns to each other. After

1809, when the county seat, Shelbyville, was located in the center of the county,

roads from outlying towns connected them to this cultural, economic, and

administrative hub.

The county towns, however, continued as important foci for their localities

through the Civil War era. Civil War maps of the county that have been located

identify more than a dozen county towns that were part of the Civil War era

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Smotherman, "The Founding Members of New Hope Baptist Church, Bedford County, Tennessee," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2008): 137-8; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History,* 71, 84. Since this study is limited to the area within modern Bedford County boundaries, locators like southwestern, northeastern, etc. refer to areas of the modern county. Unless specifically noted, no references are to the much larger area of the original or historical county territory.

[4]Available sources do not clearly define the geographic sizes, populations, or activities of the points of orientation for locales across the county. Since it is seldom possible to distinguish neighborhoods' points of orientation as crossroads, villages, or towns, and since they had similar social and practical functions regardless of size, this study uses "town" generically for the locations that developed as social and economic focal points for their surrounding areas.

landscape.[5] A few others existed by 1860, most of them in the southern county

not recorded by military cartographers. County towns formed a pattern like an

upright horseshoe around Shelbyville. The pattern may have resulted from

people's gathering, accessing goods and services, and conducting ordinary

business near their homes without time-consuming travel to the county seat.

Convenient places that served one or more purposes became points of

orientation for nearby residents. From the 1830s, the Nashville-Murfreesboro-

Shelbyville Turnpike bisected the open end of the horseshoe north of Shelbyville.

It is possible that early towns declined in the north-central county before they

could be mapped in the 1860s, or did not develop there at all because the pike

provided convenient access to Shelbyville or to Fosterville just over the line in

Rutherford County. 1

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[5]"Benjamin F. Cheatham [Civil War] Map, *Circa* 1862," Map Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; "Sketch of the environs of Shelbyville, Wartrace & Normandy, Tennessee Compiled from the best information under the direction of Capt. N. Michler, Corps of Topographical Engrs. U.S.A., by John E. Weyss, Maj. Ky. Vols., Chief Asst. Drawn by C. S. Mergell," April 1863, *American Memory Map Collections.* Library of Congress http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3964s+cw0434500)) (accessed 15 November 2011); "Shelbyville and Vicinity From general information By Capt. W.E. Merrill, Chief of Top. Engs.A.C.," June 10, 1863, and "Shelbyville and Vicinity From a Survey by Capt. C. Dunham, Actg. Asst. Engr. Under the direction of Capt. W.E. Merrill," July 17, 1863, in George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Fairfax Press, 1983); "Bedford County, Tennessee Map Resources," http/www.tngenweb.org/bedford/maps.htm, accessed 24 May 2009.

Towns of Western Bedford County

In 1783 and 1784, exploration and survey parties locating lands for grant

claimants traveled from the area of modern Nashville, through Bedford County,

into the present Lincoln County, and back to their starting points, each taking

return routes that differed from their first traverses of the county. Together, the

routes of Alexander Greer's party in 1783 and William Edmiston's company in

1784 enclosed almost all the western county from the centerline to the modern

county boundary, and surveyors located lands that resulted in early settled

grants.[6]

Settlers on early grants developed points of orientation for their localities,

places to obtain services of tradesmen, or to gather for public business and

religious services. As types of activities available in one place increased, that

place began to serve functions of a town. Towns located on roads that made

them accessible to their surrounding neighborhoods and connected them to other

localities grew through the first half of the nineteenth century to become

landmarks of the Civil War era landscape.

Rover

As shown by Bedford County historian Tim Marsh, the present town of

Rover in the northwestern corner of the county was on the route of both parties

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[6]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 41, 48-54; Rover Historical
Society, *History*, x; Griffey, *Land Records,* Balch grant 23 p. 89, Greer grant 40 p.
207, Patton grants 10, 39, and 56 p. 322.

locating lands. Grants between 1807 and 1810 indicated early settlement in that

area, and the 1807 commission of an early grantee, Abraham Byler, as Justice of

the Peace confirmed occupancy. Together Abraham and John Byler settled

several hundred acres and gave the locality its earliest name. Bylers was a point

of orientation as late as 1835 when a map labeled the polling place for Civil

District Ten as Widow Bylers. The early name continued in use into the 1840s,

but by 1842 deeds referred to Rover. A post office by that name opened May 18,

1850.[7] By 1860, Rover was the post office of record for the census in the Tenth

Civil District. Enumerated occupations suggested it was then a small service

town with at least one store. A merchant with personal property valued at

$7,575, but with no real estate shared a household with his clerk next door to a

carpenter born in England. Their residence was also in close proximity to a

shoemaker.[8]

For Civil War armies, the small town was a strategic intersection of

important lines of march and supply. Its location on what a military map labeled a

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[7]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 8, 48, 163-4; "Civil Districts laid off in Bedford County by the Commissioners appointed for said County Pursuant to the Act of Assembly of the 11th Decr 1835," reproduction of a hand-drawn map, Map Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; "Bedford County, Tennessee Post Offices and Place Names," http://www.tngenweb.org/bedford/postoff.htm, accessed 23 April 2009. Local histories speculate on the origin of the name Rover, but none has a supportable explanation. Rover Historical Society, *History*, 15.

[8]United States Bureau of the Census, 1860, Tennessee, Bedford, District 10, pp. 124-5, accessed 30 January 2009.

"Good Dirt Road [from Shelbyville] to Rover" and the fact that the road is still

known locally as the Nashville Dirt Road, suggested the Civil War era town was a

point on a long-traveled route to Nashville. By the war, it was also connected to

Shelbyville, Franklin, and Nashville by the wide, graded, and graveled

Shelbyville-Unionville-Eagleville Turnpike. The Versailles Road ran north from

Rover into Rutherford County, connecting with an improved road to

Murfreesboro.[9] When control of Bedford County was contested between January

1863 and the following summer, both armies camped at different times at Rover

and skirmished there for control of routes to more important towns.[10]

The main roads connecting Shelbyville to Nashville ran on a generally

northerly diagonal from the center of the county to the northwest corner.

Topography of the Rover area in the inner Central Basin was gently rolling with

fewer meandering streams than areas of the Highland Rim Escarpment. That

allowed early local roads around Rover to connect properties, churches, and

services along generally straight roads and right angles that were still part of the

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[9]Cheatham Map, 1862; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863; Rover Historical Society, *History*, 58; *Acts of the State of Tenessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly for the Years 1849-50* (Nashville, TN: M'Kennie & Watterson, 1850), 453-5.

[10]Rover Historical Society, *History*, 58-9; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 23, Part 1 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1889), 538, 543-4, 547-8. All citations herein to *Official Records* are to the Cornell University Library, *Making of America*, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar//waro.html.

landscape in June 1863.[11] Modern maps of the area have many of the same road patterns as maps of the 1860s, making it possible to survey locations mapped by Civil War troops. Little structural evidence of the Civil War era built landscape survives, but surnames like Cooper, Neal, and Rucker in small family cemeteries correspond with names and locations of property owners mapped nearly a hundred and fifty years ago.

Unionville

Although the most direct line from Shelbyville to the northwestern corner of the county and on to Nashville was the road through Rover known as the Nashville Dirt Road, when a turnpike connecting Shelbyville to Nashville via Eagleville in western Rutherford County was considered in the 1840s, landowners around Unionville about three and a half miles south of Rover did not want to be bypassed. In 1849, a number of men with names recognizable as landowners in the Unionville area petitioned the Tennessee legislature to "designate Unionville Bedford County as a point on the charter of the Turnpike Road from Eagleville Williamson County to Shelbyville." Their first argument was that Unionville was "a point directly in the line and in the center of the Duck River Valley, and nearer than any other line between the points." That was an odd argument since Unionville was at least four and a half miles north of the river and the only way it was on the route between Eagleville and Shelbyville was if the road veered south at Rover instead of cutting across the county to the county

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[11]Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863.

seat. Perhaps to strengthen their argument, the petitioners added that the route

they favored was "abounding with rock all through" and could be built "cheaper

per mile than on any other rout."[12] The Unionville petitioners' arguments probably

developed out of their concern that a new thoroughfare missing their town by

three and a half miles might decrease activity and prosperity for their locality. The

petition succeeded, and an act chartering the Eagleville-Unionville-Shelbyville

Turnpike Company passed February 7, 1850.[13]

Location on a new turnpike may have helped the town develop after 1850.

Although it was located in an early North Carolina Land grant, local history

confirmed by gravemarkers in the area suggested that the early years of the town

were the 1820s. There was a post office named Unionville by 1837, and an act of

the legislature incorporated the town in 1844. By 1857, when it was a turnpike

town, Unionville had as many as five merchants.[14]

The origin of the town name has been in doubt at least since 1876 when it

was suggested that Union loyalty there in the 1860s inspired the name. The

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[12]Legislative Petition, Record Group 60, Legislative Year 1849, Number 25, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[13]*Acts*, 1849-50, 453-5.

[14]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 164; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 254; Helen C. Marsh and Timothy R. Marsh, comps., *Cemetery Records of Bedford County Tennessee* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1986), 56; "Post Offices and Place Names"; *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1843-4* (n.p.: L. Gifford and E.G. Eastman, 1844), 110-1; John P. Campbell, comp., *Nashville Business Directory Vol. III, 1857* (Nashville, TN: Smith, Camp & Co., 1857), 255.

name Unionville already having been in use for a post office decades earlier

defeats that idea. Local histories offer two other suggestions; one is that two post

offices united to form a new name. The other suggestion is that a site of religious

services for more than one denomination, Union Campground, influenced the

town's name.[15]

On the eve of the Civil War, Unionville was a town of about one hundred

and fifty people with surprisingly varied demographics. It was the post office of

record for the 1860 census of the Eleventh Civil District. A cluster of enumerated

occupations there hinted at a town with a varied material culture. Five merchants

reported high values of personal property, figures that probably included the

stock of their stores. In addition to tradesmen like blacksmiths and carpenters

that might be expected in town, there were two coach makers and a coach

painter, specialty workers who probably served an area well beyond Unionville.

Three cabinetmakers, all only thirty years old or younger were at work; two of

them were born in Germany and France. A Unionville tobacconist was one of

only a few free African Americans in Bedford County. Buildings in town

accommodated both commercial and social activities. A wool-carding machine

may have made the town a processing center for the western county. There were

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[15]Edmund Cooper, *Centennial Celebration, 4th of July, 1876, at Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee* (Chattanooga, TN: W.I. Crandall, Printer; Times Job Office, 1877), 16; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 254; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 164.

two general stores and a hotel, two Methodist churches, separate male and female schools, and a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.[16]

A town with coach and cabinetmakers, multiple churches and schools, and an I.O.O.F. lodge must have been flourishing. Availability of goods and services and location on the main north-south artery of western Bedford County gave Unionville strategic value to both Civil War armies. In May 1862, Confederate troops camped in the area of Unionville. Although still early in US occupation of the county, Federal troops skirmished with the Rebels near Unionville attempting to push them from the county. A year and a half later, in October 1863, when Federal troops were trying to clear the railroad of Confederates in the eastern county, they were also in pursuit of Confederate forces near Unionville. Although camped in eastern Bedford County, Union forces foraged and commandeered civilians' horses and mules around Unionville.[17]

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[16]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 11, pp. 138-40, accessed 30 January 2009; John L. Mitchell, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860-'61, No. 1* (Nashville, TN: John L. Mitchell, 1860), 303, 367.

[17]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 1, part 1, p. 885; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 23, part 1, p. 543; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 667, 669-70, 679; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 4, pp. 157, 159. In 1871, Congress passed legislation establishing a process through which pro-Union citizens in the former seceded states could request reimbursement for personal property given to or taken by US troops for military use during the Civil War. The Southern Claims Commission received applications with supporting information, investigated claims, judged the claimants' wartime loyalty and losses, and determined amounts of compensation if any. Documentation supporting the claims is an under-utilized source of information on social history and material culture. The US National Archives holds originals of the claims documents. Disallowed and barred claims are available on National Archives microfiche in a

Crowell's Mill (Hall's Mill)

The 1783 survey party under Alexander Greer traveled south from French

Lick (Nashville) to the Elk River on a line beyond the present western boundary

of Bedford County. On the return trip, they traversed the western county crossing

Duck River at an advantageous point that was settled and identified as

Thompson Ford by 1806. A number of North Carolinians settled river lands near

that ford before 1810. Among them were Lutherans who quickly created a point

of orientation by organizing a chapel that held services well before the arrival of

traveling missionaries in 1823 and 1824. Gravemarkers at the site of the original

chapel documented early settlement and use of the site as a graveyard by

1808.[18]

Near the chapel, between river miles 202 and 203, in 1824 Samuel

Crowell constructed a milldam and began milling operations that continued into

the twentieth century. Within ten years, when a competing miller attempted to

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number of libraries including the Tennessee State Library and Archives (TSLA). Digital images of approved claims are available online with a premium subscription to footnote.com. All disallowed and barred claims cited herein were accessed at TSLA; all approved claims were accessed through footnote.com. Southern Claims Commission Approved Claims, 1871-1880, Robert Allison claim 17206, Meredith Blanton claim 13529.

[18]Jerry Wayne Cook, "Settlement at Thompson's Ford, Halls Mill, Tennessee," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1996): 7-14; Marsh, *Cemetery Records,* 86-87; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History,* 41, 48, 312; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial,* 184.

build a second dam a short distance downstream, Crowell's Mill was a small

town with a mill, a planned second mill, and a chapel with a graveyard.[19]

Settled and developed before Bedford County's turnpike era began in the

1830s, the town of Crowell's Mill had a river orientation. Except in drought

conditions, downriver travel was possible to Columbia and markets beyond.

Upriver travel to Shelbyville was possible except at times of low water. Probably

because of its strategic river access, ford, and mill, Crowell's Mill was a place

worth noting on the Confederate Cheatham Map in 1862.[20] In a recent

conversation, a Crowell descendant advised that a blacksmith shop had been on

family property during the Civil War, and cavalry came there to have their mounts

reshod.[21]

After the war, ownership of Crowell's mill and dam changed. Joe D.

Brooks III has extensive research files on mills and man-made features along

Duck River and its tributaries. His research found that by 1874, John V. Hall was

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[19]*Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Murfreesborough, TN: J. Norvell & G.A. & A.C. Sublett, 1824), 86-87; Samuel Crowell to Peter Crowell, 3 July 1834, Small Collections, Crowell Family Papers, 1786-1955, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[20]Cheatham Map, 1862.

[21]Randall Crowell, personal communication with Jane Townes, 18 October 2008.

the owner, and the town became known as Hall's Mill.[22] That name continued in use for the locality into the twentieth century.

Towns of Southern Bedford County

Although Civil War cartographers largely ignored Bedford County below the Duck River, it was an early and well-settled area. At least one member of the survey parties of the 1780s located a large tract of land for himself in the southwestern county. Eighty years later, a family member on the same tract lost a mule, five horses, and eighty barrels of corn to US troops moving through the area in 1862, 1863, and 1864.[23] From 1809, roads developed to connect early areas of settlement to the county seat. By the Civil War, a number of those had become routes of turnpikes into neighboring counties, and the improved roads were lines of march and supply for large numbers of troops. Even without battles or skirmishes nearby, residents of the southern county were continuously aware there was a war on when livestock and foodstuffs were repeatedly commandeered.

Vicinity of Modern Wheel

Unlike other Bedford County districts, the Eighteenth Civil District is a social and commercial as well as a political entity. The area is popularly referred to as "The Eighteenth," or "The Bloody Eighteenth," for its history of violence and

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[22] Joe D. Brooks III, Duck River Atlas, plate iv, Joe D. Brooks III Collection.

[23]Marsh, Marsh, and King, Early History, 41; Griffey, Land Records, Greer grant 40 p. 207; Approved Claims, George Greer, 18246.

moonshine stills. The present point of orientation for the Eighteenth is the town of

Wheel, but that town evolved well after the Civil War. The surrounding area,

however, had a number of early grants and settlements. The modern landscape

has evidence of early occupancy in a cemetery southwest of Wheel that dates

from 1816 and in log buildings still visible along Mount Lebanon Road.[24]

Near the future site of Wheel, a North Carolina family settled and built a

milldam on Sinking Creek between 1812 and 1820. The Neeleys developed their

early gristmill into a processing and trading center that operated from the 1820s

through the Civil War. The operation included a gristmill, sawmill, tannery,

distillery, and store, thereby providing the neighborhood both a market for sale of

agricultural products and for purchase of goods. Although the Neeley complex

was unique in leaving a business ledger that described goods available from

1829 through the Civil War, it was probably an example of commerce conducted

at many small towns around the county.[25]

Palmetto

In the 1860 census, Palmetto was the post office of record for the

Eighteenth Civil District. The town was on the Shelbyville-Farmington-Lewisburg

Turnpike at the Marshall County line. When that line was drawn in 1836, Robert

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[24]Ed Perryman, Fay Neill Hurt, and Jean Neill Rodgers, eds., *Homecoming 86: History of Wheel and the 18th District* (Wheel, TN: Wheel Homecoming Committee, 1986), 24-27, 79-81; Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 163.

[25]Perryman, *Homecoming*, 32-35.

Montgomery's property was a landmark on the line. A local history credited the 1844 arrival of Thomas Montgomery from South Carolina, the Palmetto State, as the origin of the name.[26] The turnpike to Lewisburg began at Shelbyville in 1848 but was not yet complete in 1854. Two extant antebellum houses front the pike at Palmetto, suggesting that by the late 1840s the road and the site were points of orientation on the western edge of the county.

The Thomas Montgomery house built in the 1840s closely fronts the Lewisburg Pike on a property known as Palmetto Farm. Across the road is a house of similar style. Together the houses suggest that some residents of Palmetto enjoyed a level of prosperity on the eve of the Civil War. Valuations of real and personal property in the 1860 census confirm that assumption. Thomas Montgomery's valuations are greater than any in the district. Three households, including a physician's, enumerated immediately before Montgomery's and the household immediately following his in the census all have higher than usual property valuations.[27]

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[26] Perryman, *Homecoming*, 5, 46-48; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors to the Past: Homes of Shelbyville and Bedford County* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 1969), 83.

[27] *Acts of the State of Tennessee 1847-8 Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly for the Years 1847-8* (Jackson, TN: Gates & Parker, 1848), 405-8; *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Thirtieth General Assembly for the Years 1853-4* (Nashville, TN: M'Kennie & Brown, 1854), 175-6; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 18, p. 163-4, accessed 30 January 2009.

From Palmetto, it was only a short distance to Farmington in Marshall

County. From there, a road running north to Nashville and south to Huntsville,

Alabama facilitated troop movements. That made Palmetto an access point for

units moving into or out of Bedford County and the Montgomery store there part

of the Civil War landscape. On July 15, 1862, Laura Cowan and her father met

straggling soldiers all along the pike as they traveled from Shelbyville to

Palmetto. At the Palmetto post office, probably in his store, Mr. Montgomery

opined to the Cowans that a passing Confederate soldier was a spy.[28] The family

store on the pike made a good observation point for Robert Montgomery, who

was a vocal Unionist engaged in subversive activities when Rebels controlled his

neighborhood.[29]

Richmond

Richmond, in the far southwest corner of the county, was a flourishing

town by the Civil War. Even though military maps do not include the lower

county, two of the three US military maps studied designated the road to

Richmond.[30] Goods and services potentially available there made it a target for

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[28]Eliza L. Cowan Atwood (1835-1895), "Diaries, 1862-1863," 15 July,
Atwood Collection, Archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO.

[29]Approved Claims, Robert S. Montgomery, 17861; Perryman,
Homecoming, 74-77.

[30]Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Survey Map,
July 1863.

foraging teams, and its location on the Shelbyville-Richmond-Petersburg

Turnpike made it a landmark on a potential route for troop movements.

Located on Sinking Creek in the low ground below the steep escarpment

that divides the watersheds of the Duck and Elk Rivers, Richmond offered some

advantages for early settlement. The creek, with a fall from higher ground,

created waterpower for a mill established between 1812 and 1819.[31] The low

ground winding from Richmond into Lincoln County through steep elevations

made it one of only a few access points for a road between the two counties.

A Richmond post office opened in 1831. Local history credits a local

merchant who was originally from Richmond, Virginia, with the name. Growth of

the town resulted in an 1847 legislative petition for incorporation from the citizens

of Richmond and vicinity. They requested incorporation "for the preservance of

peace and good order." The boundary points they requested included a landmark

spring and a school house that must have been in use before the petition date

December 23, 1847.[32] Approximately six weeks after the petition, Richmond was

incorporated with the same structure and privileges as the county seat.[33]

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[31]Marsh, Marsh, and King, 157.

[32]"Post Offices and Place Names;" Mrs. R.L. Patterson, "Richmond," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1979): 10; Legislative Petition, Record Group 60, Legislative Year 1847, Number 90-2, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[33]*Acts, 1847-8*, 409-10.

In January 1850 the Tennessee legislature chartered the Shelbyville-Richmond-Petersburg-Fayetteville Turnpike Company. It did not progress to meet construction deadlines and required two deadline extensions, the latter of which dropped Fayetteville from the company name and made Petersburg the terminus. The same act approved the grade of the road already built, probably the portion of the road from Shelbyville to Richmond that had few challenges from difficult terrain.[34]

Businesses listed in 1860 Richmond suggested the new pike improved access to a town with many of the goods and services available in Shelbyville. Among other trades and businesses there were two general stores and a grocery, steam saw and flour mills, a company making carriages and wagons, a cabinetmaker, two boot and shoemakers, a tailor, and a milliner. A dentist, two physicians, a daguerreotypist, and three justices of the peace saved area residents trips to the county seat for special services. The presence of two brick masons suggested that Richmond was a town with substantial buildings. A Methodist church, a male and a female academy, and the Richmond Lodge of the International Order of Odd Fellows served the non-material needs of some of the population.[35]

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[34]*Acts 1849-50*, 79-82; *Acts, 1853-4*, 472; *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Thirty-third General Assembly for the Years 1859-60* (Nashville, TN: E.G. Eastman & Co. Public Printers, 1860), 232-3.

[35]Mitchell, *Gazetteer, 1860-61*, 265, 267.

Bedford County's Richmond would have been a wartime landscape even though there were no area battles. In addition to the flourmill, the town had both a dealer in hides and leather, and a saddle and harness maker.[36] Flour, leather, and harness were always in short supply for the armies. A town with Richmond's potential as a source of supply and located on an access point to Lincoln County would certainly have drawn attention of military foraging parties and units attempting to prevent supplies from falling into enemy hands.

An imposing two-story frame house outside Richmond would have been part of the Civil War landscape not only because of its construction date, but also because of its owner. Meredith P. Gentry had been a member of Congress and a candidate for governor. He had a long-running rivalry with Andrew Johnson, who became the US military governor of Tennessee. Gentry was a member of the first and second Confederate Congress and a large investor in Confederate bonds. His activities and his property would certainly have drawn attention of occupying Federal troops and the US Provost Marshal who monitored troublesome secessionist sentiment in the county.[37]

Flat Creek

Flat Creek developed near the southern county line on the opposite side of the county from Richmond. An old road from Nashville to Huntsville, Alabama,

[36]Mitchell, *Gazetteer, 1860-61*, 265.

[37]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 55; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 137.

ran southeast out of Shelbyville, leaving the county through creases between fingers of the Highland Rim Escarpment.[38] A town developed on that road from early sites of a mill and churches near the point where New Hermon Fork, Coleman Fork, and Bobo Creek come together to form Flat Creek. Settlers who had been in the area as early as 1808 established a Baptist Church around 1812 and a Methodist Church in 1814. There were early mills near Flat Creek and a tannery by 1822.[39] A post office opened at Flat Creek in 1833, probably in a store or building with another primary function. Like Neeley's mill complex in the Eighteenth District, Flat Creek businesses developed as multi-use sites. The 1820s tannery sold in 1836 with "ten acres of land, a grocery store with the goods, wares, merchandise and groceries in the store, as well as leather in the shop and vats" of the tanyard."[40]

The old road from the southern county through Flat Creek to Shelbyville crossed Duck River at Skull Camp Ford. In 1848 the Shelbyville and Skull Camp Ford Turnpike and Bridge Company received a charter to build a macadamized road from Shelbyville to the river and to build a bridge there that would not

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[38]Annie Mae Phillips and Al Simmons, eds., "Flat Creek," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2007): 136.

[39] Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 72, 312; Phillips and Simmons, "Flat Creek," 142; *The Goodspeed Histories of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford, & Marshall Counties of Tennessee* (Columbia, TN: Woodward & Stinson Printing Co., 1971), 883; Dick Poplin, "Lucretia Eakin's New Home," *Shelbyville Times-Gazette*, August 8, 1979.

[40]"Post Offices and Place Names;" Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 236-7.

obstruct the old Flat Creek road or its ford. Two years later, the flourishing town,

now with multiple churches, a shoemaker, two hatters, a female academy, and

both Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges, was listed as an intermediate point in a

legislative charter for construction of a macadamized pike from Shelbyville to the

present Moore County line.[41]

The 1850 turnpike charter also mentioned Caldwell's Store as a point on

the route to the county line. The store may then have been a popular name for

Flat Creek. After 1841, the town was known as Newsom's Store for merchant

Thomas Newsom. Newsom, however, did not appear with his family in the 1850

census so the store may have had another merchant and name by the beginning

of the turnpike. Like other old place names that tended to continue in use,

Newsom's Store, not Caldwell's, appeared as a landmark on the only Civil War

map that included any of the lower county.[42]

That map also indicated the potential logistical significance of the location

of Newsom's Store or Flat Creek. Not only was this town near the southeastern

corner of the county linked to Shelbyville by an improved road, it was also linked

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[41] *Acts, 1847-8*, 249-50; *Acts 1849-50*, 469-71; Deane Porch, trans., *1850 Census of Bedford County, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Deane Porch), 321, 324; Phillips and Simmons, "Flat Creek," 147; Goodspeed, *Histories*, 880. Lincoln County was the southern boundary of Bedford County from 1809 to 1871 when Moore County was created. Thus, through the Civil War, the Shelbyville-Flat Creek-Lynchburg road ran into Lincoln County.

[42] *Goodspeed Histories*, 880; Porch, *1850 Census*, 321-2; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863.

to the Shelbyville-Fayetteville Turnpike, the Shelbyville-Richmond Road, and the
Shelbyville-Lewisburg Turnpike by a road running west from Flat Creek. That
road linked Flat Creek to most of the thoroughfares through southern Bedford
County.

While Flat Creek claims only a small skirmish in 1863 as its Civil War
military history, the road running west from there across the county insured that
the locality would have military activity from the first appearance of US troops in
the county in 1862 to the end of the war. The interconnected roads made the
entire southern county accessible for repeated visits by foraging parties of both
armies. The postwar approved claim of Unionist James Hastings for a horse and
mule taken by Federal troops also described losses of money, livestock, and a
double-barreled shotgun taken by Rebels.[43]

A field report from a major in the Thirty-first Wisconsin Volunteers
suggested the military utility of the road west from Flat Creek. In May 1864 units
of his command attempted to locate guerrilla bushwhackers who preyed on both
Unionist and Secessionist civilians. He reported troops in his command "visited
Shelbyville and Richmond; from Richmond [they] proceeded to within five miles of
Lynchburg, thence to the headwaters of Flat Creek, thence down said creek to
Flat Creek store, [because bushwhackers had] been scouring that country almost

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[43]Phillips and Simmons, "Flat Creek," 149; Approved Claims, James
Hastings, 19364.

constantly for the last three weeks."[44] Richmond was approximately nine miles

southwest of Shelbyville. To get from there to within five miles of Lynchburg

south of Flat Creek and then to the Flat Creek store, the troops probably took the

connector road shown on the military map instead of backtracking to Shelbyville

and then taking the Flat Creek Turnpike to Lynchburg, then in Lincoln County.

Towns of Eastern Bedford County

In the turnpike era beginning in the 1830s, locations of villages and towns

determined routes of improved roads that connected loci of population,

commerce and social activity. Because the topography of eastern Bedford

County discouraged turnpike projects like those benefiting the central and

western county, the railroad, which ran slightly west of due north from the present

site of Normandy to the Rutherford County line, opened the eastern county to

markets, travel, and information delivered by rail and telegraph. Unlike turnpike

planners, railroad surveyors required the shortest, least difficult route to connect

Chattanooga and Nashville. Locations of existing towns being irrelevant to

construction of track across Bedford County, the line followed a route with no

established villages. Servicing and supplying the construction project and

creation of service stops for the working railroad resulted in a line of new villages

and towns. The reorientation of the population to those new locales resulted in

the decline of established towns.

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[44] *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 39, part 2, p. 52.

Even more rapid than the decline of those towns was the creation and growth of new towns along the rail line. In 1847, when John Edgar Thomson reported on his survey of the most acceptable route between Chattanooga and Nashville, the line passed thorough long-settled areas of Bedford County, but not through any towns. Within seven years, the railroad towns of Normandy, Wartrace, and Bell Buckle had post offices and collections of homes, public places, and facilities to supply and service the railroad.

Fairfield

Fairfield, on the Garrison Fork of Duck River, is now a place name without a town. A church with an early graveyard, a few residences of nineteenth-century construction, a twentieth-century dam across Garrison Fork, and local tradition establish its location. If still in existence, Fairfield would be a crossroads town at the intersection of Tennessee Highway 64, Fairfield Pike and Clyde Gleaves Road.

By the Civil War, Fairfield had already been through the stages of early settlement, growth to a flourishing town, and decline to a rural village. Topographic features of the area made it attractive to early settlers and, with the interplay of developing businesses and county road building, a hub of early antebellum activity. The same topographic features made the advantageous route for the railroad across the county approximately three and a half miles west of the town of Fairfield, and population and economic activity relocated to the main rail line in the late 1840s and 1850s. Because of accessibility to gaps in the

Highland Rim Escarpment from the area, its crossroads that connected

Rutherford, Coffee and Bedford Counties, and mills useful for military provisions,

Fairfield and its environs had strategic value for both Union and Confederate

armies.

The site that became Fairfield was just east of the prehistoric Great South

Trail that opened Bedford County to early land locators and settlers. As early as

1784 the Edmiston Company used that route. June 27, 1793, three years before

Tennessee statehood and twelve years before treaties opened the area to white

settlement, Thomas and John Gray Blount recorded a number of grants in what

became eastern Bedford County. The thousands of acres they claimed included

Fairfield and vicinity.[45]

Early land locators, surveyors, and settlers explored major streams and

located choice land claims on advantageous watercourses. Garrison Fork, a

major tributary of the Duck River, has headwaters in the Highland Rim

Escarpment northeast of Fairfield. A number of small streams from steep ground

feed into the Garrison above Fairfield, and Noah's Fork joins the Garrison roughly

half a mile above the town site, creating a reliable flow of water there in all but

drought conditions. From Fairfield, Garrison Fork winds approximately nine and a

half stream miles through the low ground of the Highland Rim Escarpment to the

Duck River. Topographic maps indicate approximate elevations of the Garrison at

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[45]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 48, 51, 456, 458; Griffey, *Land Records,* Blount grants 216-7, 219-25, and 230-5, p.106-7.

the Fairfield town site as 800 feet, and at Duck River as 740 feet.[46] In addition to the water source and fall that make Fairfield an attractive site for a water-powered mill, a crease between 820-foot contours squeezes the the Garrison Fork into a narrow channel that is feasible to dam for power.

The convenience of a trail to good farmland with possibilities for water-powered mills made the area now known as Fairfield an early settlement. Local historian Carolyn Odle Smotherman identified family groups who arrived as early as 1806 and 1808.[47] By 1809, the population of the area was sufficient to organize New Hope Baptist Church. Its location on the south side of the present Clyde Gleaves Road continues in use as a Baptist church and graveyard. A gravemarker recorded there by Bedford County historians Helen and Tim Marsh documents settlement of the area within a year of Bedford County's establishment: "Sacred to the Memory of Christopher Shaw who was born in Guinette Co., S. C. on the 25th October 1765, Removed to Bed. Co. Tn. 1808."[48]

As soon as settlers' production of cereal crops exceeded subsistence levels, access to mills became a necessity that they addressed early on Garrison

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[46]United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey, Bedford County, Tennessee, Wartrace Quadrangle.

[47]Carolyn Odle Smotherman, "The Founding Members of New Hope Baptist Church, Bedford County, Tennessee," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2008): 137-8.

[48]Helen C. Marsh and Timothy R. Marsh, comps., *Cemetery Records of Bedford County Tennessee* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1986), 133.

Fork. The Marshes locate a "fine mille" there as early as 1810 and indicate that it

continued in operation for many years with different owners' names. Joe Brooks

notes a mill owner named Heidt had transferred this early mill, a store, and a

tavern to Henry Davis by 1819.[49] Because mills became centers of rural activity,

services and trades like blacksmithing and merchandising clustered nearby,

creating a village known for many years as Davis Mill or Davis's Mills. There may

have been a cotton gin nearby as early as 1812, and Joe Brooks has identified a

number of antebellum flour, grist, and sawmills in the vicinity.[50]

As a site processing a variety of agricultural products and offering goods

and services, Davis's Mills was the principal town of northeastern Bedford County

for several decades. It was a specific destination for turnpikes in the era of

internal improvements. In 1837 the Tennessee legislature authorized

construction of "a McAdamized Turnpike Road from Fosterville in the county of

Rutherford, to Davis' Mills in Bedford county" with a subscription company

modeled on that of the Nashville-Murfreesboro-Shelbyville Turnpike. In 1845-

1846, legislative action authorized "a turnpike road from Shelbyville, in Bedford

county, by the way of Davis's mills, to Beech Grove, in Coffee county."[51] James

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[49]Marsh, *Early History*, 312; Brooks, Duck River vertical files, watermills worksheet, tributaries of the Garrison Fork, Brooks Collection.

[50]*History of Fairfield, Tennessee from 1796 to 1963* (n.p., n.d.), 2, 18; Brooks, Duck River vertical files, Bedford County, TN, Brooks Collection.

[51]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-second General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1837-8* (Nashville, TN: S. Nye & Co., 1838),

L. Armstrong and Matt Martin, Jr., two of the commissioners of the subscription company to build a pike to Davis's Mills, were names prominent in the history of Fairfield. As late as 1850, when railroad construction was already underway, Davis's Mills was still mentioned as a point on a pike to be built from Bedford County to Manchester.[52]

It is not clear when or how the town's name changed from Davis's Mills to Fairfield. Histories of Bedford County offer explanations, none of which is definitive or documented, and dates connected with the name Fairfield in those histories conflict with the documented use of the name Davis's Mills in legislation as late as 1850. The earliest account of the name change is Judge H.L. Davidson's speech at an 1876 US Centennial celebration in Shelbyville. Claiming to have used original county settlers as sources for his statements, Davidson said, "Fairfield, known from a very early day as Davis' Mills, but being a very fair and lovely section, it was named Fairfield, in 1836, by Captain W.B.M. Brame."[53] Goodspeed's history, published a decade later, offered an explanation that local historians have repeated ever since: "The land upon which the town was

81; *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-sixth General Assembly for the Years 1845-6* (Knoxville, TN: James C. Moss, 1846), 163.

[52]*Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly for the Years 1849-50* (Nashville, TN: M'Kennie & Watterson, 1850), 227; *History of Fairfield*, 1, 14.

[53]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16.

founded was owned by Dr. J.L. Armstrong and Henry Davis; that on the west side of the creek belonged to Dr. Armstrong and was called Petersburg; that on the east side by Mr. Davis and was called Fairfield. The two towns were laid off into lots, and the lots were sold some time in 1830. From 1835 to about 1850 Fairfield (the name of Petersburg was soon dropped) was one of the most flourishing towns in the county, and a large amount of business was annually transacted."[54]

The town probably changed names officially in the early 1840s. A list of Bedford County post offices shows Davis Mills post office in operation for fourteen years from January 24, 1828 to May 22, 1842. The same day the Davis Mills post office closed, a Fairfield post office began operation.[55] That was the accepted town name by 1860 when an act of the Tennessee legislature authorized tollgates for what was now called the Shelbyville and Fairfield Turnpike Company, probably in reference to the same improved road first authorized and described as running from Shelbyville to Davis's Mills in 1845-

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[54] *Goodspeed Histories*, 880.

[55] "Post Offices and Place Names."

1846.[56] Fairfield was part of the Civil War landscape recorded by military

cartographers and records of military action in the area.[57]

Although the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad crossed Bedford County

less than three and a half miles from Fairfield, location of the track resulted in

rapid decline of the town when businesses and services relocated in new towns

on the main line. By 1876, Judge Davidson's summary of county history

described the effect of the railroad on some old villages, including Fairfield, as

decay.[58] Since the route of the N&CRR was known from the fall of 1846 and

construction began in 1848, relocations from Fairfield probably began in the late

1840s. Even though it may not describe the town of Fairfield at its high point, the

population census of 1850 conjures up a town with stores, workshops, a variety

of available services, and varied goods for sale. Enumerated occupations place a

shoe and boot maker, a hatter, and two tailors in Civil District One that included

Fairfield. All are more likely to have operated from workshops in town than the

countryside. Three merchants heading separate households and a clerk-

salesman suggest that Fairfield's commercial structures comprised more than

one store. The occupation "painter" has several possibilities: house painter,

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[56] *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Thirty-third General Assembly for the Years 1859-60* (Nashville, TN: E.G. Eastman & Co. Public Printers Union & American Office, 1860), 421.

[57] Cheatham Map, 1862; Sketch of Environs Map, April 1863; Shelbyville and Vicinity Map, June 1863; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 23, part 1, pp. 402, 406, 425, 430-1, 435, 437-8.

[58] Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16.

coach painter, sign painter, and painter of fraternal regalia. Those jobs were

more likely housed in Fairfield than commission artists identified as painters, and

the two painters listed with the same surname suggest a specialized family

business. Whether they resided in town or country, two male schoolteachers, six

young-adult male students, and four physicians were an intellectual and

professional influence in the neighborhood. Two machinists, three blacksmiths, a

carpenter, and a stonemason served the practical needs of the district around

Fairfield.[59]

In 1850, those occupations served eighty-three households in the First

District. By 1860 there were eighteen fewer households and a marked decrease

in occupations indicative of a town. The shoemaker, hatter, both tailors, and both

painters were gone. The four mercantile occupations decreased to only one

merchant in 1860. There was only one teacher, and although there were two

more scholars than in 1850, they were not the young adult males of the earlier

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[59]Deane Porch, trans., *1850 Census of Bedford County, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Deane Porch), 1-11. Fairfield straddled the line dividing Districts One and Three, the latter of which also included Wartrace. So it is probable that some occupations in Fairfield were recorded in the other district and thus the town occupations discussed here from census District One are a minimum count for Fairfield. On the other hand, since some Fairfield residents may be included in the District Three census with Wartrace, not even a minimum tally of that town's occupations is possible from the census.

census. Two students were young girls, and two males were only seven and

twelve.[60]

Two years after the 1860 census indicated Fairfield's decline, Union

occupiers taxing Bedford County real estate identified only four town lots in the

civil district that included that town.[61] The population there in May 1863 included

too few young women to support one Confederate soldier's idea of a successful

picnic. Ed Bradford was a soldier in the brigades of Confederate troops camped

around Fairfield to cover the nearby Murfreesboro-Manchester Turnpike. He

wrote his mother about his "very quiet life here....Some of the officers have been

trying to get up a picnic for our regiment but I think it will prove a failure. I do not

think there are enough girls and enough provisions to spare to have one." When

Union troops fought through Hoover's Gap, they pushed Confederate forces out

of Fairfield and took control of eastern Bedford County.[62]

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[60]United States Bureau of the Census, 1860, Tennessee, Bedford, District 1, pp. 1-8, accessed 14 January 2009.

[61]Civil War Direct Tax Assessment Lists 1862: Tennessee, Bedford County, District 1, National Archives Microfilm, Middle Tennessee State University MFM 470, microcopy T227 reel 1.

[62]Ed Bradford to [Mrs. E.V. Bradford], 16 May 1863, Bradford Family Papers, 1830-1895, V-K-3 Folder 2, Accession No. 68-202, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; "Fairfield," *The Tullahoma Campaign*, http://mtsu32.mtsu.edu:11758/Commuities/fairfield.html, accessed 3 March 2010; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 23, part 1, pp. 402, 406, 425, 430-1, 435, 437, 438, 545, 547, 558, 611-2; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 23, part 2, pp. 472, 790.

The landscape around Fairfield would have been altered by engagements

there and by the traffic and foraging of multiple brigades of two encamped

armies. Perhaps the greatest impact of the war on the local cultural landscape

was the destruction of the machinery of the former Davis Mill that had given the

town its original name and purpose. Operating under different ownership into the

war, local history says it was destroyed by Union troops.[63]

In 1870, new owners rebuilt the mill on the opposite bank of Garrison Fork,

probably using the original dam or dam site and existing millpond.[64] A mill

continued in operation on the west bank of the Garrison into the twentieth

century. Although not a working mill for many years, the dam and mill buildings

that are now remodeled as a residence are among the few physical locators for

the former town of Fairfield. A photograph from the first third of the twentieth

century in the collection of a Fairfield area resident shows only a store or

workshop on each of the four crossroads corners.[65] Only one of those corners

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[63] *History of Fairfield*, 1-2. A search of *Official Records* did not indicate which side destroyed the mill. Both armies attempted to prevent enemy use of mills.

[64] Watermills worksheet, tributaries of the Garrison Fork, Brooks Duck River vertical files, Brooks Collection; René Atwood Capley, *Bedford County Bicentennial: Celebrating the Past, 1807-2007* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 2007), 33.

[65] Elsie Belll, the owner of the Martin House, generously spent time talking with the author about Fairfield area history and shared early twentieth-century photographs of the crossroads.

still has a structure. It is entirely covered by sheet metal, and its appearance

does not suggest any obvious past or current use (figure 5).

Figure 5. Twentieth-century dam at Fairfield, probable site of Civil War era dam, photograph by author.

A few antebellum structures survive in the area, and a windshield survey

around Fairfield locates features of the Civil War era landscape. Garrison Fork is

still an important physical feature. Though of modern concrete construction, the

existing dam and town bridge over the stream are probably in the same locations

as their predecessors that predated the Civil War. From that bridge on Clyde

Gleaves Road, just east of Tennessee Highway 64, it is possible to see the dam and the former site of Davis Mill on the east bank.

Rowesville

Like Fairfield, Rowesville was a flourishing Bedford County town until the railroad bypassed its location, running less than two and a half miles to the east. As early as 1835, Rowesville was a key location in the Twenty-fifth Civil District. A map of that year shows the county's nineteen civil districts, each with at least one location marked, probably points of civic orientation and activity like polling places or sites for militia musters. Only two districts, the Seventh with the county seat of Shelbyville, and the Twenty-fifth with "Roseville," have key locations that are place names indicating towns. Designation of Rowesville as a town among those locations on the 1835 map indicated its importance to eastern Bedford County south of Duck River.[66]

In the 1830s, Rowesville was the principal business and political center of the Twenty-fifth District. With a post office (by 1834), mills and a cotton gin, it would have been a point of commercial and social orientation for the district. The

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[66]Bedford County had twenty-five civil districts until 1835 when county lines were redrawn. New boundaries made former Civil Districts Twelve through Seventeen part of counties to the west. Of the nineteen districts remaining in Bedford County in 1835, fifteen had key locations indicated with individuals' names. The type of key location in the Second District was unclear. In District Twenty-four, Ray's Shop was the point of orientation. "Civil Districts laid off in Bedford County by the Commissioners appointed for said County Pursuant to the Act of Assembly of the 11th Decr 1835," reproduction of a hand-drawn map, Map Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

opening of a Baptist Church by 1840 and a planned academy with a classical curriculum by 1848 offer further evidence of Rowesville's development as a hub for this area of the county.[67] In 1847, however, rail construction began through the county, and a route through the Normandy Valley offered a grade more practical for construction than the topography of the Rowesville area. By 1857, only five years after the railroad began operation, Rowesville had two merchants while the new rail town of Normandy had three.[68] From a place where "there was at one time a great deal of business done," Rowesville, the "once prosperous and widely known village," was by 1876 "much injured by the withdrawal of their trade to the railroad."[69]

When commercial, social, and civic activity shifted toward the rail line, Rowesville, like Fairfield became a place name without a town. Unlike Fairfield, however, where modern roads follow old routes and well-maintained antebellum buildings and sites exist as evidence of an earlier town, Rowesville has no modern presence. It is even difficult to locate Rowesville on a map as a cultural landscape of the Civil War era. Today, only two active churches and a boarded

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[67]Jerry Wayne Cook, *Historic Normandy, Bedford County, Tennessee* (Normandy, TN: Jerry Wayne Cook, 1976), 24; John L. Mitchell, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860-'61, No. 1* (Nashville, TN: John L. Mitchell, 1860), 272; Marsh, *Early History,* 141.

[68]Cook, *Historic Normandy,* 24; John P. Campbell, comp., *Nashville Business Directory Vol. III, 1857* (Nashville, TN: Smith, Camp & Co., 1857), 255-6.

[69]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration,* 16.

up structure that may have been a store stand where Roseville Road and

Shipman Creek cross Normandy Road. A cluster of dwellings, churches, and a

school at that intersection shown on maps into the 1950s marks the location of

Rowesville for modern Bedford Countians.[70]

It is possible, however, that antebellum Rowesville was not at the location

usually identified on the present Normandy Road. That road did not extend east

beyond Shipman Creek until sometime after the Beers Map of 1878. Helen and

Tim Marsh, who researched Bedford County land records for many years,

concluded that the original Rowesville, a town with four streets and sixteen lots

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[70]The name for this locale appears both as Rowesville and Roseville. The reason for the confusion is pronunciation of the original name. The Marshes describe the locale as named for Dr. Joseph Rowe. His name with a possessive S appears as Rowesville on the 1835 map of Bedford County's civil districts. Rowe was apparently pronounced with a long O that with an S sounds like Roseville when spoken. Current area residents use a W in spelling but correct pronunciation to sound like Roseville when newcomers use an OW sound. Historical and authoritative uses of the name with a W are the 1835 map of civil districts, an 1860 legislative act concerning a pike to Rowesville, an 1860-1861 Tennessee gazeteer, and April and June 1863 military maps. Confusion over spelling based on pronunciation probably began with first use of the town name. It dates at least to 1860 when Roseville is the post office of record for the US census of the twenty-fifth district. That spelling also appears on the 1878 Beers map and on modern highway and topographic maps. This author uses the original spelling, Rowesville. Cook, *Historic Normandy*, 16, 24; Marsh, *Early History*, 141, 314; Civil Districts Map 1835; *Public Acts 1859-60*, 571; Mitchell, *Gazetteer*, 272; US Army map, April 1863; US Army map, June 10, 1863; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 25, 110, accessed 30 January 2009; D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," reproduction, possession of author; Tennessee State Highway Department Division of Traffic & Finance Studies, "General Highway Map, Bedford County, Tennessee," 1952, possession of author; USGS Normandy Quadrangle.

sold in 1833, was to the north and west of the intersection of the present

Normandy Road and Shipman Creek. One Roseville lot on the main street had a

house on a thirty-nine-foot lot line facing the street with a lot ninety feet deep

behind the house. An adjacent lot had a similar narrow footprint running back

from the street, suggesting a town layout of narrow deep lots with buildings facing

the streets.[71]

While the 1833 town of streets and lots has not been located, an 1863

military map and recent windshield survey suggest that the orientation of area

residents in the Civil War era may also have been toward the Duck River to the

north of the road that became Normandy Road and west of its intersection with

Shipman Creek. The 1863 map shows a cluster of buildings west of Shipman

Creek and a road or trail running from the buildings approximately half a mile

north to a ford on Duck River. On the north bank of that ford, residents of

Rowesville had access to another road running north toward Wartrace and

Fairfield. The road to the river connected on the south bank with another running

east toward the railroad and beyond into Coffee County. Therefore, the ford close

to Rowesville was accessible from three directions, and from that point the mill,

factory, and warehouse complex at Three Forks was only a three-mile

downstream float. The lay of the land near the river would have made travel to

access services, markets, and social sites easier there than on roads south of

[71]Beers Map, 1878; Marsh, *Early History*, 141; Bedford County, Tennessee, Register's Office, Deed Book DD, 133, 161.

Rowesville toward Shelbyville and Normandy. Those routes traversed steep

country that the 1863 mapmaker labeled "hilly" or "rough and hilly."[72]

The roads north and west of Rowesville mapped in 1863 do not appear on

modern maps. Since they are routes to the river and to fords connecting to roads

north of the river, they may have predated the railroad built in 1852 and the

Shelbyville-Rowesville Turnpike that still needed subscribers in 1860.[73] Those

older roads may be clues to the location and the river orientation of the original

Rowesville. Because low water levels above Three Forks made transportation by

river problematic, a shift in the town's location toward the new rail line and the

Shelbyville-Rowesville-Normandy Turnpike was probably inevitable when those

improvements became available.

Today a narrow unimproved road runs north and west of the buildings that

current residents identify as Rowesville on the modern Normandy Road.

Consistent with characteristics of old roads, stretches of Bill Russell Road follow

low ground along a streambed, have very large trees at the road's edge, and are

sunk below the levels of cultivated fields they pass through. Within a half a mile

of each other along that road, and about a mile south of Three Forks, are an

antebellum residence with large gable-end stone chimneys, an abandoned, early

hall-parlor house, and Three Forks Cemetery, which has at least seven graves

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[72]US Army map, April 1863.

[73]*Public Acts, 1859-60*, 571-2.

that predate 1845.[74] Proximity of the river, early house types, and the cemetery that was a churchyard suggest an antebellum cultural landscape that may have been the original area of Rowesville.

The cemetery associated with Three Forks Cumberland Presbyterian Church was in use as early as 1815 and included in its congregation residents from the area that became Normandy. Within six years of completion of the railroad through the new town of Normandy, a new church in the railroad town reoriented Presbyterians there and away from the Rowesville area.[75] Churchgoers' rapid reorientation from Rowesville to Normandy, the closing of the Rowesville post office two years after the Civil War, and Judge Davidson's statement about the injurious withdrawal of trade from Rowesville to the railroad, made only eleven years after the war, suggest that Rowesville was declining as a town in the landscape of theCivil War era.[76]

Fairfield and Rowesville, the two principal towns of eastern Bedford County before the route of the railroad was surveyed, sold town lots in 1830 and 1833. John Shofner's letters make it clear that railroads and the benefits of

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[74]Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 291.

[75]Cook, *Historic Normandy*, 55, 139.

[76]"Post Offices and Place Names;" Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16.

access to them were already understood and discussed in the county at that

time.[77] Knowing that citizens sought access to railroads raises questions about

the timing of sales of lots in the two towns. Did the two locales coincidentally

reach activity and population levels justifying the sale of town lots in the same

years in which Shofner mentioned citizens' interest in railroads? Or were sales of

lots attempts to bring towns into existence to draw the attention of surveyors of

potential rail routes through the county? Without contemporary commentary,

these questions remain unanswered. What is clear, however, is that less than

thirty years after the railroad bypassed two established towns by less than three

and a half miles, both Fairfield and Rowesville had "been much injured by the

withdrawal of their trade to the railroad," and their decline continued to the point

that the towns' locations are difficult to determine with accuracy.[78]

<p style="text-align:center">Normandy</p>

Normandy, the most southeastern of the county's railroad towns, is at the

eastern edge of Bedford County where the Duck River flows into the county

intersecting the ancient Great South Trail. The steep hills of the Highland Rim

Escarpment and numerous narrow creases with streambeds into the Duck River

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[77]*Goodspeed Histories*, 880; Marsh, *Early History*, 141; John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner, 4 August 1832, Michael Shofner [TN] for John Shofner to Michael Shofner [NC], 28 August, 1834, John Shofner and Milley Shofner to Michael Shofner, 25 July 1835, Michael Shoffner Papers #4067, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

[78]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16.

Valley characterize the topography of the area. The combination of a Native

American trail and numerous watercourses for power made the area both

accessible and attractive. An 1812 deed for land in the area referenced three

mills, at least one of which may have been in operation as early as 1809. Mills

with those dates indicate an early settled and productive population. Jerry Wayne

Cook, historian of the Normandy area, identified a number of families established

there by the early 1840s.[79]

While it was settled early, the Normandy area through the antebellum and

Civil War eras was a low-density dispersed settlement where residents oriented

themselves to individual properties instead of to a centralized or shared space.

Several of the families Cook identified as early settlers traveled together from

North Carolina and took titles to farms of more than five hundred acres, an

indication that the homes of landowners in the Normandy area were not in close

proximity.[80] Instead of a communal burying ground, in the Civil War era

landscape there were more than a half dozen cemeteries in the countryside two

miles or less from Normandy.[81] Scattered burial sites were a necessity as long as

the Three Forks church near Rowesville served residents of the Normandy

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[79]Cook, *Historic Normandy*, 18-22.

[80]Ibid, 138, 165.

[81]Marsh, *Cemetery Records,* 293, 295-300. The Marshes recorded twelve cemeteries within two miles of Normandy. More than half of them have burials that pre-date the Civil War. Others may also have antebellum burials that have lost their early gravemarkers.

Valley. A churchyard burial there would have required a cortege to travel at least

five and a half miles over steep and rough ground without benefit of improved

roads.[82]

Windshield surveys of the countryside around Normandy did not identify

antebellum buildings, although some exist as the core of buildings with additions

and later siding. A memoir by Nancy Frances Huffman, who grew up near

Normandy, mentioned log buildings in use in the area, and another family

member, Tom Huffman, confirmed their use as Civil War era dwellings. One pen

of a log building is the core of an extant barn now on TVA property.[83] The 1976

TVA survey of sites at risk because of the construction of Normandy Dam

recorded the home of Thomas Hall just over one mile southwest of Bedford Lake

in Bedford County. It was a story-and-a-half building of half-dovetail poplar and

ash logs built *circa* 1850 and enlarged with a frame ell as a central-hall addition

before the Civil War.[84]

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[82]Estimates of distance are by using a map measure tool with USGS topographic maps. Starting at Norman's Creek and generally following the route of a road to the west shown on the April 1863 map, then trying to follow the most advantageous terrain to Three Forks, gives an estimate of distance from Normandy to the Three Forks burial ground.

[83]Tom Huffman, personal communication with Jane Townes, 31 August 2010; Memoir of Nancy Frances Huffman, typescript, Collection of Tom Huffman, 2; Elaine Huffman Mann, telephone conversation with Jane Townes, 10 September 2010.

[84] Norbert F. Riedl, Donald B. Ball, and Anthony P. Cavender, *A Survey of Traditional Architecture and Related Material Folk Culture Patterns in the Normandy Reservoir, Coffee County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: Tennessee

Known log buildings, the antebellum frame addition to the Tom Hall house,

two frame I-houses that survived to be photographed in the early twentieth

century, and lack of any indication of brick buildings that date to 1865 or earlier,

all suggest that log and frame buildings made up the architectural landscape of

Normandy in the Civil War era. Jerry Wayne Cook's *Historic Normandy* includes

photographs of two frame I-houses near the original town site. They are post-

railroad style with unknown construction dates. Even if they are post-war

buildings, they are suggestive of frame construction in the early railroad town.

The two houses are markedly similar three-bay buildings with two stories and two

interior ridge chimneys, all of which appear to have a single course of bricks

projecting from the chimneys approximately three courses below their tops.[85]

In 1847, when the results of the survey to locate a rail line between

Chattanooga and Nashville were published, the surveyor noted an advantageous

natural grade along the settled valley of Norman's Creek. That grade permitted a

cost-saving descent from the Cumberland Plateau to the Central Basin.[86] Now

known locally as the Seven Mile Grade, that natural feature determined the route

of the railroad. While construction was underway, there were work camps along

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Valley Authority, 1976), 47, 206-7.

[85]Cook, *Historic Normandy, 108, 110.*

[86]John Edgar Thomson, "Report to the Commissioners of the Nashville
and Chattanooga Rail Road," *Weekly Nashville Union*, 17 March 1847,
Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers, accessed 15 April 2010.

the line. Some of those became wood, water, and service stops on the completed railroad. By 1852, when rail service began through Bedford County, a stop called Normandy was the southernmost railroad town in the county; two years later it had a post office.[87]

The present town of Normandy is not the original or the Civil War era town site. The first Normandy was approximately two thousand feet south of the present town along the track. An 1863 map shows the original town as a cluster of buildings at the point where Norman's Creek runs under the railroad. At that point, a road running west from Normandy through "very rough and hilly" country connected the vicinity of Rowesville with the new town.[88]

During the Civil War, the town of Normandy was a very narrow strip of low land where Norman's Creek, the railroad, and a parallel wagon road to Tullahoma limited the space available for buildings. With ground rising steeply beside the railroad, buildings were strung out to the north along the tracks. The creek flowing along the low ground made the original town damp and prone to flooding. The town's layout improved in 1889 when the Normandy Land Company and the Normandy Immigration, Real Estate, and Labor Association

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[87]"Post Offices and Place Names."

[88]Cheatham Map, 1862.

purchased land at the present town site and laid out a grid of town lots north of the original railroad town.[89]

Civil War Normandy was a railroad town with not only the main track, but also a sidetrack and as many as three water tanks.[90] The bridge over Norman's Creek made railroad operations between Nashville and Chattanooga vulnerable to shutdown with relatively little localized damage. Consequently, both Civil War armies defended and targeted the track at Normandy, depending upon which side controlled the area. To protect the water station and critical service through Normandy, Union troops fortified high ground commanding the bridge. Military records mentioned a manned blockhouse, stockade, and a battery at Normandy.[91] Remains of a blockhouse and possible stockade survived on a hill above the mainline into the 1970s.[92] The blockhouse at Normandy was one of several between Nashville and Alabama stops that Union troops considered

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[89]Cook, *Historic Normandy*, 25, 35-37; Jerry Wayne Cook, telephone conversation with Jane Townes, 9 August 2010.

[90]*Official Records*, ser. 3, vol. 5, p. 936.

[91]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 713, 715; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 32, part 2, p. 66; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 32, part 3, pp. 290, 471, 492; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 38, part 2, pp. 111, 493; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 49, part 1, p. 922.

[92]Cook, *Historic Normandy*, 30.

essential to holding the railroad that facilitated access to the Deep South and a military line of supply from northern depots.[93]

On the rail line running north from Normandy, several stops provided both service for trains and new points of social and commercial orientation for the long-settled eastern county. Like Normandy, two of those stops, Wartrace and Bell Buckle, were established towns by the Civil War.

Wartrace

Only seven and a half miles north of Normandy, the county's principal mainline town of Wartrace developed quickly after 1852 when the spur line opened to Shelbyville and rail service began to Nashville. Years before Tennessee statehood, explorers and surveyors of that area used War Trace Creek or the War Trace Fork of Duck River as locators.[94] That stream's name probably derived from its proximity to the prehistoric Great South Trail, and the railroad stop took the name of the stream.

Approximately three miles east of the railroad route, near what is now the Kellertown area, a number of dated burials document occupation from the 1810s into the Civil War era.[95] South of Kellertown on Knob Creek, Mount Reserve Academy and Bethsalem Presbyterian campground were educational and

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[93]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 38, part 2, p. 493.

[94]Griffey, *Land Records*, Blount grants 219, 222, 234 pp. 106-7.

[95]Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 139-41.

religious foci for eastern Bedford County as early as 1816. Mount Reserve had a

post office from 1828 to 1845 and was probably the pre-railroad point of

orientation for that area of the county.[96]

With the coming of the railroad, activities near Mount Reserve and

Bethsalem reoriented toward the rail line. However, as late as November 1850,

with railroad construction already underway, there was not yet a town named

Wartrace. In that month, Rice Coffey, "in consideration of the benefit which he

may claim from the location of the Shelbyville Branch Depot of the Nashville and

Chattanooga Rail Road in or over his land," deeded an eight-acre parcel to the

railroad. The location of that depot parcel was then known as "Station 3128."[97]

Development was rapid from an unnamed railroad station to an

incorporated town connected by rail to commercial and political centers of the

county and the state. By January 1852 when a post office opened, the station

was known as Wartrace Depot. In the same year the Bethsalem Presbyterian

congregation built a brick church in the new town. Jesse Chockley built a large

tavern or hotel only a few feet west of the tracks, and stores opened.[98] The

[96]*Goodspeed Histories*, 881, 883; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 140, 173; "Post Offices and Place Names."

[97]Bedford County, Tennessee, Register's Office, Deed Book SS, 254-5, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN.

[98]"Post Offices and Place Names;" Capley, *Bicentennial*, 37; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors to the Past: Homes of Shelbyville and Bedford County* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 1969), 37; *Goodspeed Histories*, 878.

Bedford County Court ordered the incorporation of the new town, Wartrace

Depot, in 1853. That same year, a Nashville commercial directory identified the

new town as Wartrace and listed competing sellers of hardware, dry goods,

fashionable dinnerware, wholesale and retail grocers, and at least two hotels,

one of which advertised as a temperance hotel. Four years later, a published

directory noted a hotel, four dry goods merchants, and unnamed grocery stores

and shops.[99] In less than ten years a landscape of farms and unimproved land

had become a hub for transportation, communications, and vendors with a

variety of goods.

By 1860, the post office of record for the Third District census was

Wartrace. Listed occupations, which included four merchants, two hotel keepers,

a stable keeper, a bootmaker, and a depot agent, suggest activities in the town

that would have created a townscape of commercial as well as railroad buildings

and residences. An occupational category not found in previous censuses

probably indicated activity and use of townscape that resulted from railroad

traffic. Enumeration of twelve "harlots," all living more than one per household,

suggested the railroad brought a new, or at least more obvious, activity to the

Wartrace area.[100]

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[99]Marsh, *Early History*, 27; Jno. P. Campbell, *The Nashville, State of Tennessee, and General Commercial Directory*, (Nashville, TN: Daily American Book and Job Printing, 1853), 211; Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 255.

[100]1860 census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 3, 31-56, accessed 29 January 2009.

As the connecting point for the eight-mile spur line to Shelbyville, by the

Civil War, Wartrace was the most important mainline stop in Bedford County.

From there trains had access to important pork packing and textile factories at

the county seat as well as to market and supply centers in Nashville,

Chattanooga, and beyond the state. Movement of troops as well as supplies by

rail made control of railroad lines a key objective of both Civil War armies.

Consequently Wartrace was an important military landscape from the arrival of

US forces in the spring of 1862 until the end of the war.

Union troops moved into Bedford County in late March 1862 without major

battles, but skirmishes and potential raids by Rebels were early and constant

concerns of occupation troops. Only ten years after Wartrace was incorporated,

Union General O.M. Mitchell considered it equal in importance and in need of

protection with Shelbyville and Murfreesboro. When US recruitment of black

soldiers began in Tennessee in 1863, Wartrace was a recruitment center along

with the more established towns of Nashville, Murfreesboro, Gallatin, Clarksville,

Shelbyville, and Columbia.[101]

When Union troops moved into Bedford County, Confederate forces

moved east to Chattanooga and south into Alabama, obstructing track and

destroying railroad bridges and telegraph lines. Within four weeks, US troops

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[101] *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 10, part 2, pp. 127, 287; "Negro Recruiting in Tennessee," *Daily National Intelligencer,* Washington, DC, 11 November 1863, *Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers,* accessed 13 September 2010.

controlled Wartrace and were rapidly repairing tracks and telegraph lines to

Chattanooga.[102] The townscape of tracks, depot, hotels, and stores became a

military garrison with a stockade, redoubts, and blockhouses along the tracks out

of town.

Federal troops pulled out of Bedford County in early September 1862,

leaving Wartrace in Confederate control until the summer of 1863, when US

forces moved through the county in force and secured control that would last until

the end of the war. In early October 1863, the determination of each army to

control the railroad and Wartrace as a depot resulted in deployment of thousands

of troops to the area and a number of skirmishes around the town and along the

rail line. There were numerous instances of damage to the depot, burned bridges

north and south of town, damaged track and water tanks, and destroyed culverts.

Although Rebel raids causing localized damage continued until the end of the

war, by late October 1863 Union forces made Wartrace headquarters for all

troops defending the railroad from Murfreesboro to Bridgeport, Alabama.[103]

Through 1864, Wartrace continued to be a critical strategic point of

railroad operations for US troops and a target for Nathan Bedford Forrest's

cavalry attempting to disrupt Union supplies and troop movements. The town and

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[102] *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 10, part 1, p. 47; ser. 1, vol. 10, part 2, pp. 127, 376, 620.

[103] *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 667, 669, 688-689, 697-700, 714, 721, 724; *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 30, part 4, pp. 135, 157, 159-60, 164, 174, 217-8, 223; *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 31, part 1, p. 841.

its immediate vicinity was a landscape of military assets. Between January and April 1864, Union troops were improving fortifications. A redoubt two and a half miles north of town had a garrison of a full company of New Yorkers. Defenses at Wartrace Bridge north of town included a small bomb-proof fort, a stockade, and a blockhouse. A stockade was under construction in Wartrace as an addition to existing defenses. South of town, a garrison of two companies with stores of rations, water, and fuel protected the bridge over the Garrison Fork. Farther south, a stockaded fort with 150 men and a piece of artillery protected the Duck River bridge. The strength of defensive fortifications and a continued concern over Rebel raids indicated the perceived military importance of Wartrace.[104]

While it is difficult now to find evidence of redoubts, forts, or blockhouses near Wartrace, their construction and other military uses of wood resulted in significant change to the area's landscape. For over two years, attempts to damage tracks and destroy bridges resulted in repeated rebuilding efforts using wood cut locally. Locomotives and encamped armies also consumed large quantities of wood. In his postwar claim for property taken by US troops, Bibby B. Bomar stated that he "got wood for the US Military Rail Road." His source was probably his 450-acre farm since only 120 acres were in cultivation. An unusually large claim in the amount of $4,500 filed for Cleveland and Robert P. Webster, who lived near Wartrace, was for wood and timber for building bridges,

[104] *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 32, part 2, pp. 65-66; *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 32, part 3, p. 471; *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 39, part 2, pp. 494-5, 510-2, 523; *Official Records,* ser. 1, vol. 52, part 1, p. 612.

fortifications, and blockhouses on the US Military Rail Road and for wood used as fuel by an army camp.[105] Trees available for cutting in the Civil War era were in virgin forest and were of sizes and qualities whose loss permanently altered the natural landscape and resources of farmsteads. Writing more than fifty years after his August 1865 return to the Wartrace area from military service, a Confederate veteran recalled being struck by the absence of trees: "The colossal forests which stood on each side of the road and covered the Cleveland hills, from the railroad to the Garrison River, had practically all disappeared, giving the country a wasted, desolate appearance....The Country had been stripped of all valuable timber and smaller trees by the hordes of plunderers who followed in the wake of the Federal Army on its march South."[106]

Bell Buckle

As shown on three Civil War military maps, an almost straight line of track connected Wartrace to Bell Buckle four and a half miles north. Only one cartographer indicated towns with differing symbols that suggested their relative sizes or levels of importance to the military. The April 1863 Michler map showed Bell Buckle as a box smaller and less distinct than the box drawn for Wartrace. It

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[105]Approved Claims, Bibby B. Bomar, 17550; Southern Claims Commission Barred and Disallowed Claims, Cleveland and Robert P. Webster, 16815, National Archives microfiche, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[106]Thomas Rawlings Myers' Memoirs, Civil War Collection 1861-1865, Microfilm reel 5, box 14, folder 7, p. 9, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

was comparable to the box indicating Fairfield's location.[107] Military

communications had relatively fewer references to Bell Buckle than to Wartrace,

also suggesting that the northernmost railroad town in Bedford County did not

match the size, activity, or significance of Wartrace. When Bell Buckle was

mentioned in military records, it was usually as a locator for troops moving to or

from sites of activity.[108]

Without the spur line to Shellbyville, Bell Buckle had less growth, less

commercial activity, and less military importance than Wartrace, but as a railroad

service stop on a line critical to maintain, it too became a military landscape in

the Civil War. It was a water stop with two tanks and bridges north and south of

town that made tracks vulnerable to damage. From late summer 1863 to the end

of the war, there was no serious challenge to Union control of the railroad

through Bedford County, but localized Rebel raids and damage to tracks and

telegraph occurred near Bell Buckle. Through the fall of 1864, Federal troops

guarding and repairing the lines frequently anticipated attacks. They built a

blockhouse for twenty men at Bell Buckle Creek north of town and a redoubt

protecting the bridge on Wartrace Creek one mile south of town.[109]

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[107]Cheatham Map, 1862; US Army map April 1863; US Army map June 10, 1863.

[108]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 32, part 3, p. 337; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 38, part 5, p. 757; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 45, part 1, p. 1127.

[109]*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 32, part 2, p. 65; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 32, part 3, pp. 290, 471; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 38, part 2, p. 49; *Official*

True to surveyor Thomson's ideal route for the railroad, tracks ran in almost straight lines from Bell Buckle north to the Bedford County line and south to Wartrace. Measuring the rail line on a modern topographic map indicated the one bend in the line south of Bell Buckle would have been above the redoubt. So the fortifications specified above and below town in military reports would have provided long unobstructed lines of sight for troops protecting the tracks and telegraph.

Soldiers protecting the track near Bell Buckle would have greatly increased the population of the town that had not existed seventeen years before. A family burial ground a few hundred feet from the railroad in town demonstrated occupation by 1831, a date well before the railroad was planned.[110] Pre-railroad settlement, however, was oriented northeast of the Bell Buckle town site. Before Bedford County was established, there were at least fifty-two individuals claiming property near the headwaters of Wartrace Creek. In that vicinity and before 1840, "a settlement called Trickum grew up one and one-half miles north of the present site of Bell Buckle, on the stage coach road between Fort Nash and Georgia....There was a post office, a general store, [and]

Records, ser. 1, vol. 38, part 5, pp. 757, 832, 835; Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 45, part 1, p. 1127; Official Records, ser. 3 vol. 5, pp. 935-6.

[110]Marsh, Cemetery Records, 110.

a stage relay." Mount Carmel Methodist Church, a short distance to the west

served the area both for religious services and as a weekday school.[111]

With construction of the railroad and its service stops in the late 1840s,

town activities shifted to Bell Buckle. "Tricum" continued as a place name as late

as April 1863 when it was a faint notation on a military map. Carmel Church also

appeared on military maps of 1862 and 1863. Other map notations along the

road from Bell Buckle to Liberty Gap and the Rutherford County line indicated

scattered stores, shops, and mills that probably served the area before the

railroad town was established.[112]

In 1850, the railroad service stop took the name of the closest

watercourse, Bell Buckle Creek. According to Helen and Tim Marsh, the stream

name was in use as early as 1806. Variations of an explanation of the name

developed. One was that the area's early Europeans found a "bell tied with a

buckle around a tree at the head of what became Bell Buckle Creek." Local

legend explained the bell as previously attached to a cow killed by an Indian.

Variations were that Indians carved a bell and buckle in a tree as a warning to

settlers, or that tree carvings were surveyors' marks, or records of trading with

Indians.[113] Apparently the earliest recorded explanation of the name Bell Buckle

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[111]Marsh, *Early History*, 222-3; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 145.

[112]US Army map, April 1863; US Army map, June 10, 1863.

[113]Marsh, *Early History*, 311; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 253.

was the 1876 Centennial speech of Judge H.L. Davidson, who stated that an early surveyor found on the creek bank "a bell-buckle once, no doubt, fastening a bell upon the neck of some one of the bovine species."[114] Classified ads of the early nineteenth century documented a common practice for locating and identifying stray livestock, giving credence to Davidson's explanation. Well into the nineteenth century, county officials kept books of estrays, wandering livestock taken up by individuals who could not identify owners. The officials advertised to locate owners and mentioned identifying details that often included collars with bells and buckles. A horse taken up in Ohio in 1808 "had on a middle size bell, buckle and collar," and one in Indiana in 1826 had a "small bell with a leather bell collar, buckle and string."[115] The practice of buckling a bell on livestock, whether equine or bovine, was widespread enough for a found bell buckle to have suggested the name for a watercourse and later, a town.

As early as 1850, the new railroad stop began to develop as a town when an early county school, Salem Academy, relocated there from its original site at Salem Meeting House south of town. The old site had been the location of religious services, burials, and a school since before 1810, and a meeting place

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[114]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 16.

[115]*Scioto Gazette*, Chilllicothe, OH, 8 February 1808, *Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers*, accessed 6 October 2010; "Taken Up," *Indiana Journal*, Indianapolis, IN, 22 August 1826, *Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers*, accessed 6 October 2010.

for the state's Methodists since 1816.[116] In 1852, A.D. Fugitt transferred property

to the N&CRR for a depot at Bell Buckle and opened the town's first general

store. A post office opened the same year. The town was laid off in lots in 1854

and incorporated in 1856.[117]

As late as 1857, Bell Buckle lagged behind the other two railroad towns in

commercial development. A Nashville business directory of that year indicated

more than five businesses in Wartrace and three merchants in Normandy without

any mention of Bell Buckle. A tally of occupations in the 1860 census of the

Fourth Civil District had three merchants, two hotelkeepers, a stable keeper, and

a hostler, indicating mercantile and transportation activity in Bell Buckle when the

Civil War began.[118]

<div align="center">The County Seat, Shelbyville</div>

Unlike the Bedford County towns whose locations and development were

determined by activities of settlement or railroad construction, location of the

county seat, Shelbyville, was a legislative action. Its development from a largely

unoccupied canebrake on a river bluff to a platted town with a public square, a

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[116]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 145, 160.

[117]*Goodspeed Histories*, 878-9; "Post Offices and Place Names."

[118]Campbell, *Business Directory*, 1857, 255-6; 1860 census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 4, pp. 74-94, accessed 29 January 2009.

communal graveyard, and 135 lots in a grid of streets took less than 9 months.[119]

Once the center of local administration was established, homes, businesses,

taverns, and churches quickly clustered in the new town. People in older county

localities made paths and roads to the new county seat. Internal improvements

from 1830 through the 1850s made the county seat a hub connected to county

towns and other counties by no fewer than seven improved turnpikes. After 1852,

the spur line railroad and its accompanying telegraph line connected Shelbyville

to national and world markets and provided rapid communication. As an

administrative center on transportation arteries situated in an area of production

for foodstuffs and war materiel, Shelbyville was a point of strategic interest for

both Civil War armies. Although not a site of any major battle, the town was a

Civil War landscape from first occupation by Union troops in March 1862 until the

end of the war.

Bedford County initially held its county court near modern Lynchburg. As

the population rapidly increased, settlers, particularly those in the northern and

western parts of the county, had to travel long distances without improved roads

to register deeds, attend court, or conduct any county business. Consequently, in

November 1809, the Tennessee legislature redrew county boundaries, making

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[119]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1809), 133-6; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350-454. Tim and Helen Marsh did extensive work on chains of title for original town lots. They found a number of original sales of lots in July 1810 after the town's location was specified in November 1809 and the town was sited in May 1810.

the area from the Elk River Ridge to the Alabama line the new Lincoln County

and relocating the county seat of Bedford to make it more accessible to county

residents. The legislative act that became effective January 1, 1810 named

commissioners for the county and charged them with locating a site for the

county seat "on Duck river, within two miles of the centre of said county." The act

shaped characteristics of the new town landscape. Commissioners were to

purchase one hundred acres and "lay off the said hundred acres of land into a

town, to be known by the name of Shelbyville, reserving near the centre thereof a

public square of two acres, on which the court-house and stocks [should] be built,

likewise reserving any other lot they may think proper, for the purpose of having a

Jail built thereon, for the use of the said county of Bedford." The act further

authorized commissioners to sell town lots to defray the costs of purchasing the

site and constructing a courthouse, prison, and stocks.[120]

The act specified that, until the new town was laid out, the county court

would meet at Amos Balch's dwelling. His property, approximately two and a half

miles west of the eventual site of Shelbyville, joined land belonging to another

early settler, William Galbreath. When the legislature specified location of the

new county seat, Balch and Galbreath each offered fifty acres to site the new

town.[121] Landowners were certainly aware of potential benefits to their property

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[120]*Acts*, 1809, 133-6.

[121]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 12; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 118-21.

values if they were adjacent to a town, particularly a county seat that would be visited by everyone with legal business.

Clement Cannon, then a resident of Williamson County, took greater initiative than Balch and Galbreath to secure the benefits of owning land adjacent to a town. In November 1809, Cannon owned more than 900 acres on Thompson Creek in eastern Bedford County, but no land that met the legislative specifications in the center of the county. Either he, or an agent on his behalf, traveled to Cabarrus County, North Carolina, where on March 23, 1810 he purchased a thousand acres of North Carolina grant number fifteen from the heirs of Robert Smith, the original grantee. That land met the legislative requirements for siting the new county seat. Forty days after acquiring suitable land, Cannon deeded the required one hundred acres for the new town to the county commissioners, receiving only one dollar for the title.[122] He maintained ownership of 900 acres around Shelbyville, including long river frontage at the corner of town where he developed profitable mill sites.

Following the instructions of the November 1809 act, the new town's name became Shelbyville. The name honored Isaac Shelby, an early settler and Revolutionary era leader of the area that became East Tennessee before he relocated to Kentucky to become a framer of its constitution and an early

[122]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 74-75, 118-21; Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 12-3; Deed Book C, Bedford County, Tennessee Deed Books 1808-1865, Office of the Register of Deeds, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN, 275-7; Griffey, *Land Records*, Smith grant 15 p.374.

Kentucky governor. As a resident of Sullivan County, North Carolina (later

Tennessee), Shelby participated in opening western lands for settlement. He took

part in the Long Island Treaty negotiations with the Cherokees and was part of

the guard for the commissioners running the western line between Virginia and

North Carolina. He played key roles in the Revolutionary victories of King's

Mountain, Cowpens, and Fair Lawn. Before relocating to Kentucky, Shelby

represented Sullivan County in the North Carolina legislature and was involved in

laying off western lands for Revolutionary military service.[123]

The original town plan was 100 acres laid out in a grid pattern with 135 lots

separated by streets named for early county settlers and the town's physical

features.[124] In compliance with the 1809 act, the commissioners establishing the

town first designated the courthouse square in the center of town. It was sited on

a bluff above the Duck River. In the grid of lots near the public square, the

commissioners addressed the practicalities of town life with their next designation

of lots for public use. They designated two contiguous lots at the southeastern

corner of the new town as a graveyard.

Tim Marsh's reconstructed grid of original streets, lots, town corners, and

boundary lines clearly showed the arrangement of streets and courthouse square

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[123]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 13; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 3.

[124]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350.

that became known as the Shelbyville plan, and also the central or block plan

(figure 6).
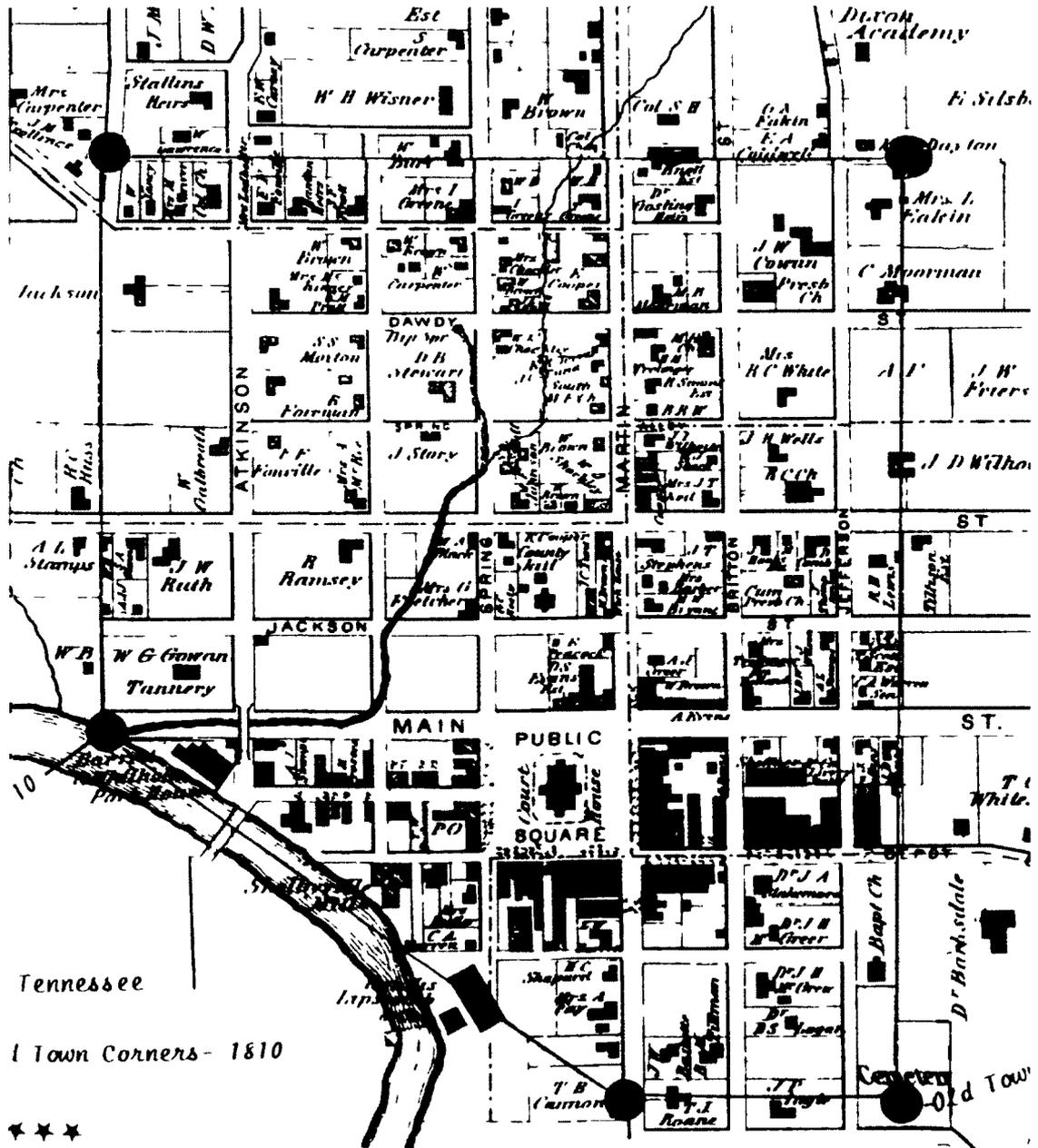
Figure 6. Shelbyville, Tennessee from D.G. Beers Map of Bedford County, 1878, with plat of original town boundaries by Tim Marsh, Marsh Collection.

Its distinction from other public squares was the two streets at right angles to each other leaving the square at each of its corners. Unlike other plans with one street leaving the square in the center of each of the four blocks that formed the square, the Shelbyville plan had eight access streets to the square and more building space on the square with its four uninterrupted blocks.[125]

The original designer of the Shelbyville square is unknown. While it may not be the first instance of the plan with corner streets, Shelbyville is considered the prototype for courthouse squares characteristic of the Upland South. From Florida to Texas and north into the Midwest, Shelbyville type squares are one of the markers of the spread of the culture of the Upland South.[126]

In October 1819, an act of the legislature incorporated Shelbyville, providing for its governance by a Board of Mayor and Aldermen. By that time it was already a thriving town with brick business buildings on the public square, industrial sites and tradesmen's shops, a bank and a post office, at least two taverns, seven churches, a male academy, a lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, and a newspaper. Several Shelbyville merchants in 1818 stocked

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[125]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350; Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2003), 68-70.

[126]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 68-70.

goods they described as "elegant" and "fashionable" from northeastern

markets.[127]

The material culture of Shelbyville expanded through the antebellum period

as the quantity and variety of goods available from merchants increased. By the

1850 census there were twenty-eight merchants in town, a higher count than for

any other occupation, including laborers. That number would be even higher if

specialty merchants like silversmiths or merchant grocers were included in the

count. Nine cabinetmakers, seven wagon makers, and three carriage makers

enumerated in 1850 made durable goods, probably for a wider market than the

town.[128] With a number of general and specialty stores, shops of craftsmen and

tradesmen, industries, and sites for business like the courthouse, bank, and post

office, Shelbyville's townscape became a varied cultural landscape.

The era of Bedford County's internal improvements that began in the early

1830s influenced changes in the Shelbyville townscape. The Nashville-

Murfreesboro-Shelbyville Turnpike became the main thoroughfare to the north,

and the town expanded along the pike beyond the northern boundary of its

original 100 acres. A few extant antebellum homes along the pike and the names

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[127] *Goodspeed Histories*, 874, 876; Capley, *Bicentennial*, 27, 51; Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1817), 276; "Post Offices and Place Names;" Arnold, Sesquicentennial, 17, 28, 141; Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 64.

[128] Porch, *1850 Census*, 109-31.

associated with them indicated that, by the Civil War, the northern extension of

the original Martin Street was a prestigious residential area.[129]

Techniques of turnpike construction improved town streets; at least some

were macadamized by 1847. An 1848 legislative act chartered the Shelbyville

and Skull Camp Ford Turnpike and Bridge Company to construct a turnpike from

the end of a macadamized street to the Duck River east of town. By that date,

Shelbyville had already expanded east of its original town boundary because the

end of the macadamized street mentioned was approximately a block beyond the

old town graveyard that had been the southeastern corner of town. The new road

and bridge construction at the old Skull Camp Ford improved access between

town and the southeastern county. It also became a connector route between

Shelbyville and the new railroad town of Tullahoma in Coffee County. That new

thoroughfare east of town, like the pike to the north, developed through the 1850s

as a prestigious residential district with imposing homes.[130]

Increased and extended physical connections broadened Shelbyville's

cultural landscape, making it more cosmopolitan. Internal improvements of the

1840s and 1850s connected the county seat with towns throughout Bedford

County. They also connected the county's governmental and commercial center

with principal towns in each adjacent county, and through them with Nashville

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[129]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 20, 22-23, 27.

[130]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 351; *Acts, 1847-8*, 249-50; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 35-41.

and other cities. The spur line railroad that began operation from Wartrace to

Shelbyville in 1852 probably had the most dramatic impact on the town's material

culture of any internal improvement to that date. Rail transportation facilitated

acquisition of commercially produced heavy machinery that could increase

production in the textile industry and in the mills at Shelbyville. It also opened

more distant markets for products of local industries, thereby increasing wealth

and consumerism. Large agricultural machinery advertised for sale in Shelbyville

in 1857 was more easily transported to purchasers by rail than by horse-drawn

delivery over roads. Rail service also increased the availability of elegant

household furnishings like the fine rosewood pianofortes offered by D.B. Shriver,

"Dealer in all kinds of Furniture." Trains facilitated movement of heavy inventory

for Shelbyville's three marble workers and dealers and probably influenced the

increased use of marble with ornate carvings seen in local gravemarkers after

mid-century.[131]

On the eve of the Civil War, Shelbyville was the center of a highly

productive agricultural economy with livestock production constituting "one of the

chief sources of wealth. Shelbyville [was] the depot for this immense trade." The

publisher of an 1857 business directory warned, "Look out Knoxville,

Chattanooga and Clarksville! Shelbyville is your competitor for the *third class*

town in the State." He offered as qualities that made Shelbyville a rival of larger

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[131]Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 257, 259, 261; Mitchell, *Gazetteer, 1860-61*, 286-7.

towns: its grocery and produce trade, a university and a female academy, textile factories, carriage and coach makers, a large pork-packing establishment, and two large steam-powered flouring mills.[132]

When US troops first rode into Shelbyville on March 26, 1862, in addition to the transportation arteries, commercial, and industrial buildings of strategic interest, they found a cultural landscape of modern brick buildings, frame buildings that ranged from blacksmith shops to imposing homes, and a number of early log buildings still in use. For much of the war, control of that landscape alternated between armies. There were feints and skirmishes involving the town, but changes in control usually resulted from troop movements rather than engagements. The town did not experience widespread destruction like contested cities, but there were losses of public and private material culture. In the thirteen months recorded in Laura Cowan's diary, she noted losses of property or threats of losses to both armies.[133]

The town was a military landscape from the spring of 1862 until the end of the war. Large numbers of soldiers of both armies camped on the outskirts of town creating jerry-built enclaves.[134] Confederates occupied the courthouse in

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[132]Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 252-3.

[133]Cowan Diary, July 16, 18, September 8, 19, January 7, 1863.

[134] Cowan Diary, April 25, 28, June 13, 30, July 21, August 10, September 1; George Tappan, ed., *The Civil War Journal of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle, New York Volunteer Infantry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006), 98.

March 1863. Either their carelessness or vandalism caused a fire that destroyed

the building and a number of volumes of county records.[135] Shelbyville's most

remembered Civil War event occurred in June 1863 when Confederates in town

fought a delaying action from the high ground of the public square while their

troops retreated to the southeast over Skull Camp Bridge. In October of the same

year, US military officers recorded that the Rebels "burned," "pillaged," "sacked,"

and "plundered" Shelbyville.[136] Federals recovered a quantity of dry goods and

other merchandise taken from stores. Shelbyville native Robert Galbraith

reported his US cavalry unit "recovered about $30,000 or $40,000 worth of goods

taken from the merchants." Confederate General Joseph Wheeler's report

characterized his army's actions differently but confirmed what Federal officers

described as pillaging. From his point of view, the Rebels "captured and

destroyed a large amount of stores of all kinds at Shelbyville." It is not clear what

part of town might have been burned by regular Confederate troops. A postwar

report concerning the Nashville and Chattanooga Rail Road Company included

loss of the freight and passenger house at Shelbyville, but *Goodspeed's Histories*

attributed that damage to guerillas or bushwhackers.[137] Those extralegal groups

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[135]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 22-23.

[136] Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 80-1; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 23, part 1, pp. 539-41, 544-6, 548, 557-67.

[137] *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 4, pp. 135, 157-8, 160, 174, 231; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 667, 717, 719, 724, 727; James H. Grant, W.S. Huggins, and Thos. C. Whiteside, *Report of a Committee Appointed*

presented risks to property beyond confiscation by regular armies. In May 1864,

Federal scouting parties encountered irregulars who had plundered Shelbyville

and vicinity.[138] Although most military action had shifted to the southeast by that

time, Shelbyville continued to be a Federal garrison with a stockade. As late as

November 1864, the town bridge was at risk of destruction if US troops deemed it

indefensible from Rebel forays.[139]

Shelbyville's cultural landscape largely survived the war, or survived in a

condition conducive to quick repair. The US Census of 1870 indicated that the

commercial and industrial infrastructure was functional by that date. Enumerated

occupations in the town included a number of merchants, at least eight millers,

and more than forty factory workers. A weaver and a dyer in households close to

the residences of factory hands indicated the textile industry was operational. An

1810 tavern of log construction survived the war, as did a number of large homes

of frame and brick construction. Many landmark homes within the original 1810

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by the Board of Directors Showing the Business and Financial Condition of the
Nashville & Chattanooga R.R. Co., From December 1, 1860, to June 30, 1865
(Nashville, TN: J.T.S. Fall & Sons, 1866), 21; Goodspeed Histories, 873.

    [138]Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 39, part 1, p. 18; Official Records, ser. 1,
vol. 39, part 2, p. 52.

    [139]Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 45, part 1, pp. 776, 1036, 1070-1.

town boundaries and those built along turnpikes as the town expanded continued

to be features of Shelbyville's cultural landscape into the twentieth century.[140]

Although the armies changed, for most of the war Shelbyville was a

garrison town with civilians and military personnel in close daily contact. In the

county towns forming a horseshoe around Shelbyville, civilians had repeated but

less frequent contact with soldiers. The web of roads that connected rural towns

to the county seat and markets for agricultural products also provided access to

foodstuffs and livestock for repeated visits by military foraging parties. While

there were skirmishes along the turnpikes, and continuous military activity along

the railroad, there was little destruction of the churches, stores, and blacksmith

shops that made up county towns. In the postwar period, other than the locations

that declined because they were not on the rail line, the county's towns continued

to be points of cultural and commercial orientation.

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[140] 1870 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 7, p. 1-37, accessed 7 February 2009

CHAPTER FOUR

BEDFORD COUNTY'S PUBLIC LANDSCAPES

Bedford County's first Euro-American settlers created public cultural

landscapes at the same time that they were claiming and developing their private

properties. Neighbors socialized, mustered, and voted at convenient homes or

crossroads. Across the county, sites that were convenient for early religious

gatherings developed from camp meeting grounds to churches, often with

buildings that housed schools as well as worship services. Whether they were on

private property or in established churchyards, burials were public events that left

lasting records on the landscape with gravemarkers. Commercial and industrial

sites developed from needs for public access to goods and services. Two years

after the county's establishment, a legislated central location began to develop as

the county seat. By the Civil War, although public landscapes existed

countywide, Shelbyville, as the county seat, was a center of administration,

commerce and industry, education, and religion.

Shelbyville's Public Square

and the Bedford County Courthouse

The legislative act of November 14, 1809 that directed the siting of

Bedford County's seat reserved "near the center thereof a public square of two

acres, on which the court-house and stocks [should] be built." Although

construction of a jail was also expected, its location was left to county

commissioners. They were to sell town lots to defray construction costs of the courthouse, prison, and stocks. The act required the commissioners to solicit construction bids by advertising specifications for sixty days in a Nashville newspaper.[1]

While the 1809 act made the public square the center of Shelbyville, it gave no direction for the plan of that public landscape. Legislators in a rapidly growing new state where creation of new county seats was routine probably expected Bedford County commissioners to be familiar with the process of town planning. The commissioners charged with laying off the one-hundred-acre town of Shelbyville used a simple grid of streets running north-south and east-west. Intersecting streets were bounds of blocks that were subdivided into lots that were advertised for sale on June 1, 1810 and were sold on July 12-14, 1810 and April 1, 1811.[2]

As directed by the act creating Shelbyville, the commissioners reserved one undivided block for the public square.[3] It was one and a half blocks south of the center of the platted town, but its chosen location was high ground that

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[1] *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1809), 133.

[2] Timothy R. Marsh, Helen C. Marsh, and Garland King, *Early History of Bedford County Tennessee, Two Hundred Years Along The Three Forks of Duck River* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh and Garland King Museum, 2007), 10, 350.

[3] Benjamin L. Burdette and Jerry Wayne Cook, "The Original Town Lots of Shelbyville," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1975): 146-50.

allowed the planned courthouse to be a focal point and a landmark visible from all directions. Perhaps because they had knowledge of the area's history, or because they were experienced assessors of land, the commissioners' courthouse site selection was astute. The center of the town plat that was not selected for the courthouse was an area subject to heavy flooding. As late as 1902 floods in "Black Bottoms," the low area north of the selected courthouse site rose to the top of church windows.[4] The off-center location of the public square indicates that in organizing townscape planners of Bedford County's seat considered not only legislative requirements and an orderly plan on paper, but also realities of topography.

Tim Marsh's reconstructed grid of original town corners with boundary lines, streets, and lots clearly shows the arrangement of streets and courthouse square that became known as the Shelbyville plan, or the central block plan.[5] Distinctive elements of the central block plan are two streets at right angles to each other leaving the square at each of its corners and four solid blocks fronting the square without streets to the square in the middle of those blocks. Many other public squares, with or without corner streets, had one street leaving the square in the center of some or all of the four blocks that enclosed the public square. Without streets in the middle of any of the four blocks fronting the square, the Shelbyville

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[4]Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 7 October 1969), 168.

[5]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350.

plan had eight access streets to the square and more building space in the surrounding four uninterrupted blocks.

Shelbyville's grid was not an unprecedented plan. In his analysis of colonial town planning in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland, John W. Reps illustrated a number of towns with partitioned multi-lot blocks bounded by intersecting streets. Since those plans had a grid of streets and blocks like Shelbyville's, if any of them had indicated a block had been left undivided for public use, particularly for a courthouse, the result would be the layout of the Shelbyville public square. Two of the plans Reps published, a proposal for towns in 1737 Eden in Virginia and the 1770 plan of Carrollsburg, Maryland, had blocks left undivided for public purposes while, like Shelbyville's plan, the blocks fronting the public spaces had lot divisions. A third eighteenth-century plan, that of Portsmouth, Virginia, similarly allowed half of a block each for the courthouse and a church.[6]

Later than Reps's town plans in Virginia and Maryland, but earlier than the 1810 plan of Shelbyville, early Georgia towns used the same grid of streets enclosing blocks (figure 7). In several of those towns that were county seats, a central block was a public square with the courthouse. Although predating the plan of the county seat in Bedford County, Tennessee, the plan used in early Georgia is widely known as the Shelbyville plan.

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[6]John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 197-8, 220, 250.

Figure 7. 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps showing early central block plans in Georgia, *Sanborn® Fire Insurance Maps For Georgia Towns and Cities, 1884-1922*, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/sanborn/?Welcome&Welcome, accessed 20 May 2011.

Four years before Reps published numerous town plans from Tidewater

Virginia and Maryland, Edward T. Price analyzed the plans of more than a

thousand central courthouse squares of county seats to identify their

characteristics, origins, and distributions across the country.[7] While he

acknowledged similarities to Shelbyville's plan in much earlier Tidewater Virginia

towns, Price dismissed those as early examples of the central block plan and

labeled the Shelbyville plan as the prototype for central block public squares: "the

most frequent county-seat plan in new counties in most states." Instead of a

Virginia or Georgia influence or origin for Shelbyville's central block plan, Price

identified as its precedent the Philadelphia plan of a square with only four access

streets, one in the middle of each block fronting the square. Pointing out Scots-

Irish settlers' familiarity with the Philadelphia plan from squares in Northern

Ireland, Price credited them with its distribution to other areas.[8] He did not state,

but implied that Shelbyville's public square with only corner streets was a

variation of the Philadelphia plan.

Citing the work and opinion of Richard Pillsbury, who studied Georgia towns

and disagreed that the Shelbyville plan for a public square was a protoype, Terry

Jordan-Bychkov left open the question of the plan's origin. Without commenting

on the number of early central block towns in Georgia, Jordan-Bychkov was,

however, emphatic that Bedford County was "at least [the] locale where the

Shelbyville concept took root in the regional culture and from which it spread" as

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[7]Edward T. Price, "The Central Courthouse Square in the American
County Seat," *Geographical Review* 58, no. 1 (1968): 29-60,
http://www.jstor.org/stable/212831, accessed 18 April 2011.

[8]Ibid., 40-41, 44, 46, 49-51.

a characteristic of the Upland South. He plotted the distribution of courthouse squares like Shelbyville's from Florida to Texas and north into the Midwest.[9]

Clearly a central block plan like the one in Shelbyville was the precedent for public squares throughout the Upland South and the predominant plan for county seats in Texas. Noting that the Shelbyville plan appeared "shortly before the migratory explosion out of Middle Tennessee," Jordan-Bychkov, like Price, credited Bedford County with the significant influence of that plan on the region's cultural landscape. However, given the similarities of towns in colonial Virginia and Maryland, and the Georgia examples of central block plans that predate Shelbyville's, it is less clear that the seat of Bedford County was the origin of that influence.

In *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*, Lisa C. Tolbert used as a takeoff point Price's position that the Shelbyville plan was a variation of the Philadelphia plan and such a successful variation that it was a prototype for numerous later county seats. One of a variety of public square forms constructed in early Middle Tennessee as well as a modification of a long-used plan, Shelbyville's public square supported Tolbert's point that antebellum Middle Tennessee was "an area of significant cultural experimentation, where surveyors played with the idea of the grid and created

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[9]Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2003), 68-69.

new designs in the process."[10] Even though Bedford County's courthouse square

may have been less of a new development than Price theorized, its siting

supported Tolbert's point that surveyors modified patterns for local needs. The

off-center position of the public square in the grid of streets fit the local

topography, insuring that the courthouse would be a physical landmark as well a

cultural focal point.

Whether Bedford County's commissioners followed or modified a known

precedent when they laid out the town and its public square, they were probably

also influenced by necessity, practicality, and common sense. There was not an

existing settlement that required organization. The Tennessee legislature ordered

Shelbyville into existence before there was a fixed town site. Clement Cannon did

not own the property given for the town until March 23, 1810. His deed to the

commissioners planning Shelbyville had a date of May 2, 1810. Town lots were

advertised for sale on June 1, and sales began July 12, 1810. The

commissioners acquired property for a town, advertised lots for sale thirty days

later, and sold lots forty-one days after acquiring the town site.

The rapidity with which the new county seat was mandated, platted, and

developed suggests the planners worked from familiar concepts. Regardless of

the origins of the commissioners, they were familiar with simple grids as town

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[10]Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 25.

plans, and a grid was simple to lay out within the boundaries of the one-hundred-acre town site. With a plat in hand, legislative instructions to locate a courthouse square near the center of town and sell lots, and obvious topographical advantages of some blocks over others, Shelbyville's public square with intersecting streets at each corner may have resulted from expediency rather than from consideration and modification of a previous design. The fact that the uninterrupted blocks facing the public square in the central block plan left more real estate fronting the square to sell for the county's benefit than plans with mid-block streets would have been an incentive for that plan's acceptance.

From its earliest existence through the Civil War era, the public square was the scene of varied activities with cultural, economic, and governmental interactions. Its focal point was, of course, the county courthouse. The first brick courthouse, built between 1810 and 1813, stood in the center of the public square until it was destroyed by a tornado in 1830. No images survive to show its appearance, but assuming it was built to advertised specifications, its footprint was forty-two feet by thirty-two feet. Two-story walls were brick over a "foundation of stone, which foundation wall of stone [was] sunk two feet under ground and raised two feet above the ground...the first story [was] 15 feet high and...the second story nine feet high." Interior wood construction elements were substantial and detailed with planning and beading. The roof was wood above a modillion cornice. Each of five large first-floor windows had fifteen panes of glass that were ten by twelve inches. Those windows had shutters with bolts. Twelve

windows in the second story were smaller but probably of the same shape since they also had fifteen panes of glass that were eight by ten inches. Specifications for the interior set aside spaces for jury boxes, jury rooms, an elevated bench, and proportionately elevated lawyers' seat and bar. The clerk's seat and table, presumably less elevated, was "at least one foot above the floor." Specifications included three doors with double locks, all of which were probably exterior doors since "steps of stone [were] required to be made to each door of the court house."[11]

After the 1830 tornado, Bedford Countians had to build a new courthouse, which stood until its destruction by fire in the middle of the Civil War in 1863. No illustrations of the second brick courthouse have been located; however, there are clues to its construction and appearance. It was built on the same spot as its predecessor. Logically, the replacement building would have had the same footprint as its predecessor or larger dimensions. It is certain that the Civil War era courthouse had a stone foundation because the committee of the County Court that was to remove fire debris was instructed not to remove the foundation wall.[12] Images of the courthouse built between 1869 and 1873 to replace the Civil War era building show that, like its predecessor, the postwar courthouse had

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[11] *Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette* (Nashville), 17 Aug 1810, Tennessee Newspaper Collection on Microfilm, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[12] Bedford County Court Minute Books, Microfilm Roll 79, vol. A, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN, 6 April 1863.

courses of foundation stones sunk in the ground and raised above ground level.[13]

Given the raised stone foundations used before and after, the 1830 foundation

too probably was both sunk in the ground and raised above ground level.

Similarly, given the 1810 specification for a modillion cornice, and the

modillion cornice and other classical elements on the courthouse built after the

Civil War fire, it is likely that the courthouse destroyed in 1863 had a classical

exterior treatment. Since windows were necessary for light and ventilation, and

since both its predecessor and its replacement had large windows, the Civil War

courthouse undoubtedly had large windows. For practical reasons, the windows

were probably tall verticals to catch breezes and changing elevations of the sun.

Local commentary provides additional clues about the Civil War era

courthouse. In his 1876 Centennial Celebration speech, Judge H.L. Davidson

described the 1830 building as "more capacious" than the 1810 courthouse. Like

its predecessor, the courthouse that stood until 1863 was brick and had two

stories. When it was new, a building committee from Marshall County deemed it

the best model for "cheapness, neatness, convenience, and durability" that they

could follow for courthouse construction.[14] Judge Davidson's only other comment

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[13]Bedford County Historical Society, *Postcard Memories of Bedford County Tennessee* (Shelbyville, TN: Bedford County Historical Society, 2006), 70-71.

[14]Edmund Cooper, Centennial Celebration, 4th of July, 1876, at Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee (Chattanooga, TN: W.I. Crandall, Printer; Times Job Office, 1877), 25; Bedford County Historical Quarterly 6, no. 4 (1980): 116.

on the burned courthouse, that it "answered our purposes very well," may have

been intended to ameliorate critical memories of the condition of the destroyed

building that was described by Elvira Moore in 1854 as "giving away & cracking

open so that they have to brace it with straps of iron & it never was much good

looking." At the time of that observation, the courthouse was less than twenty-

four years old. In addition to its structural problems, it was apparently not well

maintained. Moore also noted that "windows of the upper story are filled with

undressed plank which looks anything but gay."[15] If the building's condition was

not improved and it continued to deteriorate for another nine years, its condition

in 1863 may have contributed to its destruction while occupied by Confederate

forces.

In 1863, a substantial and distinctive iron fence surrounded the courthouse

yard. Elvira Moore commented on its construction in 1854. It survived the

courthouse fire and demolition, and construction of the building completed in

1873, to be photographed in 1907.[16] A remnant of that fence is the only surviving

detail of the Civil War era's courthouse landscape. On the south side of the

eleven-hundred block of South Brittain Street is a small portion of a fence that

enclosed the property of Frank Beck before the land was subdivided. That fence

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[15]Cooper, *Centennial Celebration*, 25; Dick Poplin, "A Young Girl's Trip to Town and Her Impression of the Courthouse," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1982): 55.

[16]Poplin, "A Young Girl's Trip," 55; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 124.

has sections of the iron fence removed from the courthouse yard anchored in a concrete curb with tall brick stacks at intervals along the fence.

The most significant wartime loss of Bedford County's public cultural landscape was the destruction of the courthouse by fire in March 1863. Following the Battle of Stones River in January 1863, Confederate troops fell back to Shelbyville and occupied the town for several months. The courthouse became their billet or command center. As early as January 5 of that year, a meeting of the County Court noted that there was not a quorum, partly "because of the excitement incident to the military movements." In early February and early March, County Court minutes noted the "occupancy of the Court House by the Confederate Military Authorities."[17]

Local tradition holds that Rebel soldiers were living in the courthouse. Their occupancy may have been more official than a billet, using the building as a headquarters or command post. Because of the large number of Unionists in Shelbyville, Rebel control and use of the seat of county government there signaled Confederate authority. The building's location and probable two-story construction also heightened its strategic military value. Its elevated site above the town meant that like the present structure at the same location, the second

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[17]Bedford County Court Minute Books, Microfilm Roll 79, vol. A, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN, 5 January 1863, 1st Monday in February 1863, 2 March 1863.

floor and roof of the courthouse would have provided a clear line of vision to the north along Murfreesboro Pike at least as far as the Civil War location of Alexander Eakin's home. In the 1860s, Eakin's property, over a mile and a half from the public square, was well beyond the town limits on a critical north-south route of troop movements.

An early twentieth-century postcard in the collection of Ralph McBride has a photograph taken from an upper story of the courthouse that replaced the one destroyed in 1863. That image has a wide and distant view to the north as far as the first east-west ridge that crosses Murfreesboro Pike.[18] During the Civil War, soldiers of either side stationed at the courthouse would have had a strategically important clear view of the approach to Shelbyville from the north. It is likely also that from other sides of the courthouse there were strategic views of approaches to Shelbyville from the west and southeast, and the railroad approach to town from the east.

The destructive fire occurred in late March of 1863 because in the first week of April, the court recorded "that the Court House of Bedford County while occupied by the Military Authorities was recently destroyed by fire." Appointment in April of a committee to superintend "the removal of the old Court House walls and other rubish [sic] now in the Court Yard...[and] dispose of the brick in said

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[18]Jno. W. Ruth & Sons, Shelbyville, Tenn., Bird's Eye View, North, Shelbyville, Tenn., ca. 1905-9, postcard, collection of Ralph McBride.

walls as well as any other material belonging to said Court House...the

foundation wall Excepted" indicates the building was a total loss.[19]

Commercial and Industrial Landscapes

of Shelbyville and Bedford County

Just as important as courts of law and offices of county governance in

creating the central townscape were stores, tradesmen's shops, fraternal lodges,

stables, professional offices, taverns, and residences on the sixteen lots fronting

the square. As late as the 1840s, deeds recorded frame or log houses mixed with

brick buildings around the square. By the Civil War, most of the buildings fronting

the square were brick with one to three stories. In 1854, Elvira Moore noted

"some elegant buildings on the square."[20] There were fewer residences on the

square, but property usage continued to be a mix of trades, professional, and

commercial activities. Two lots that originally had taverns continued similar

activities through the war, one still identified as a tavern, the other as an inn.[21]

By the start of the Civil War, there were ranges of mixed-use buildings

fronting the courthouse on four sides. Their occupants were a mix of professions,

commerce, and trades that made the public square a vibrant town center. Only

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[19] Bedford County Court Minute Books, Microfilm Roll 79, vol. A, 6 April 1863.

[20]Poplin, "A Young Girl's Trip," 55.

[21]Marsh, Marsh, and King, Early History, 350, 372-8, 381-2, 395-400, 407-9, 415-6, 419-25. Helen and Tim Marsh abstracted chains of title for Shelbyville's original town lots. References to improvements on lots surrounding the courthouse square indicate types of buildings and property usage.

one to two blocks beyond the square, primarily on the south and west, were

Shelbyville's industrial buildings. Since most of their operations were still

dependent on waterpower, they hugged the bends of Duck River below the

square. The mills and factories concentrated at Shelbyville were part of a larger

industrial landscape that had existed along the river through much of Bedford

County since its early settlement.

No buildings of the Civil War era square survive to be described. However,

some characteristics of buildings may be inferred from their uses. A gazetteer for

1860-1861 lists businesses of Shelbyville and Bedford County with their

locations. Multi-story hotels would have been the largest buildings of the blocks

north and south of the courthouse. Predictably for a county seat, a number of

buildings around the square, particularly the two-story brick block west of the

courthouse known as Council Row, housed professional offices for attorneys and

doctors. At least twenty-five merchants and vendors had stores and shops on the

square that probably would have been two to three stories high with ground-floor

display windows, racks, and bins of goods ranging from produce and tinware to

"fancy goods," jewelry, and musical instruments.[22]

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[22]The block of buildings on the west side of the square known as Council Row probably housed at least six offices. In 1863 or 1864, the United States government seized five office spaces there owned by the Rebel Frierson family, held them as confiscated property, and leased them to US loyalists until the end of the war. In the fall of 1865, after taking the amnesty oath, Frierson family members successfully petitioned the Freedman's Bureau for restoration of their property. United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, "Selected Records of 'Freedman's Bureau' 1865-72, Records of Asst.

Two saloons and a billiard saloon made the square a locus of male recreation as well as business. If the Arcade Saloon on the east side of the square was accurately named, an arcade of small businesses may have increased the commercial space accessed from the public square. According to the tally of business establishments (in table 2), there were at least fourteen professional and commercial occupants of the east side of the square in 1860-1861. At the time, no other block fronting the courthouse had more than eight businesses. The larger number of businesses in the east block of the courthouse square may also be a clue to a Civil War era business arcade.

From the spring of 1862 until the end of the war, Shelbyville was a military town, and the square was the locus of public interaction between civilians and the armies, and between Secessionists and Unionists. As the seat of county government, the square had symbolic and propaganda value for military control of the area. With a number of family members operating stores on the square, Laura Cowan was aware of activity there and noted events in her diary. On the morning of March 26, 1862, "six horsemen [were seen] flying along [Murfreesboro Pike] up to town." They were Yankees. Hardly had Shelbyvillians' "surprise vanished before fifty or more came scurr[y]ing by [and] went

Commissioner Relating to Restoration of Property, 1865-68," Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, microfilm, 1969, microfilm 32, reel 44 (D-K), Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; John L. Mitchell, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860-'61, No. 1* (Nashville, TN: John L. Mitchell, 1860), 285-8.

TABLE 2
TYPES OF BUSINESSES ON SHELBYVILLE'S PUBLIC SQUARE, 1860-1861

North Side
Evans Hotel housing travelers, long-term residents, offices of attorneys and doctors,
    barber and dealer in cigars
law offices
merchant for groceries and produce
merchant for fancy goods

West Side
Council Row with a number of attorneys' offices
Post Office
Branch Bank of Tennessee
merchant for dry goods, hardware, etc

Southwest Corner
attorney
fire and life insurance agent
merchant for wines and liquors
grocer
ambrotype and photographic artist

South Side
merchants for dry goods, hardware, boots, shoes, etc
Shelbyville Hotel
Shelbyville Saloon
merchant for groceries and produce
sale and livery stable
merchant for dry goods, jewelry, watches, etc
merchant for groceries, wines, liquors, etc
boot and shoe maker

Southeast Corner
bookkeeper and writing master
merchant for dry goods, hardware, boots, shoes, hats, caps, etc
billiard saloon
merchant tailor and clothier

East Side
watchmaker and jeweler
2 druggists, merchants for paints, oils, etc
butcher, meat market
attorneys' offices
2 merchants for dry goods, boots, shoes, hats, caps, hardware, etc
boot and shoemaker
manufacturer and dealer for stoves, tin, copper, sheetiron ware
merchant for clothing, gents' furnishings, boots, shoes, trunks, hats, caps
merchant for books, stationery, wallpaper, and musical instruments
Arcade Saloon
dentist
baker and confectioner

Source   John L Mitchell, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for
1860-'61, No 1* (Nashville, TN John L Mitchell, 1860), 285-8

immediately to the courthouse, hoisted the Stars & Stripes." John W. Cowan had

a two-story brick store on the southeast corner of the square. Local Unionists or

U. S. occupation troops used it to proclaim federal control. Cowan's daughter,

Laura made a diary entry that "The Stars & Stripes were stretched from the

Corner Store across the street today. Papa didn't give his consent & Tom

[Cowan] and Willie have vowed to cut it down." The routine activities around the

square drew citizens to town where war news was exchanged. During Union

occupation, when there was Confederate activity in the area, "every street in

town was guarded" to maintain control of the county seat. When military control

of the county was still contested, "Sallie Ramsay & her mother were on the

square [with] a crowd of [Union] soldiers around them. Sallie had come to tell

them that the Union flag had been torn down and a Secession hoisted by Morgan

& his men." When military control was in a state of flux, "the square [was] alive

with army wagons & cavalry galloping hither & thither & doubly guarding each

street." In September 1862, as control of Shelbyville was shifting to Confederate

forces, US troops "fortified themselves on the square with their wagons." When

the federals withdrew from town and Confederates entered, they hoisted a flag

on the previously Union pole on the courthouse square.[23] From official military

records and claims for post-war property losses, it is clear that during the war,

businesses on the public square lost property to both armies, and military use

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[23]Eliza L. Cowan Atwood (1835-1895), "Diaries, 1862-1863," 26 March, 1 April, 10-11 April, 18 July, 8 September, Atwood Collection, Archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 374-5.

resulted in damage to buildings.[24] There was not, however, a record of extensive damage to the buildings fronting the courthouse.

Looking from the courthouse, particularly from the second story, in the early 1860s, an observer would also have seen evidence of industries that had been developing in Bedford County since earliest settlement. These industries depended as much on Shelbyville's location on the Duck River as on its status as the county seat and were part of a ribbon of industrial development laid alongside the river in the Bedford County landscape. East of the courthouse, near the railroad depot, a tall smokestack identified the site of the Dwiggins steam-powered mill, the "first large merchant flour mill in the Duck River Valley."[25] On the Duck River at Shelbyville were a large flourmill and a pork-packing factory. A short distance downstream from town was the highly productive Sylvan Mill that developed from fifty years of textile factories in Bedford County.

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[24]United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 30, Part 4 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 174, 231; *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 30, part 2, pp. 667, 717, 719, 724, 727; Southern Claims Commission Barred and Disallowed Claims, 1871-1880, National Archives Record Group 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, TSLA microfiche 1515, claim of Benjamin A. Nelson, Bedford County, TN, Commission Number 19365; Entry for Estate of Irving J. Frierson in "Selected Records of the Tennessee Field Office of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872," Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, microfilm 468, reel 42, Walker Library, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

[25]Joe D. Brooks III, Duck River Atlas, plate v, Joe D. Brooks III Collection.

Mills processing grains for consumption and market and sawmills for construction lumber were operating on streams within two years of the county's formation. In *Historic Normandy, Bedford County Tennessee*, Jerry Wayne Cook located two gristmills and a sawmill on the eastern edge of Bedford County by 1809 or 1810. Sharp's mill, identified by Helen and Tim Marsh in operation by 1810, was roughly 4.5 river miles upstream from the site of Shelbyville near the middle of the county.[26] A number of early mills in the western part of Bedford County predated 1820. The Marshes dated Jacob Wilhoite's mill near river mile 215 to 1812. Although Joe Brooks has not confirmed a date that early, in the 1820 census of manufactures, he established Wilhoite's operation of a gristmill by that year. J.N. Neeley erected a gristmill on Sinking Creek near river mile 200 in 1814.[27] In November 1817, a private act of the Tennessee legislature authorized John Sims's construction of a milldam between the mouths of Sugar and Powells creeks near river mile 213. Joe Brooks found Michael Fisher, a Pennsylvanian, located near river mile 206 by 1807. In 1819, a private act of the

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[26]Jerry Wayne Cook, *Historic Normandy Bedford County, Tennessee* (Normandy, TN: Jerry Wayne Cook, 1976), 16; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 34; Brooks, Duck River Atlas, plate v, Brooks Collection.

[27]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 34; Joe D. Brooks, personal communication with Jane Townes, 18 November 2009; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 253; Brooks, Duck River Atlas, plate vi, Brooks Collection.

Tennessee legislature permitted his construction of a milldam across the Duck

near the mouth of Falling Creek.[28]

Helen and Tim Marsh date mill construction at Shelbyville from 1810, the

same year the town was laid out. A plat of original town lots by Jerry Wayne

Cook and Tim Marsh located that mill and its dam on the river a block and a half

off the southwest corner of the public square. The site, located slightly upstream

from the present dam at Shelbyville, was one of at least two mills built and owned

by Clement and Newton Cannon on both north and south banks of the Duck

River at Shelbyville.[29]

That stretch of river at the base of the bluff on which Shelbyville is situated

is a horseshoe bend. At the approximate point of Cannon's early mill, the river

begins to change direction along a limestone bluff with the first of three curves

within a short distance that together effect a 180-degree change in the direction

of flow. Upstream from that mill site, the river flow toward Shelbyville is nearly

due north. At the site of the Cannon mill near the present Shelbyville dam, the

river begins to curve to the west. It quickly reaches the northernmost point of the

curve in the bluff and turns slightly to the southwest. The third curve of the

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[28]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1817), 97-8; Brooks Duck River Atlas, plate v, Brooks Collection; *Acts of a Local or Private Nature Passed at The First Session of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: George Wilson, 1819), 90-91.

[29]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 34, 44; Timothy R. and Helen C. Marsh, *Shelbyville 1810: The Beginning* (Shelbyville, TN: Timothy R. and Helen C. Marsh, 1992), 8; Brooks, personal communication.

horseshoe bend is a nearly ninety-degree turn to the south that makes flow

almost due south. The topography of that area provided sites for construction of

mills and dams, and water flow favorable for mill operation.

Joe Brooks noted several dams and mills constructed in the river's

horseshoe bend that made Shelbyville an early industrial center. As early as

1826, multiple mills in that section of river were part of a textile industry

landscape working both cotton and wool. A plan of Shelbyville in that year drawn

by Tim Marsh identified an old Cannon mill at the first curve in the river's bend as

a cotton gin. At the second curve he located William Galbreath's wool carding

factory.[30]

The proximity of the Cannon and Galbreath mills at Shelbyville indicated

that by the 1820s the number of mills in that section of the river had created

competition for advantageous mill seats and difficulties for mill operators that

were serious enough to require legal action. For efficient operation, it was

necessary to distance milldams along the river. The mechanics of water power,

which required damming and directing flow to waterwheels with speed and force

sufficient to turn them, and drive shafts, gears, and mill machinery, required that

a downstream millpond not decrease flow past a mill operating upstream. In

1826, Newton Cannon received a Chancery Court judgment against William

Galbreath's wool carding mill, requiring the downstream Galbreath dam be

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[30]Brooks, vertical files, Shelbyville, TN, and Duck River Atlas, plate v, Brooks Collection; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350.

lowered to decrease backwater at Cannon's waterwheel.[31] Competition for milldam sites existed in rural areas of the county as well as near the principal town. Even at a distance of about a mile, downstream dam construction was a serious enough threat to upstream mill operations to result in a threat of legal action between brothers in 1834. Samuel Crowell, understanding that his brother Peter was planning "to raise [his] mill dam as to injure [?] [Samuel's] mill and Spring [wrote] that if you do so it will be at your peril as I will appeal to the laws of my country for redress."[32]

An early mill of Clement Cannon's at Shelbyville, possibly the one dated by the Marshes to 1810, had been a gristmill that was replaced before March 1843 by a "brick factory house" that was conveyed to William Gosling (three-fourths share) and John, William, and Thomas Eakin (one-fourth share). Language of the 1843 deeds strongly suggested that the site was already a cotton spinning factory with a high value. For a total price of $9,900, Gosling and the Eakins became owners of a lot on the north bank of the Duck River at Shelbyville, a factory building constructed of brick, "the machinery in said [factory] house, the dam across Duck River to said house attached, also so much of the

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[31]Brooks, vertical files, Shelbyville, TN, Galbreath's *Wool Carding Mill*, and *Duck River Atlas*, plate v, Brooks Collection. At the time of the Cannon vs. Galbreath case, Bedford County did not have a Chancery Court; the record is in Maury County, TN Chancery Court. Brooks, personal communication.

[32]Letter of Samuel Crowell to Peter Crowell, 3 July 1834, Small Collections, Crowell Family Papers, 1786-1955, I-H-3, Accession No. 76-009, Manuscript Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

water power now existing or which may hereafter be created in said River...as may be necessary to propel two thousand spindles for Spinning Cotton, or any Other machinery requiring no Greater power."[33]

Those deeds called attention to several points concerning the Duck River and Shelbyville as industrial landscape. A water-powered brick textile factory existed at Shelbyville by 1843. If the deeds' language was literally accurate in describing a dam attached to the factory and not loosely using a word meaning a building and dam belonging together, and was indicative of unusual mill construction. Ordinarily, to minimize damage to buildings and machinery in case dams were damaged by floods, mills were not connected to their dams. If the early Shelbyville factory was attached to its dam, the builder may have had little experience in mill building, or may have been from an area where mills attached to dams were typical. Waterpower had such value in the early industrial landscape that it was quantified, and rights to its use were owned, bought, sold and guaranteed by legal title. The guarantee of access to power for two thousand spindles or equivalent machinery was probably not an indication of capacity of the 1843 factory, but provision for access to power for considerable future growth of industry at the site. As late as 1870, Whiteside and Company, a large industrial

[33]Deed Book MM, Bedford County, Tennessee Deed Books 1808-1865, Office of the Register of Deeds, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN, 283-5.

textile mill downstream, operated with fewer than eight hundred spindles, making a two-thousand spindle factory in 1843 unlikely.[34]

In 1850, seven years after becoming majority owner of the brick cotton spinning mill in the river's bend at Shelbyville, William Gosling listed his occupation in the census as "manufacturer." Samuel C. Morton in the same census was a "conductor of cotton mill," either Gosling's employee or evidence of another cotton factory. Both Gosling and Morton were English as were all members of Morton's household including a nineteen-year-old male who was a machinist. The occupations of Gosling and Morton documented English influence in the textile industry on Duck River. James B. Phillips's census entry as a "wool carder," with Marsh's identification of a wool carding factory in 1826, indicated both fibers were in production in antebellum Bedford County.[35]

But Shelbyville was only one section of the county's industrial landscape that developed along the Duck River by the Civil War. Approximately two and a half miles downstream from the brick spinning factory, Flat Creek empties into Duck River. Increased water volume from the tributary created another advantageous site for a water-powered mill. That became the site of a dam and

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[34]United States Census Office, 9th Census, 1870, Tennessee, Schedule IV, Manufactures, Bedford County, 7th District. Manuscript pages of the industrial census on microfilm were accessed at the Central Library, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

[35]Deane Porch, trans., *1850 Census of Bedford County, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Deane Porch), 121, 124.

weaving mill in 1852, and textile factories and mill village complexes continued in

operation with several names at that site for 130 years.[36] An 1853 Nashville

business directory had notes on Shelbyville that included a listing for "Shelbyville

Cotton Factory, Wm. Gosling, Principal." That reference may have been just to

Gosling's original spinning factory or to it and the new weaving factory because

by 1857 another business directory indicated Gosling and a partner owned both

spinning and weaving operations on different sites: "See the advertisement of

Messrs. Gosling, Gilliland, & Co. Their Cotton Spinning Factory, in town, and

their Weaving Factory, two miles distant, are objects well worthy of a notice –

worthy of their liberal patronage, and a monument of praise to their energetic and

enterprising proprietors." The site two miles distant from the spinning factory was

the new mill. The 1857 advertisement for the Gosling-Gilliland company gave its

name and listed its products: "Sylvan Mills manufacture [sic] cotton yarns, bed

ticking, ginghams, cottonades, checks, shambraies, pant and coat goods of all

kinds, office south-west corner of the Public Square, Shelbyville, Tennessee."[37]

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[36]During the Civil War era and through the late nineteenth century, the mill
site was known by owners' names, or as Sylvan Mills. In the twentieth century, it
was known as Shelbyville Mills, US Rubber Company, and at its closing in 1982
as Uniroyal. R. Gene Williams and Janet Mullins, "Shelbyville Mills—An Era
Gone By," Bedford County Historical Quarterly 34, no. 1 (2008): 7, 20; Brooks,
vertical files, Shelbyville, TN, Sylvan Cotton Factory, and Duck River Atlas, plate
v, Brooks Collection.

[37]John P. Campbell, comp., The Nashville, State of Tennessee, and
General Commercial Directory (Nashville, TN: Daily American Book and Job
Printing, 1853), 210; John P. Campbell, comp., Nashville Business Directory Vol.
III, 1857 (Nashville, TN: Smith, Camp & Co., 1857), 251-2, 259.

In the 1860 census, Gosling gave his occupation as "Factoryist." The

variety of textiles advertised in production by 1857 indicated he had an ambitious

factory operation on the Duck River in the late antebellum period. An 1862

property tax imposed on states in rebellion by the United States government

confirmed by their assessments that Gosling's mills were significant facilities. In

Civil District Seven, Shelbyville and vicinity, the Gosling and Company Factory

had an assessed value of $20,000 and a tax of $70.00. In a county where

properties were seldom larger than 500 acres, comparable valuations and

assessments were for 954 acres valued at $20,000 with a $70.00 property tax,

and 825 acres valued at $22,275 and taxed $77.96. In the area of Sylvan Mills,

the river divided Civil Districts Seven and Twenty-one. The tax report of District

Twenty-one had an entry for Gosling Gilliland and Company Mill with a valuation

of $1,700 and a tax of $5.25, amounts equal to the total on two town lots in the

growing railroad town of Wartrace. The high valuation in District Seven probably

included the brick spinning mill in the bend of the river at Shelbyville and a major

part of the weaving factory at the Sylvan Mills site. The valuation for a Gosling

and Gilliland mill in Civil District Twenty-one described a textile factory complex

operating on both sides of the river.[38]

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[38]United States Bureau of the Census, 1860, Tennessee, Bedford, District
7, accessed 14 January 2009; Civil War Direct Tax Assessment Lists 1862:
Tennessee, Bedford County, District 1, p.1, District 3, pp. 6-7, District 7, p.21,
District 21, p. 49, National Archives Microfilm, Middle Tennessee State University
MFM 470, microcopy T227 reel 1.

Textile occupations, the number of workers listed with those skills, and their personal data listed in the censuses of 1850 and 1860 indicated the textile industry along the river near Shelbyville was complex, with strong British influence and possible influence of American mills in the northeast. Gosling was a native of England. His wife was born in Massachusetts, and his eldest child in the 1850 and 1860 households was born in Kentucky around 1840.[39] He may have had experience in English textile mills, experienced the industry in Massachusetts, and moved through Kentucky to Tennessee. Some skilled workers in the area and probably employed in Gosling's spinning and weaving mills may have had similar backgrounds.

In the Western Division of District Seven, the census of 1860 listed a male boss spinner who was born in Scotland, married in Ohio, and had children born in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Tennessee. A male boss weaver named Pickup and his wife, both age fifty-one, were born in England as was a two-year-old child, but a three-month-old infant in the same household was born in Tennessee. In a separate household, a younger male also named Pickup gave his occupation as weaver; he and his housemate, a warper, were both born in England. A dyer and his wife, both born in Ireland, were in Pennsylvania for a number of years where four children ages four to twelve were born; two younger children were born in Tennessee. In households close to those of the skilled British workers there were

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[39]Porch, *1850 Census*, 124; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 7, p. 60, accessed 14 January 2009.

at least twenty-three weavers, all females born in Tennessee and fifteen to thirty years of age. Several households included young women with different surnames who were textile workers, probably indicating boarding situations for young female wage workers.[40]

The Western Division of District Twenty-one reported a smaller cluster of households of textile workers. One household had three adult females with different surnames. The forty-two year old head of household was a cloth trimmer; the nineteen and twenty-year-olds were a spinner and a weaver. The same household included two boys and two girls age five to eleven who shared a surname but one different from any of the adults in the household. The children did not have occupations listed, but the mix of surnames in the house raises the possibility that they were juvenile hands in the textile mill. Four doors from that house, in the household of a tollgate keeper, a twenty-year-old female who was probably his daughter was a weaver. Also in that household was another twenty-year-old female weaver with a different surname.[41] Residential clusters of textile occupations, all-female households of textile workers, and households with different surnames suggest that by 1860 the industrial landscape along the river had an impact on the cultural landscape of Shelbyville by creating neighborhoods

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[40]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, Western Division District 7, accessed 14 January 2009.

[41]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, Western Division District 21, accessed 14 January 2009.

with a number of foreign-born and well-traveled residents, single female wage workers boarding together, and child workers.

The Gosling textile company was probably the largest, most complex, and most vertically integrated complex of mills, but by 1860, the Duck River system across Bedford County was a varied industrial landscape dependent upon waterpower. As early as 1816, and perhaps by 1814, the Three Forks area of the Duck River (river mile 240 southeast of Wartrace) was a complex of industrial buildings dependent upon waterpower and river transportation. In deeds for that area, Helen and Tim Marsh found references to a textile spinning factory, a cotton gin, bailing screws, and grist and sawmills. There was also a tannery and a large warehouse. On Sinking Creek, the Neeleys combined a gristmill, tannery and grocery. Knob Creek was the site of a factory producing rope and bagging from hemp. Flat Creek powered mills and a tannery.[42] Shelbyville had a large pork packing factory on the river. The 1860 census found four millers and a millwright in the area of Wartrace, three millers in Roseville (Rowesville), and two in the Unionville area. The same census had at least three millers in Shelbyville and vicinity in addition to numerous textile workers.[43]

[42]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 94, 312; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 39, 236, 253; Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 251.

[43]Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 251; Cowan Diary, April 25, August 10; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, Districts 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 25, accessed 14 January 2009.

Neither population censuses nor tax records gave information on the products of mills. The 1862 property tax assessed mills without distinction for type. Joe Brooks's extensive research notes on mills in the Duck River Valley described, in addition to textile mills in Bedford County, flourmills, gristmills, and sawmills. He found several mills that combined grinding grain and sawing lumber. Since the county led the state in production of oats by 1850, county mills may have ground oats as well as wheat and corn. A number of sawmills existed, but no occupation in the 1850 census and only one in 1860 suggested connection to a sawmill. That one sawyer was in the same household as a bucket manufacturer.[44] The occupation "miller," usually understood to be operators of grain mills, may have included operators of sawmills, or sawmills may have been part of larger properties of individuals who listed occupations as farmers. Census occupations of 1860 would have under-reported sawmill workers if they were slaves. The slave census did not list job descriptions, but the 1870 census listed a number of black sawmill workers who may have done the same work when enslaved.[45] Underreporting of jobs that may have been held by slaves is a caution for using pre-emancipation census occupations to describe the cultural landscape of work.

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[44]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, Western Division District 7, accessed 14 January 2009.

[45]1860 Census, Tennessee, Bedford, District 5, District 21, District 22, District 25, accessed 14 January 2009.

Although no machinery in situ or mill superstructures exist from the Civil War era, restored mills of the period in Middle Tennessee and studies of historic mills elsewhere make possible a general description of Bedford County's industrial landscape in the Civil War era. The number of mill sites still visible in county watercourses and the 1862 property tax list with thirty mills in thirteen civil districts describe a riparian landscape in which mill buildings, waterwheels, and dams were frequent and familiar sights. Mills powered by water were unique in construction with their details dependent upon the characteristics of each stream, mill seat, and each builder's experience, but they had common characteristics. Buildings' footprints were small relative to their total square footage because most mills were multi-storied with two and a half to four floors over tall foundations of limestone blocks with bottom courses in the streams. Waterwheels were streamside on building exteriors or enclosed by buildings and extending into pits below. At some mill sites, headraces diverted water from millponds directly to waterwheels, and tailraces carried water away from wheels back to the main channel downstream from milldams. Because dust from milling grain, wood, and textiles resulted in a high risk of fires from open-flame light sources, exterior walls had several large windows to light interiors and improve ventilation.[46]

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[46]Brooks, vertical files, 3 Forks Mill, Shelbyville Watermills, Brooks Collection; *Falls Mill, 1873, Operating Water-Powered Grain Mill and Museum, Belvidere, Tennessee,* promotional brochure, 2009.

Most mills in the county were wood-clad with heavy timber construction to support machinery. Precedents of stone and brick textile mills in Britain and New England would have been familiar to mill operators in Shelbyville whose places of birth and family histories demonstrate experience there. The 1843 deeds conveying a brick factory house evidenced brick mill construction in the county by that date. An 1862 illustration of Shelbyville in *Harper's Weekly* shows a large multi-story mill on the river that is probably the Gosling spinning factory. Its shape and proportions are similar to masonry mills in New England and to a multi-story brick textile mill built nearby in Franklin County in 1873.[47]

Before the railroad reached Bedford County, most mills would have had wooden machinery including waterwheels, wooden drive shafts, gears, cogs, beds for millstones, carding, spinning, and weaving machines. After 1852, industrially produced equipment would have been more easily accessible and probably began to replace wooden machinery, particularly in the larger merchant flour and gristmills and in the textile factories.[48] Organization of machinery in grist and flouring mills would have varied by the age of the mill and the volume of production. Old process mills with one or two runs of stones required manual labor to move grain, meal, and flour through the mill and between stages of

[47]H.Hubner, "Shelbyville, The Only Union Town in Tennessee," *Harper's Weekly*, October 18, 1862, 661, http://www.sonofthesouth.net/leefoundation/civil-war/1862/october/shelbyville-tennessee.htm (accessed 11 March 2008; *Falls Mill* brochure, 2009.

[48]Brooks, personal communication.

production. Logistics limited the output of those mills. An improved mill technology known as the Evans process included elevators and conveyors for grain, meal, and flour, also powered by water, that cut labor requirements in half, making it possible for fewer men to work more runs of stones and greatly increasing production for merchant mills. In references to numbers of stones in some Bedford County mills, numbers of workers, and production volumes, Joe Brooks found evidence that some local mills had machinery for the Evans process.[49] Direct evidence of the type of machinery in Bedford County textile mills is not known. Given textile factory operators' and bosses' probable familiarity with mill equipment in the Northeastern United States and Britain, the fact the railroad could efficiently deliver heavy manufactured machinery to the county by 1852, and the very high value of textile operations assessed in the 1862 property tax, it is likely that textile factories had commercially produced mechanical equipment.

Although a natural fall of water might power a mill, it is probable that every water powered mill in Bedford County had a milldam to pond a supply of water that could be controlled and directed to a water wheel. Early county milldams were probably wood frames of crib construction, filled with rocks and faced with wood. Because the Duck River was by legislative acts declared a navigable

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[49]Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History, Enlarged and Updated* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 565; Brooks, Duck River vertical files, Evans Process, Brooks Collection.

waterway for 240 river miles or to the Three Forks area in Bedford County, every

dam built on the river from that point downstream required construction approval

by a private act of the state legislature.[50] Those private acts specified locations

for dam construction and required accommodation for boats navigating the river.

At some sites a slope similar to a lock built into the dam permitted boats to pass.

At others, water diverted to a side channel allowed passage around dams.

Familiarity with the twenty-first century Duck River makes it difficult to conceive of

that stream as a navigable waterway, but navigation from the multi-mill complex

and warehouse in the Three Forks area was a public concern serious enough for

the acts authorizing dam construction to include harsh fines for obstructions. The

1824 act permitting Samuel Crowell's construction of a milldam near river mile

202 was representative of requirements for new dams:

> Section 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee,* That Samuel Crowell, of Bedford county, be authorized to erect a mill dam across Duck river, at a seat owned by him, and on said river: *Provided,* he will put a good slope in the same, so as not to impede the passage of boats down said river, and that said mill dam does not impede nor obstruct the passage of any useful road crossing said river.
> Sec. 2. *Be it enacted,* That if said Crowell shall fail or refuse to erect said slope, he shall forfeit and pay to the party aggrieved fifty dollars, for every twenty-four hours that any boat may be detained in descending said

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[50]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: G Wilson, 1811), 64; *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: T. G. Bradford, 1812), 16.

river in consequence thereof, to be recovered before any tribunal having cognizance of the same matter.[51]

Legal restrictions on manmade obstructions in watercourses were necessary because of the large number of industries dependent upon the riparian system. Across Bedford County, the 1862 property tax valued at least thirty mills and one mill seat. Duck River ran through or bordered ten of the nineteen civil districts in Bedford County, but thirteen districts had mills assessed and taxed, indicating watercourses other than the river were part of the industrial landscape of the Civil War era. Although a number of those mills continued to run into the twentieth century, little material culture of Bedford County's water powered industrial landscape remains. As early as 1857, large commercial flourmills using steam power were in operation away from the river in Shelbyville and Bedford County.[52] By the 1870s and 1880s, steam began to power sawmills, allowing owners to relocate away from watercourses, and commercial lumber mills began to replace the small operations scattered through the county. In 1902, the most severe flood in Bedford County history destroyed or severely damaged many of the Civil War era watermills still in operation. Water eighteen feet above flood stage damaged most milldams, buildings, and machinery too severely to recover

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[51]*Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Murfreesborough, TN: J. Norvell & G.A. & A.C. Sublett, 1824), 86-87.

[52]Campbell, *Business Directory 1857*, 252, 254.

given their competition from mills powered by steam, electricity, and internal combustion.[53]

Remnants of Bedford County's water-powered industrial landscape are generally hard to locate, difficult to see, and require specialized knowledge to interpret them. It is still possible, however, to find surviving physical evidence of the technology that drove industry from settlement through the Civil War era. Severe drought may make it necessary to drag even small light watercraft over gravel bars, but in all but the worst conditions, the fifty-five miles of Duck River in Bedford County and most of its larger tributaries are easy float or paddle trips. Features not seen in overgrowth on land are visible from a maneuverable kayak or canoe close to banks, bluffs, and shallow bottoms. Stones in courses or stacked piles mark sites of structures that used waterpower. Close examination of small islands or streams with multiple channels that first appear natural reveal probable mill sites that redirected flow to improve waterpower. Little evidence of milldams still exists, but occasionally at low water a shoal with unnaturally straight edges and consistent width appears to run bank to bank and raises the possibility that it is the base of an earlier dam. To a trained eye, these remnants of material culture along the Duck River are invaluable sources of information on an industrial landscape that drove early development of Bedford County.

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[53]Brooks, vertical files, Shelbyville Watermills, Ryall's Saw Mill, Brooks Collection; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 230.

Schools and Churches

Early establishment of industrial sites along Bedford County's riparian system was a practical necessity for Euro-American settlers to process agricultural products for food, construction materials, and commerce. Concurrent establishment of schools and churches indicates education and religion were as essential to settlers developing new locales as the means of physical and economic survival. Physical features determined the locations of public sites of early industries; mutually convenient access determined sites of the county's first schools and churches, some of which continued in or near their original locations through the Civil War and into the automobile age. When improved roads made distance less of a factor in accessing public sites, churches relocated, and congregations and schools consolidated. Because of both disuse and continued use, only a few school or church buildings recognizable as survivors from the Civil War era exist in Bedford County. When use of school and church buildings decreased, most of them fell into disrepair and were demolished. Any Civil War era school and church buildings that continued in use underwent repeated remodeling that left them unrecognizable as mid-nineteenth century buildings. A description of Civil War era schools and churches is therefore spotty and based on only a handful of recognizable surviving buildings or photographs and snippets of descriptions recorded about other buildings.

Schools

In several locations across Bedford County, sites used as early meeting grounds for religious services were improved with church buildings that became the locations of schools. For example, just south of the present town of Bell Buckle in northeastern Bedford County is Old Salem graveyard, a locator for the early Salem Church that became the site of Salem Academy. Local history indicates the academy building was a "double log house" of poplar logs. That might mean a dogtrot building of two log pens with an open passage between them, a double-pen building with two abutting pens, or a saddle-bag plan with a log pen on each side of a center chimney. Also in the eastern part of the county, by 1816, Mount Reserve Academy was in a log building that "was half school and half meeting house." Log buildings continued in use for schools into the Civil War era. Some were old and otherwise unused buildings; others were in use as churches or homes. El Bethel Church organized in western Bedford County in 1855 in a log house that served as both church and school until after the war.[54] Although many log buildings still stand in the county, this author has not identified one with a history as a school.

The only extant Civil War era building identified as a school is the brick Dixon Academy. The same session of the Tennessee legislature that created Shelbyville as the county seat enabled organization of "Dickson [sic] Academy" in

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[54]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 140, 145, 178, 185.

Bedford County. Clement Cannon donated five acres just beyond the town's

original northeastern boundary for construction of a school. The Dixon Academy

built there was first of log construction. Later covered with board siding, the log

building was in use until 1855 when it was replaced by a brick building that still

stands with its long axis and facade parallel to an original Shelbyville street now

known as Jefferson Street.[55]

Though their structures do not survive today, schools of various kinds

were widely distributed across the county's Civil War era landscape. Public and

subscription schools operated intermittently in Bedford County from the 1830s to

the Civil War. Their buildings would have been quickly and economically

constructed log buildings and borrowed space in churches or homes. Their

sessions were short, only three or four months a year, to coincide with demands

for agricultural labor. Their curricula included elementary spelling, reading,

writing, and arithmetic.[56]

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[55]*Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: George Wilson, 1809), 178-9; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial,* 141, 172. Although the enabling act referred to it as Dickson Academy, the historical and currently accepted name for the school is Dixon Academy.

[56]Tennessee's early attempts at public education were disorganized, inconsistent, largely unfunded, and not well supported by the public. Not until the state constitution of 1834 was public education recognized as a responsibility of state government. Even after the constitutional provisions for public schools supported by income from public lands, the new turnpikes, the State Bank, and direct taxes, up to 1860 "lack of funds and of responsible administrative agencies precluded the existence of any real 'system' of common schools.'" Robert Hiram White, *Development of the State Educational Organization, 1796-1929*

When Bedford County's Civil War veterans responded to questionnaires about their pre-war lives, their responses included information on the types of schools they attended, their school buildings, distances from their homes to schools, length of school terms and their total schooling, curricula, and whether teachers were male or female. While they include references to private schools and academies, the institutions for which information is most likely to survive in other sources, the veterans' comments provide the only picture of the common and subscription schools that were numerous in the county up to the Civil War. Collectively, responses to the questionnaires from Bedford Countians describe schools that were of log construction, usually old or in poor condition, and roughly furnished. The consistency with which veterans reported that schools were within walking distance of their homes indicates buildings used for schools were numerous and would have been frequently-seen features of the Civil War era landscape (in Appendix 1).[57]

(Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1929), 39-77 (quotation on 77); Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 287-99.

[57]In 1914, the Archivist of Tennessee, Gustavus Dyer, initiated a project to collect historical information from Tennessee veterans of the Civil War. He sent questionnaires with forty-six questions covering personal and military experience to all known living Tennessee veterans. In 1920, John Trotwood Moore, Director of the Tennessee Historical Commission sent a revised questionnaire to veterans. Completed forms of both questionnaires returned by 1922 are in the Manuscripts Section of the Tennessee State Library and Archives and are on microfilm there. In 1985, the transcribed questionnaires appeared in five printed volumes as *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires* edited by Colleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley. The veterans' responses range from

In contrast to the common and subscription schools were private

academies like Dixon Academy, several of which provided instruction through

much of the antebellum period until they were disrupted by the Civil War. They

developed early across Bedford County. In addition to Dixon Academy, created

by legislative action in 1809, Mount Reserve or Bethsalem Academy offered

instruction by 1816 in the area that became Wartrace. The incorporated

Shelbyville Female Academy offered young women instruction from the early

1820s. By 1830, Rural Academy was in operation near Fairfield in eastern

Bedford County and a classical school existed on Sugar Creek in the western

part of the county.[58]

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sketchy and semi-literate to polished essays. Taken together, they provide a broad view of antebellum Tennessee and its residents' participation in the war. They have been well used by historians and genealogists, but under-utilized for their information on material culture. By abstracting and collating veterans' answers to questions about their education it is possible to conclude that up to the Civil War era many Bedford Countians received only a rudimentary education, not uncommonly in log buildings in poor condition. Appendix 1, Civil War Veterans on Bedford County Schools, abstracts and collates Bedford County veterans' responses to questions about their schooling. This author worked with the published veterans' responses. Colleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley, eds., *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1985), 1:172, 300; 2:463, 862; 4:1632.

[58]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial,* 140, 150, 172; *Acts of a Local or Private Nature Passed at the Second Session of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: G.A. and A.C. Sublett, 1820), 3-8; *Acts Passed at the Regular Session of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: Heiskell & Brown, 1826), 179-80; Jennifer Core, personal communication with Jane Townes, 2 May 2009; *Tennessee Sampler Survey,* http://www.tennesseesamplers.com/exhibit.php?s=kewords&c=Bedford, accessed 7 June 2009; *The Goodspeed Histories of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford, & Marshall Counties of Tennessee* (Columbia, TN:

The only surviving material culture of the numerous Bedford County

academies that this author could locate is Dixon Academy. The extant Civil War

era Dixon Academy is a simple one-story, side-gabled Georgian building. Its

brickwork above a stone foundation is common bond with five stretcher courses

per header course. Across the five-bay front of the building, the top five courses

form a molded brick cornice. The lowest two courses of the cornice project from

the wall to form brick dentils.[59] Exterior end chimneys are brick. One description

suggests an interior with ample space for instruction. The school had an

"entrance hall 9 by 12 feet, to the left an 'L' extending back 35 by 60 feet, ceilings

were 13 feet high."[60]

When the Civil War began, Dixon Academy was a private school

supported by families for their sons' education. With its male scholars following a

classical curriculum, it was probably an impressive addition to the semi-rural

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Woodward & Stinson Printing Co., 1971), 882. In *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*, Lisa C. Tolbert described academies as features of mature townscapes that distinguished county seat from rural life in mid-nineteenth century Middle Tennessee. But the number of academies that existed from an early date across rural Bedford County suggests they were instead part of a continuum from early settlement to town and not necessarily part of a mature town or an urban setting.

[59]Leslie Sharp, personal communication with Jane Townes, 5 July 2011.

[60]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 141. The author was able to see only the front and two ends of Dixon Academy from a public right of way. For most of the twentieth century, the building was a residence or offices and had several periods of alteration including addition of a large modern dormer and a second front entry. Those changes have been reversed, and the façade is probably close to its original appearance.

residential landscape of northeast Shelbyville, where brick and frame residences were on large fenced lots that included outbuildings and animals that supported domestic activities. The war curtailed educational activity at the school because soldiers billeted there as early as March 1, 1862. After the war, Dixon Academy operated as a private academy into the twentieth century.[61]

Historical documentation provides information about other private schools in Bedford County. Samuel Tillman's academy education was far more intensive than instruction at either a common or subscription school. Instead of a short flexible academic schedule tied to agricultural seasons, he entered Duck River Male Academy near Fairfield at age seven and a half and boarded with relatives almost continuously for seven years until the academy closed during the war. His nine-hour school days, included work not only in spelling and reading, but also in composition, mathematics, Latin, and Greek.[62]

Although the first Dixon Academy building and the early Mount Reserve Academy were log construction, well-established academies of the Civil War era had substantial brick buildings. Like Dixon Academy in the county seat, Duck River Male Academy near Fairfield was brick with a design that accommodated instruction. It was a two-story brick building with "two large rooms, one above the other" in half of the building and four rooms in the other half. "The large room on

[61]Cowan Diary, March 1-3; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 141.

[62]Dwight L. Smith, "An Antebellum Boyhood: The School Days of Samuel E. Tillman," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1987): 149-50.

the first floor afforded space for recitations and also seats and desks for many of the boys; the large room on the 2nd floor was always used at the closing exercises of each term, and also as a study room during the term. Three of the smaller rooms were used as study rooms and the 4th small room was a general storeroom for lunch baskets, wraps etc."[63]

Some of the common and subscription schools may have been coeducational, and Mount Reserve Academy's local reputation is that it was a school for both boys and girls, but academies were usually single-sex institutions.[64] In 1820, the Tennessee legislature passed "An Act to incorporate the chairman, and trustees and company of the Shelbyville Female Academy." It specified details of organization and governance of a stock company, and required payments from members "for the purpose of erecting, enlarging, repairing or finishing buildings of said company; and for the purpose of procuring teachers and purchasing books and other apparatus necessary for the purposes of education." Apparently the Shelbyville Female Academy was soon in operation and expanding because another act five years later authorized a lottery "for the purpose of raising a sum ...not to exceed one thousand dollars, to be employed in repairing and enlarging the buildings of said academy." Embroidery was often part of the curricula of female academies, and an extant sampler worked in silk

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[63]Smith, "An Antebellum Boyhood," 150.

[64]Centennial Celebration, 4th of July, 1876, at Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee (Chattanooga, TN: W.I. Crandall, Printer; Times Job Office, 1877), 17; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial,* 140.

on linen by fifteen-year-old Sarah C. M. Tillman documents operation of the Shelbyville Female Academy in June 1826.[65]

In 1854, Elvira Moore described "the female academy" that was probably the Shelbyville Female Academy as a "handsome structure, made of brick with a flat roof & was lately built." Located on a rise near the northern edge of Civil War era Shelbyville, the school may have been three stories high. In that location, it looked over much of the town and had a line of sight to the courthouse. One description makes it "of rectangular form with an L-shaped wing of two stories extending west. The walls had the thickness of four bricks for the first two stories and the third story, a thickness of three bricks. The first floor contained an office, dining room, kitchen, and school rooms; the second floor consisted of classrooms; and the third floor sleeping quarters." Diarist Laura Cowan's description of a party at the academy in 1862 makes it a building large enough to accommodate two hundred people with a study hall large enough for dancing. Her description suggests that space was on the second floor "while card tables were set out in the parlors down stairs."[66]

The female academy completed its spring term in June 1862 when Laura Cowan was a spectator at students' public examinations and performances.

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[65]*Acts Local or Private* 1820, 3-8; *Acts 1826*, 179-80; Core, personal communication; *Tennessee Sampler Survey* online.

[66]Dick Poplin, "A Young Girl's Trip to Town and Her Impression of the Courthouse," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1982): 55; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 141; Cowan Diary, 28 November.

Instruction probably did not continue there that fall because by November the academy building was in use as a military hospital.[67] Private male academies in Bedford County closed during the Civil War, and efforts at public education failed when common schools and academies with state support lost funding during the war.[68] Schools in Shelbyville were already disorganized by August 1862 when nineteen-year-old Laura Cowan, one year after graduation from the Shelbyville Female Academy, was asked to teach "18 or 20 scholars" in the kitchen and dining room of a home.[69]

Churches

Civil War veterans' answers to questions about the proximity of schools to their homes describe a county landscape with numerous publicly-accessible buildings used for instruction. Locations of churches would have been similarly accessible for attendees on foot or riding and driving horses. Ordinarily, education was nondenominational, but Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans usually met separately and raised their own chapels and churches. Consequently, the number of churches in the Civil War era landscape would have been greater than the number of schools. They would have been destinations for a number of early roads and landmarks along many others.

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[67]Cowan Diary, 10 June, 26 November.

[68]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 140-1; White, *State Educational Organization*, 78-79, 113; Dabney, *Universal Education*, 295.

[69]Cowan Diary, 30 August.

Windshield surveys along the old roads provide evidence that churches were numerous and spread across the county. Numerous extant buildings located by driving county roads probably date from the Civil War era, but continuity of their building type over a long period, and alterations to original buildings make it necessary to qualify their identification as Civil War era buildings unless there is confirmation from church histories or internal architectural analysis. The Beers Map locates at least sixty-two chapels and churches in the county thirteen years after the end of the Civil War.[70] Driving the roads of the Beers Map with a 1953 county highway map in hand located many potential Civil War era church buildings that survive with modern alterations, as memories of congregations in modern buildings, as largely out-of-use or adaptive use buildings, or as symbols on old maps.

Early settlers would have considered establishment of places of worship among their first necessities. First gatherings were probably in convenient homes or outdoor meeting grounds. Because of the efficiency and economy of log construction, from Dryden's Chapel in the southwestern county to Thompson Creek Baptist Church on the east side of the county, churches' first buildings

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[70]D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," reproduction, possession of author. The Beers Map indicates locations of chapels and churches. The author listed every place name on the map by civil district. The count of chapels and churches is from that list.

were log.[71] Enon Primitive Baptist Church dates its establishment to 1794 and its

first construction to 1800. Congregants Marjorie and Wade Jones advised that

when an addition was made at the back of the present building and the crawl

space was open, it was possible to see the original logs of the building's

construction.[72]

The basic plan and form of the present Enon Church are ubiquitous in

Bedford County's early churches. Characteristics are a footprint that is a wide

one-room rectangle that often appears almost square, a single story supported

by low stacked stone piers, front and rear gables with thirty to forty-five degree

pitches, two doors in the front gable end that may have transom lights and may

be single or double doors but are invariably well separated, and three or most

often four tall rectangular sash windows on each long wall for light and

ventilation. Some churches have one or two windows in the gable end opposite

the doors. All the buildings that have not been modernized are wood-clad,

painted white, and unadorned. Most of the buildings have flat window and door

crowns. A few, however, have Gothic arched crowns that are alterations or

indicators of later construction.

The flat crowns of windows and doors and the overall simplicity of the

buildings may result from Georgian influences combined with limited resources

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[71]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 178, 253.

[72]James S. Read, *History of Enon Church: Bedford County, Tennessee* (Atwood, TN: Christian Baptist Publishing, 1978), 14; Marjorie Jones and Wade Jones, personal communication with Jane Townes, 19 August 2009.

for construction and builders' limited skills. It is more likely, however, that the common characteristics and simplicity found in Enon and New Hope Baptist Churches, Shofner and Jenkins Lutheran Chapels, New Hope Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Cross Roads Church of Christ, and Center and Blankenship Methodist Churches reflect a theological aesthetic shared by the Protestant denominations in early Bedford County. Terry Jordan-Bychkov includes church buildings of this type as a characteristic of the cultural landscape of the Upland South, explaining that "in their extreme austerity, lacking any sort of religious symbolism, these chapels express the dissenter Protestant's view of the church structure as merely a place of assembly, not an abode of God or the scene of ritual miracle."[73]

Across Bedford County and across denominations, alterations made to Civil War era churches are as common as their early characteristics. Congregations of most of the buildings still in use as churches have attached shallow gable additions to their front gable ends. The additions provide covered entries and additional interior space. Ordinarily the new fronts have only a central door, but the original two front doors often remain in the wall between the new entry area and the original interior room. Most of the modified churches have modern siding, often metal or vinyl, and secure modern doors and windows. In a departure from their original austerity, some of the modern doors and windows have shaped lights or decorative moldings. Some churches added shutters

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[73]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 73.

painted to contrast with the typical white siding, and a few added steeples and crosses.

Because the modern changes are as ubiquitous as the original shared characteristics, it is relatively easy to identify church buildings that might have been part of the Civil War era landscape. Their shared plan and form, however, continued in use for new church buildings through the nineteenth century, so it is necessary to confirm Civil War era dates with church histories or internal architectural analysis. The present Blankenship United Methodist Church in the northeast corner of the intersection of Midland and Keys roads is an example of a Civil War era church still perceptible in a modern building with extensive additions and alterations. The plan and form of the oldest part of the present building are recognizable as the original 1861 church shown in a published photograph. Although there is the typical addition of an enclosed entry, the locations of the original two front doors are recognizable in the modern interior. A congregant advised that when tiles of the modern drop ceiling are raised, hewn timbers of the original roof framing are visible with their pegged joints.[74]

Of the numerous extant Civil War era churches in Bedford County, Cross Roads Church of Christ is probably the least altered and therefore the best example of country churches of the period. The building may have been built in

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[74]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 176; Kay Harrell, personal communication with Jane Townes, 2 July 2011.

1848.[75] Its exterior dimensions, thirty feet across the gable ends and forty-five

feet on the long sides, are within the dimensions Jordan-Bychkov described as

typical for Protestant chapels in the cultural landscape of the Upland South.[76] It

may never have had electricity, and because it has been out of regular use for

many years, it escaped alterations typical at other churches. Located in the fork

formed by the intersection of Cross Roads Church and Coop roads, it faces east

rather than fronting a road. Similarly, the early New Hope Baptist Church at

Fairfield faces east and does not immediately front a public road. Many of the

other churches identified as probably in use during the Civil War era front roads

regardless of their direction. Blankenship Methodist Church fronts Midland Road

to the west, an orientation established in 1861 when the church moved from an

earlier site. In the early 1860s Midland Road was an important north-south

thoroughfare between Rutherford and Bedford Counties. From the Blankenship

example and the preponderance of churches oriented to roads rather than to the

east, it appears that in siting early churches the theological symbolism of

buildings' facing east was less of a determinant than practical concerns for

accessibility.

All of the county churches identified by the author from windshield surveys

and published images as potential features of the Civil War era landscape were

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[75]Jerry W. Cook, "Cross Roads Church of Christ,"
http://www.flickr.com/photos/strolling_jim/sets/72157623511661273/ (accessed 18 May 2010).

[76]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 72.

simple wood buildings with similar characteristics. Churches in Shelbyville in the

same period, however, were more individual in appearance and at least one was

an imposing landmark. Like county churches that were built shortly after

settlement of their neighborhoods, buildings for worship began to appear in

Shelbyville in the first ten years of the existence of the county seat. There were at

least five Protestant denominations and a Roman Catholic congregation

worshiping in Shelbyville in the Civil War era, but descriptive evidence of only

three of their buildings remains.[77] Two extant church buildings of the Civil War

era and published images of one other provide some evidence of the town's

religious cultural landscape between 1860 and 1865.

As early as 1810, Presbyterians gathered in the new town of Shelbyville

for worship and Bible study. By 1815 the congregation of Presbyterians owned

original town lot twenty-four on which they may have had a log building that they

replaced with a brick building in 1825.[78] When the Presbyterians built a larger

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[77]Robert E. Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts: The History of The First Presbyterian Church, Shelbyville, Bedford County, Tennessee, 1815-1965* (Nashville, TN: Parthenon Press, 1965), 43. An image exists of another church that might date to the Civil War, but it is left out of this discussion because information on the first church built on Belmont Avenue for Shelbyville's Episcopalian congregation is contradictory. Its reputation as the site of the 1863 confirmation of General Braxton Bragg is incorrect, and there is no other indication of its construction by 1865. The website of the Church of the Redeemer, Episcopal, http://www.churchofredeemer.org/history.html, gives the consecration date of that church as 1868, suggesting that its construction date was later than 1865.

[78]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 25-26, 29-30, 195. After events that destroyed records in the Bedford County Courthouse, property owners re-

brick church approximately two blocks north in 1854, they sold their first building

to a Roman Catholic congregation that occupied it through the Civil War. That

brick building still stands in the northwest corner of the present intersection of

Jefferson and East Lane Streets and now houses the Church of the Redeemer,

Episcopal.[79]

In its nearly two hundred years of use by several denominations, the 1825

building had many additions and alterations including a complete renovation in

2001.[80] Observed from the public right of way, it appears the original church was

a simple rectangular Georgian building of one brick story on a semi-dressed

stone foundation in regular courses. Exterior walls are common bond with four

stretcher courses to one header course. It has end gables with a ridge on an

east-west axis. Wood trim on the gable ends is simple molding, but the long walls

have modillion cornices. Both long walls have four flat-crowned windows.

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registered deeds. In their analysis of chains of title for original Shelbyville town
lots, Helen and Tim Marsh note that through re-registration of deeds, references
to lots 24 and 44 on opposite sides of the present Jefferson Street became
confused. According to the Marshes, 24 is the correct lot number for the brick
church built by Presbyterians in 1825. Robert Cogswell and other sources cited
by this author for church histories relied on the confused deeds and incorrectly
place that building on lot 44. Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 364-5, 385-
6. Cogswell gives 1817 as the construction date for a brick church at the site; the
Marshes and King have a date of 1825-1826. Given the dates of other brick
buildings in Shelbyville, the later date is more probable.

[79]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 364-5, 386.

[80]"Church of the Redeemer, Episcopal, Shelbyille, TN,"
http://www.churchof redeemer.org/history.html, accessed 3 July 2011.

However, four windows on the south wall and three on the north wall have brick arches with brick infill. While the pattern of arches and infill is consistent, execution of the brickwork is inconsistent, suggesting the work may be from different dates. The present entry is a covered porch at the west end of the long south face of the building. There is local information that the original entry may have been in the western gable end where there is now a central window and two brick-filled previous openings.[81] It is not clear whether they were windows or doors.

Until it was destroyed by a tornado in 1830, Shelbyville's Methodist church was near the original town graveyard two blocks southeast of the public square. After the loss of their building, the Methodists constructed a new church on Martin Street (now North Main Street) approximately two blocks northwest of the 1825 Presbyterian Church. The church, situated on a portion of lots fifty-eight and sixty-six in the original town plan, faced east to the street. The Beers Map located the "M.E.Ch." or Methodist Episcopal Church on the northwest corner of Martin and an unnamed cross street. The church was so close to the street that Civil

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[81]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 30, 196. It is not clear whether Robert Cogswell or his source, B.L. Burdette, had information about a door in the west gable end, or whether the extant building used by Episcopalians was confused with old images of an earlier church built by Shelbyville's Episcopalians. That church fronting Belmont Avenue had a gable-end entrance.

War troops moving through town "made so much noise & people [attending

church] were so disturbed" that services were disrupted.[82]

Three images of that church which was occupied by the Methodists until

1881, survive and provide minimal information on the building. One photograph,

probably the later of two views of the front, shows an apparently wooden steeple

or belfry that may have been added in the late nineteenth century. A side view of

that steeple is in a postcard image of the northern part of Shelbyville near the

turn of the twentieth century. The steeple or belfry appears to be an addition

straddling the ridge of the roof behind the portico pediment. From that image, the

church appears to have a four-ranked south wall with tall multi-pane windows.

The fabric of the one-story Classical Revival building is not clear from the

photographs. It has a gable roof of normal pitch that extends as a pedimented

portico on the full width of the building. Five Roman Doric columns with smooth

shafts on bases support the plain pediment that has a projecting modillion

cornice. The main entrance on Martin Street clearly has two doors separated and

flanked by runs of wall, creating a five-part front wall compatible with the five

columns of the portico. The doors appear to have tall transom lights

approximately one third the height of the doors. Although the 1830 Methodist

church has decoration in the simple vernacular of the Classical Revival style, with

its two front doors, four side windows, roof pitch, and footprint estimated from the

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[82]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 162; Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 403; Beers Map; Cowan Diary, 20 July.

photographs, it is strikingly similar to the unadorned Civil War era country churches across Bedford County, particularly Blankenship Methodist Church.[83]

The Methodists sold this building to the First Christian Church in 1881. The flood of 1902 that destroyed many of the watermills across the county left water in the building to the tops of its windows, and the congregation relocated in 1905.[84] The building was later demolished, and the lot was within the area of a major 1960s project of urban renewal and flood control.

In 1853, the Presbyterian congregation purchased parts of original town lots twenty-eight and twenty-nine at the northeast corner of Dawdy (now Franklin) and Brittain Streets from John W. Cowan, a church leader who resided on the adjacent lot to the north. Church member William Gosling, the English native and successful textile mill owner discussed above, led a committee to build a new church on that site.[85] Completed in 1854, today's First Presbyterian Church fronts North Brittain Street to the west and is still an imposing landmark in Shelbyville. It was undoubtedly a grand focal point of the town's Civil War era landscape.

Both the 1825 Presbyterian church and its 1854 successor approximately two blocks due north are on a contour with an elevation ten to twenty feet higher

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[83]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 162, 167-8, 176; Bird's Eye View, North, Shelbyville, Tenn., postcard, collection of Ralph McBride.

[84]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 168.

[85]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350, 368; Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 56-57, 197.

than the Murfreesboro Pike or Martin Street where the Methodist church flooded.
With only one and two-story Civil War era buildings on the downslope between
them and the thoroughfare to Murfreesboro, the two churches would have been
highly visible features of the townscape. The later church has a raised basement
that further elevates the building and its belfry, giving it a commanding presence
in its neighborhood.

The Presbyterian Church built in 1854 is a well-executed example of a
Greek Revival ecclesiastical building. Descriptions of it usually mention its
similarity to buildings by architect William Strickland. His buildings in Philadelphia
would have been familiar to Alfred Henry Dashiell, pastor of the Shelbyville
church during the new construction. Dashiell had served as pastor in Philadelphia
before coming to Tennessee, and he traveled there during the planning period of
the Shelbyville church.[86]

Circumstantial evidence suggests the possibility of a more direct
connection between Strickland and design of the church. The church was
planned and built between 1852 and 1854, years within the period 1845 to 1859
when the Tennessee State Capitol was under construction in Nashville with
William Strickland's plan and on-site supervision. By the 1850s, turnpikes
facilitated frequent travel between Shelbyville and Nashville, making
Presbyterians in Shelbyville familiar with the capitol's design and construction. A
number of that church's leaders had positions of power in national and state

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[86]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 197.

government and would have had access to Strickland in Nashville. Henry

Cooper, for example, was a national and state political leader and a ruling elder

of the Presbyterian Church in Shelbyville at the time the new church was planned

and built. William H. Wisener was a local attorney who would have been a

member of the economic and social circles of Shelbyville's Presbyterians; he

joined that church in 1880. In the early 1850s Wisener was a State

Representative and Speaker of the House for at least one term. He would have

had access to official information on the construction of the capitol and probably

frequent access to Strickland.[87]

The Capitol and the front of the church have pedimented gable ends with

similar proportions. Both buildings have wide cornices with multiple bands of trim

and exterior moldings marking divisions between their floors. Wide and tall flights

of steps that add verticality to both buildings provide access to elevated entries

and main floors.

The most markedly similar features of the two buildings are the belfry of

the Shelbyville church and the lantern-and-drum tower on the State Capitol. Their

proportions and components create a strong resemblance. Both have a square

base on the ridge of the building. On the capitol the base is a lantern in the

middle of the building. The base on the church does not have lights, and is near

the front of the roof over the pedimented portico. Both buildings have a cornice

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[87]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 62, 181, 190; *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Thirtieth General Assembly for the Years 1853-4* (Nashville, TN: M'Kennie & Brown, 1854), 140-3, 277, 279, 338.

between base and drum; the church cornice has dentils. The drum of the capitol's tower is glazed. Between its round foot and cap, the church drum is polygonal with louvered panels. Both drums have engaged columns between their panels. On the church, the engaged columns are segmented plain shafts with Corinthian capitals that appear to match the capitals on the large porch columns. On both buildings, round projecting cornices top the tower drums. Above its drum cornice, the church originally had a band of decorative cast iron described in the church history as "lacelike edging...very similar in appearance to that which still encircles the roof of the tower on the Tennessee State Capitol building."[88]

Given the distinct and numerous likenesses between the 1854 Presbyterian church in Shelbyville and the contemporaneous capitol, not only in overall design, but also in details of execution, and given the probability of church leaders' access to the capitol and its builders during its planning and construction, there is a likelihood that the Tennessee State Capitol is the source for the design of the Presbyterian Church in Shelbyville. There is at least a plausible possibility that William Strickland or his son Francis, who worked with him in Nashville, may have participated in the design of the church.

The Celtic cross now on top of the belfry drum is a twentieth-century addition that reflects changes in acceptance of iconography since the mid-nineteenth century. Other than modern additions, none of Bedford County's Civil

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[88]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 199.

War era churches has a cross of any type. Originally the finial topping the belfry was a large wooden hand with its index finger pointing to heaven.[89] That symbol, signifying souls rising to heaven, appears on markers in Shelbyville's original graveyard and in several burial grounds in Bedford County. As an element of the church building, it was a final vertical that carried viewers' eyes from the bottom of the high steps through the front columns and pediment to the belfry then beyond toward heaven.

According to Robert Cogswell's history of the church, its dimensions are approximately seventy feet by fifty-two feet. The floor of its raised basement is approximately three feet below grade. There are full-sized windows and an entrance in the basement wall on the south side of the building below the trim line that marks the level of the sanctuary on the main floor. Only brick walls are visible from the exterior, but Cogswell notes that the lower three feet of the exterior walls are blocks of native limestone.[90] The five-ranked main floor has windows with simple wood crowns that extend for most of the height of the wall. Originally they had clear glass that was replaced by stained art glass in the late nineteenth century. Six large brick pilasters with wood capital moldings compatible with the cornices and window trim are on the long exterior walls between the windows and on the building's corners. The pilasters on the front

[89]Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 172-3.

[90]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 197-8.

corners wrap to form two of four pilasters on the front wall. Between pairs of pilasters on each side of the recessed porch are false shuttered windows that match the dimensions of the tall windows of the side walls. The dentil cornice of the side walls continues on the front below a plain pediment.

The brick of the Presbyterian church has a tan rather than a red or orange hue, and its walls are running bond. Both are uncommon in the county's Civil War era buildings examined by this author. A few yards to the northeast across Jefferson Street, the house built for Lucretia Eakin in the early 1850s has similar tan brick and running bond. The interior of that house has large heavy doorframes that are identical to interior doors of the church. The two buildings have similar construction dates, and exterior and interior details suggest they had the same builder and source for bricks.

Other than the belfry, the most striking feature of the church is its pair of fluted columns with elaborate Corinthian capitals. The columns are in line with the front wall of the building on the front edge of the recessed porch. Each fluted shaft is topped by an astragal below two rows of acanthus leaves. Volutes with foliage rise from the acanthus leaves to support a molded abacus. Each curved edge of the abacus has a central fleuron.

The main door of the church is in the recessed exterior wall at the back of the porch. It is a tall and wide, molded double paneled door flanked by pilasters and topped by a molded architrave, plain frieze, dentil cornice, and a plain low-

pitch pediment. In the projecting walls at each side of the large recessed door are smaller scale unadorned entrances.

The sizes of the buildings erected by the Presbyterian congregation in 1825 and 1854 indicate the church's attendance grew significantly in Shelbyville's first forty-five years. Furthermore, the size and high style of the mid-century building project suggest the congregants who funded it achieved financial prosperity in the same period. From the registers of church members, deacons, and elders it is clear that many of those congregants were the prosperous mill owners and merchants who drove the county's pre-war economy.[91] The 1854 Presbyterian Church is therefore an example of the impact that economic prosperity from industry and trade had on the cultural landscape of Bedford County by the Civil War.

The war had an impact on the Presbyterian Church, which was often a site of interaction between civilians and soldiers of both armies. It also served military purposes as a shelter and hospital. The church's minister since 1857, Reverend Alexander Newton Cunningham, resigned his post on April 1, 1860. A notation on the church roll indicated he had "Gone to Confederacy," and he served until the end of the war as a Confederate army chaplain. In April 1862, early in the US occupation of Shelbyville, Cunningham's successor, Reverend Richard Howe Allen, prayed for Confederate soldiers in a service attended by many Yankees. In

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[91]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 51-53, 181, 184, 189-90.

less than eighty days, he left Shelbyville. The church history speculates he left

because of his family ties in the North and shifting military control of Middle

Tennessee, but Shelbyville was then already under US control. The notation that

he intended to be away "only 'until such time as the way might be open when he

would come again and minister to us' " may be an indication that after his prayers

for Confederates the US military sent him out of their insecure jurisdiction. After

Allen's departure in 1862, the church was without a pastor until the end of the

war.[92]

After the battle at Murfreesboro on December 31, 1862 and January 2,

1863, the Confederate army fell back to Shelbyville. General Braxton Bragg's

soldiers sheltered from wet and cold weather in the church. For the rest of the

month, activity at the church included Rebel soldiers. Several military chaplains,

including one with the Texas Rangers, preached there to civilians and a "church

full of soldiers."[93] In May and June 1863, the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, First

Bishop of Georgia (Episcopal) visited Confederate chaplains and troops camped

in Bedford County. On May 24 and 31, 1863, Elliott and Charles Todd Quintard,

Second Bishop of Tennessee and Confederate chaplain with Bragg's army,

officiated at services in the Presbyterian Church. Elliott described the building

and attendees as "a very large church, crowded in every part with officers and

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[92]Cogswell, *Written on Many Hearts*, 63-64, 168; Cowan Diary 6 April (misdated 6 March in the diary).

[93]Cowan Diary, 4, 11, 25 January 1863.

soldiers only, there not being in the whole edifice, more than a dozen of the other sex." On June 2, 1863, the Presbyterian Church again provided a facility for Episcopal services when Bishop Elliott baptized and confirmed the Commanding General of the Army of the West, Braxton Bragg.[94] Armies of both sides used the church as a hospital, causing it to need "considerable attention after the war in order to put it back into proper condition." Although it has undergone a number of remodelings and additions, neither the appearance nor the fabric of the original church has been significantly altered.[95] The 1854 church continues in active use.

Bedford County Graveyards

Graveyards were ubiquitous in the cultural landscapes of Civil War era Bedford County. The term cemetery did not come into popular American use until the nineteenth-century Romantic landscape movement made burial grounds parks and destinations for excursions. In contrast to the appearance of utilitarian graveyards that varied little over centuries except in forms of gravemarkers and iconography, cemeteries designed for visual interest and activities of the living had less linear plans with ornamental plantings and sculpture gardens instead of graveyards' traditional rank and file gravemarkers. The organization of the public burial ground used in Shelbyville through the Civil War and of large and small

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[94]Stephen Elliott, "Bishop's Address of 1864," Georgia Episcopal Archives, http://archives.georgiaepiscopal.org/?page_id=16, accessed 12 July 2011; Cogswell, Written on Many Hearts, 67.

[95]Cogswell, Written on Many Hearts, 198.

burial sites throughout Bedford County indicates that the new concepts of

cemeteries did not impact local material culture and cultural landscape until after

the war.[96]

As late as 1866, local documentary sources continued to refer to

graveyards, indicating that neither the physical characteristics, nor the

contemporary attitude toward burial grounds had changed in favor of cemeteries.

When the newly legislated town of Shelbyville was first laid out in 1810,

designation of two lots for use as a graveyard was a priority second only to

designation of the public square. By the 1850s, that burying ground was filling up,

and the Board of Mayor and Aldermen purchased new property for town use.

The purchase of fifteen acres northwest of the platted lots of Shelbyville may

have been as early as 1858, but the deed was not registered until November 3,

1862.[97] According to local historian Roy Turrentine, minutes of meetings for the

Corporation of Shelbyville, the town government, recorded a December 14, 1860

appointment of the "Sexton of the Grave Yard at the same prices as last year."

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[96]In its glossary of terms, the National Register of Historic Places defines both *graveyard* and *cemetery* as "an area set aside for burial of the dead," and offers secondary definitions for *graveyard* as "a common burying ground of a church or community," and for *cemetery* as "in Latin American culture known as 'campo santo,' or holy field." US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places (Nrb 41), http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb41/nrb41_10.htm, accessed April 6, 2011.

[97]Roy Turrentine, ed. "Willow Mount Cemetery: Beginnings of the New Grave Yard," *Bedford County Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2006): 59-60.

The meeting's minutes did not specify whether the reference was to the original or the new graveyard. Two months later, "it was ordered that the Corporation rent John H. Oniel the [new] Grave Yard Ground west of Shelbyville for the present year" [1861], and that entry included reference to a renter "of the New Grave Yard for the year 1859 & 60." Through 1861, town officials issued various orders to create the new graveyard, and in March 1862, Mayor William Galbreath was "appointed Receiver of the Money for lotts sold in the New Grave Yard." Union military occupation interrupted town business in the spring of 1862, but records of town business resume in July 1865, at which time a committee formed "to look into the Condition of the Grave Yard." August and September entries made it clear that the committee's attention was to the original town graveyard that needed fencing. In December 1865, the new graveyard was mentioned again. The term *graveyard* was still in general use after the Civil War when in May 1866 "a committee was appointed to lay off a portion of the new Grave Yard for the purpose of Selling lots" to African Americans. Records of July and August 1866 specified maintenance to be done in both the old and new graveyards.[98]

In March 1862, at the same time that town fathers were laying out a new burial ground, diarist Laura Cowan recorded a walk with her aunt to "the graveyard."[99] Her reference was certainly to the original town graveyard where a

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[98]Records Corporation of Shelbyville, Book A, City Hall, Shelbyville, TN, 4, 6, 9-12, 18, 25, 27-28, 33, 40, 43.

[99]Cowan diary, March 26.

number of her extended family were buried. Her use of *graveyard* indicated that the term was still in current use.

Given the time frame in which Shelbyville's officials purchased land for a new graveyard and began selling its lots, 1858-1862, they undoubtedly had information on the new Romantic cemetery concept.[100] In August 1861, William Galbreath was ordered to "lay off the New Grave Yard in Suitable Squares and the Corporation pay his Expincis to Nashville to get information as to the Plan."[101] Since Nashville's new Mount Olivet Cemetery had opened in 1855 and was designed with a Romantic rural cemetery plan, it is likely that layout was the subject of Galbreath's trip and an influence on his plan for the new Shelbyville burial ground.

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[100]On June 19, 1851, Shelbyvillian Mary Jane Strickler married Adam Gillespie Adams. Immediately after the wedding, the newlyweds, the groom's brother, and the bride's sister, Christina Strickler, began a trip through northern cities. The sisters kept journals that recorded the sites they visited in each city. They visited landmark sites of the Romantic rural cemetery movement and commented on beauty of the grounds including topography and impressive monuments. They consistently used *cemetery* in their references to Green-Wood in Brooklyn, Mount Auburn in Boston, Woodlands and Laurel Hill in Philadelphia, and Green Mount in Baltimore. On their return to Middle Tennessee, the sisters undoubtedly shared their descriptions and favorable impressions of Romantic rural cemeteries with their step-father, W. G. Cowan and uncle John W. Cowan, both of whom were involved in plans for the new burial ground in Shelbyville. Christina Strickler Journal, Microfilm 18, Mary Jane Strickler Adams Journal, Microfilm 19, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

[101]Minutes of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, Shelbyville, TN, August 1861, p. 9, City Hall, Shelbyville, TN.

Even with information on the new concept of cemeteries, it is clear from town records that changes in language and in thinking about the public burial ground did not occur until after the Civil War. It is not clear when the use of *cemetery* became common locally. Although an 1867 petition for a site dedicated to Confederate war dead referred to the "new city cemetery," the modern name of the new Shelbyville graveyard laid out in the 1860s, Willow Mount Cemetery, appears to date from a December 1870 resolution to the Shelbyville Board of Mayor and Alderman. The 1878 Beers map labels both of Shelbyville's burial grounds as cemeteries.[102]

The Civil War era was a period of transition from graveyards to cemeteries, both in public thinking and in physical layouts of communal burial sites. If the naming of Willow Mount Cemetery in 1870 was the earliest official evidence of that shift, it may be that more pressing concerns of the war years and immediate recovery delayed the change. The cultural landscapes of Civil War era burial grounds in Bedford County remained within the tradition of graveyards with ranks and files of gravemarkers. Consistent contemporary references to burial grounds as graveyards indicate that was the term in use until after the period of this study. For those reasons *graveyards* is the more appropriate term for the sites and period considered here.

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[102]Turrentine, "Willow Mount Cemetery," 59, 66; Beers Map, 1878.

Every area of new settlement had a similar set of practical concerns to address. Among the universal concerns of settlers were supplies of building materials and good water. Another problem requiring a solution in every area early in settlement was disposition of human remains. Opening a burial ground had not only a number of practical requirements, but also the additional demands of addressing religious and emotional expectations in dealing with the dead. Accessibility, elevated and well drained soil to a depth sufficient for burials, and an area large enough to accommodate anticipated use were practical concerns. Numerous county graveyards on elevations with graves oriented east-west so graves have a clear "view" of the rising sun at the Resurrection indicate eschatological influences on the siting of graveyards.

Some early settlers and later landowners chose to inter their dead in private burial grounds on land near homes of family members. Some of those family burial sites, like the Martin and Cannon graveyards, had few burials and survived into the twenty-first century as small private graveyards.[103] Other private sites that included burials of large extended families and neighbors expanded to serve the population of their areas of the county. The Greer Graveyard is probably an example of a burying ground on family land that became a graveyard

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[103]The graves of Barclay and Matt Martin, early settlers in Bedford County, and a few other individuals with family connections are on a rise above the Martin house north of Fairfield. A few marked graves, including that of Clement Cannon who donated land for Shelbyville, are in a small graveyard south of town on what was Cannon family property.

for families nearby. Recently, since it has been cleared, nearby property owners are again using it for family burials.

Since they were gathering points and sites of religious services, early meeting grounds and churches were predictable locations to develop burial grounds. The history of Enon Church in northwestern Bedford County claims services as early as 1794. The graveyard around that church has a number of early markers, including one identified by Helen and Tim Marsh with a death date of 1816. Salem Campground near modern Bell Buckle may have been the site of religious services as early as 1807. A gravemarker there indicates it was a burying ground by 1810.[104] The early Hastings Campground that became New Hope Church in south-central Bedford County has some of the earliest forms of gravemarkers in the county, including stacked stone markers and anthropomorphic discoid markers. Several marked graves there predate 1820. Center Church, also in south-central Bedford County at the site of the early Holt Campground, had an adjacent graveyard well before the Civil War.

Activities that brought area residents together at crossroads and developing towns included religious services, and locations of services became graveyards. The yard of Crossroads Church, literally at the intersection of two

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[104]James S. Read, *History of Enon Church: Bedford County, Tennessee* (Atwood, TN: Christian Baptist Publishing, 1978), 14; Helen C. Marsh and Timothy R. Marsh, comps., *Cemetery Records of Bedford County Tennessee* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1986), 33, 87, 110, 113, 135-6, 270, 288.

roads in north central Bedford County, was a graveyard by 1824. By 1808,

activities near a river ford and mill, and early Lutheran services in the western

part of the county, made Crowell's Chapel a public site for a graveyard. The

church in the early flourishing town of Fairfield in eastern Bedford County had a

graveyard before 1820.[105]

Graveyards were numerous as well as widespread in Civil War era

Bedford County, a location within the Upland South that was characterized by a

"remarkable abundance" of graveyards with fifteen or more named burial grounds

per one hundred square miles.[106] Of the 436 county burial sites recorded by

Helen and Tim Marsh, 229 were graveyards of the Civil War era landscape. A

larger percentage of graveyards survive for modern examination than any other

component of the cultural landscape in the study period. Because of their

numbers in the Civil War era landscape, because of their distribution across the

county, and because a high percentage of them survive, material culture of

gravemarkers and graveyards is an important window through which to examine

Civil War era Bedford County. It is a window that has been neglected except for

genealogical information.

Gravemarkers are both material culture and cultural landscape; they are

both intended and unintended records of people, time, place and culture. Either

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[105]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 87, 110, 135-6, 270, 288.

[106]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 76.

the people memorialized on gravemarkers or those who arranged for the markers intended to leave records of individuals into the distant future. They did not intend to leave information on access to skilled craftsmen or a transportation network, but they left those records of change as well as what they intended. A shift in marker types from fieldstones to dressed stone and then to skillfully carved inscriptions describes a changing craft community. The presence in Middle Tennessee of white marble and a buff-colored, medium-grained limestone that may be from Missouri or Indiana required an efficient extended transportation system. In leaving records of individuals, there was no intention to write history of styles or aesthetics, but as choices in gravemarkers and funerary art changed, Bedford County's residents recorded their changing material culture. The record of change from semicircular tripartite gravemarker styles to Gothic Revival, and then to flat tablets and elaborate sculpted monuments with Classical Revival and Romantic elements is a clue to changes in material culture as a whole.

As is the case with any source created with the expectation it will be read by others, graveyards and markers must be examined judiciously for intended and unintended information. Memorials to the dead are familiar as primary sources for genealogists, but they offer much more information than data for family histories. Materials and architectural characteristics of gravemarkers convey information on markets and transportation of goods as well as on aesthetics and eschatology of the deceased and of the survivors who erected identifying and memorializing markers. In causes of deaths or references to life

activities, inscriptions often record local history. Decorative motifs and personal

inscriptions provide information on private reputations and public roles of the

deceased, as well as immigration patterns and civic organizations of the locality.

Gravemarkers added to previously unidentified burials and those that replaced

deteriorated or out-of-fashion markers do not have dates consistent with their

styles and can give misleading information for creating a typology.[107]

With their number and distribution, Bedford County's graveyards and their

comparative dates are an important although unintended source of information

on settlement patterns and development of localities. In *Cemetery Records of

Bedford County Tennessee*, Helen and Tim Marsh provided a record of as many

cemeteries as could be identified in Bedford County and all gravemarker

inscriptions that were legible at each site. They plotted locations of 436 sites of

burials on United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic maps requiring

fourteen 7.5 minute quadrangles to cover almost all of the county. Only a very

narrow strip along the eastern county line, and small sections of the southeastern

and southwestern corners of the county did not show cemeteries in the Marshes'

compilation.[108]

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[107]In possibly the best Bedford County example of why not to assume that death dates on gravemarkers date their forms, it is highly likely that Jerusha Coffey's 1810 gravemarker in the Old Salem graveyard is a replacement marker erected many years after her burial. Based on examples and patterns in other Bedford County graveyards, its tripartite form is later than 1810 and is usually found with dates later than 1830.

[108]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, maps following page xi.

It is possible to explore county settlement patterns and development of localities to 1865 through gravemarkers, by noting the earliest legible burial date recorded by the Marshes in each of the 229 graveyards that were part of the cultural landscape of Bedford County in 1860-1865. A number of those sites included gravemarkers that were single fieldstones, or stacks of stones, none of which had legible inscriptions. It is likely that gravemarkers of those types were earlier than shaped and inscribed stones. That fact, combined with the probability that some gravemarkers are missing, means dated gravemarkers may not provide an accurate *terminus post quem* for occupation near a particular site. They do, however, provide evidence that a site was used for burials at least as early as the recorded date. It is a reasonable assumption, particularly for years before localities organized plans for maintenance of roads, that interments took place near the decedents' residences. Therefore, the earliest identifiable date at each graveyard indicates a minimum date by which that area of Bedford County was populated.

With that premise, it is possible to identify patterns of settlement and population distribution for Bedford County. Six date categories are useful to tally county graveyards for minimum dates of settlement before 1865: 1820 and earlier, 1821-1830, 1831-1840, 1841-1850, 1851-1860, and 1861-1865. Table 3 records the number of sites with earliest burial dates in each category for each of the fourteen USGS 7.5 minute maps used by the Marshes to document Bedford County graveyards. Tabulation of the earliest burial dates shows that instead of a

locus of early settlement serving as a limited starting point from which the population spread, the county was widely settled in 1820, only thirteen years after legal settlement began. From 1831 to the Civil War there was rapid countywide development with construction of a number of turnpikes and bridges. Railroad service after 1852 facilitated access to Bedford County for distant populations. Proliferation of new graveyards in the three decades preceding the war suggests internal improvements resulted in new and growing settlement areas requiring burial sites.

By examining three of the graveyards with different origins in different areas of the county, it is possible to identify categories of gravemarkers that were familiar in the Civil War era landscape of Bedford County. The graveyards as cultural landscapes with their markers as artifacts document not only widespread settlement, but also a countywide consistency in eschatology, fashion, and access to goods.

Unlike private family burial sites and graveyards that developed out of necessity where Bedford countians gathered and worshiped, Shelbyville's first graveyard was a provision of town planning. Local historian Tim Marsh plotted the original corners of the town of Shelbyville and its original town lots.[109] That map clearly shows an edge-of-town location was the choice for the first town graveyard. It was a space set aside for an anticipated need in a yet unsettled

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[109]Marsh, Marsh, and King, *Early History*, 350.

TABLE 3
BEDFORD COUNTY SETTLEMENT DATES FROM GRAVEYARDS' EARLIEST DATES

USGS QUADS PER HELEN AND TIM MARSH	1820 & EARLIER	1821 - 1830	1831 - 1840	1841 - 1850	1851 - 1860	1861 - 1865
Chapel Hill	1		1	2	1	
Rover	4		5	8	6	3
Fosterville	1		1	2	2	
Webbs Jungle	1		1	2	1	
Farmington		1		1	2	1
Unionville	1	4	5	5	4	7
Deason	1	2	3	6	9	5
Wartrace	4	6	3	10	5	1
Belfast	1			1		
Bedford	4	2	7	12	9	3
Shelbyville	3	5	2	8	8	
Normandy	1	8	3	6	9	2
Booneville				1	4	2
Cumberland Springs						

Source. Names of some USGS quadrangles used by the Marshes are no longer current, but they are used here to facilitate reference to information from Helen C. Marsh and Timothy R. Marsh, comps., *Cemetery Records of Bedford County Tennessee* (Greenville, SC. Southern Historical Press, 1986)

town. As such, it may have had a public relations purpose, giving a platted but unoccupied new county seat an aura of expected growth and permanence.

Located at the southeastern corner of town, the site satisfied eschatological and practical requirements for a burial ground. From the eastern edge of town, graves have a clear "view" of the rising sun with its connotation of resurrection. Within three blocks of the public square, the site was also convenient to but not intrusive in town business. The two lots designated for the graveyard are on a knoll. Although the difference in elevation from the courthouse lot is only ten to fifteen feet, the graveyard corner of town is higher than the surrounding ground. Since the new town was sited on high ground above the river and would drain, a higher elevation to avoid wet ground was not necessary. Thus the graveyard's elevated location suggests its intended importance as a town feature. In the early town, before the construction of two-story buildings, the graveyard would have shared a line of vision with the courthouse, making both focal points of the town.

Since the early Shelbyville graveyard did not receive its first burials until after legislative action creating the county seat and probably after the town plan of 1810, there may be older graveyards in Bedford County. The Shelbyville site is, however, a good starting point for examining Civil War era graveyards as cultural landscapes and gravemarkers as material culture. Burial dates on gravemarkers there indicate regular use of the site from the first years of the town through the Civil War. Although the property began to fill up in the 1850s,

necessitating the opening of a new graveyard, burials continued there into the twentieth century. Such a long period of use on one site provides many of the forms of gravemarkers that were present in county graveyards up to and through the Civil War. Although the old town graveyard was generally neglected and suffered from vandalism when it was no longer in regular use, its location near the center of town afforded it a greater degree of protection than many rural sites. Even so, vandals and modern groundskeeping machinery have destroyed a number of gravemarkers, and inappropriate attempts to clean markers and the natural weathering and delaminating process of sedimentary lithic material have rendered many others illegible. Despite the loss of some markers and inscriptions there, Shelbyville's original graveyard provides a baseline typology for examination of gravemarkers across the county.

After the term cemetery came into general use, the original town burial ground became known as the Old City Cemetery. A site marker of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities uses that designation and indicates the date of origin as 1812. Since Shelbyville had already existed as the county seat for nearly three years, it is likely that there were earlier burials. Two substantial stacked-stone markers have no identification and may be from those early years. Obvious but unmarked grave depressions and unidentified fieldstones may also predate 1812.

The western and southern boundaries of the graveyard are streets that have been in use since the earliest town plan. On the west, gravemarkers are

against the public sidewalk along Jefferson Street, indicating that some western

edge of the graveyard has been lost to street and sidewalk widening and paving.

The southern end of the graveyard along Elliott Street has few extant

gravemarkers. Soil depressions there indicate burials, but the original extent of

the graveyard to the south is difficult to determine.

In general, extant gravemarkers with the earliest dates–1820s and 1830s–

are on the west side of the site, the side closer to the original town (figure 8).

Since some of those are immediately next to the modern sidewalk on a street

that has been widened several times, and since that side of the graveyard was

closest to the early town, the earliest burials were probably at the west side of the

graveyard. It is likely that gravemarkers from Shelbyville's first twenty or thirty

years have been lost to growth and pavement.

Most markers in the old town graveyard and erected across the county up

to the Civil War were made from one of three materials: grey Tennessee

limestone, white marble, or a buff-colored, medium-grained, frangible

delaminating limestone.[110] Legible inscriptions seldom survive in local limestone.

unless they were deeply cut. Often only semi-dressed, some limestone markers

have faint evidence of shallow pecked inscriptions that are too weathered to

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[110]The frangible material found in graveyards across the county appeared
to be Indiana limestone. However, Dr. Clay Harris, a carbonate sedimentologist
at Middle Tennessee State University, analyzed the material and determined that
while there are similarities to Indiana limestone, there are also significant
chemical and physical differences that result in a stone quality that would not be
considered Indiana limestone in commercial circles. Clay Harris to Jane Townes,
personal communication, 5, 6, 14 April 2011.

Figure 8. Shelbyville's original graveyard, range of gravemarker types, photograph by author.

read. In other cases, after damaging attempts to clean marble markers with

chemicals and abrasive tools, many that the Marshes could read in the 1960s

now have degraded surfaces that are barely legible. The predominant material in

the original Shelbyville graveyard, and one used frequently for early markers

across the county, is the third material. Relatively soft, this stone works well for

the carvers, but it is not ideal for survival in the elements. Faces of gravemarkers

weakened by dressing and cutting as well as two centuries of freezing now

slough off in sheets and chunks, destroying inscriptions and stylistic evidence.

One hundred fourteen gravemarkers examined in Shelbyville's old

graveyard would have been part of the Civil War era landscape. They fall into

eight general categories based on their shapes and their methods of installation. Those eight categories, with some variations, appear frequently across Bedford County. While there is some overlap of categories in date ranges, general patterns of dates and forms appear.

The first category is a stack of large stones. In one example in the old Shelbyville graveyard, each stone is semi-dressed and about the length of a railroad tie, but twice the width and height of a tie. The stack consists of three stepped courses. Stacked stone markers of this type are common across the county, either semi-dressed or fully dressed with smooth surfaces and sharp edges. Some stacks have the single top stone shaped like a tapering coffin. Another variation of stacked stone markers often found across the county is a massive squared stack, some with single top slabs the size of mattresses.

A second stacked stone form at the Shelbyville site is distorted by sunken ground and a thick overgrowth of vines. It appears to be a stepped stack of roughly dressed and irregularly shaped stones. Under the overgrowth, it appears to be a mound and may be the "hewn Rock type vault" noted by the Marshes with a death date of 1847. There is now no visible date on this stacked stone example. Similar stacks in better condition in Fairfield's New Hope churchyard have a pyramidal end view that is similar to a North Carolina form identified as a hogback vault. That term, however, is misleading because it connotes a burial

chamber. Both the local and the North Carolina examples appear to be stacks of stone over in-ground graves rather than vaults over burial spaces.[111]

Although the distorted shape of this gravemarker is reminiscent of old world cairns, that term with its connotation of a mound of stone is not appropriate for this marker or any of the stacked stone gravemarkers examined in Bedford County. A number of forms of stacked stone gravemarkers exist widely in southern Tennessee, but research during this project has not found either an established term for this category, or a date range for the type.[112]

Paired gravemarkers on the western edge of the Shelbyville graveyard where markers with the earliest dates are found represent the second category of marker at the site. Marking the 1825 and 1826 burials of Jane Hall and Doctor Hall, they are unusually thick and blocky with round tops on square shoulders above vertical sides. Similarly thick examples of this discoid type at Hastings Campground/New Hope Churchyard have 1816 and 1842 dates. A less blocky

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[111]Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 260; M. Ruth Little, *Sticks & Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 46.

[112]Gerald Smith, in a personal communication with Jane Townes, 21 March 2011, discussed variety in stacked stone markers and 8 April 2011 mentioned a discussion with Terry Jordan-Bychkov in which he speculated that the Scots-Irish influence of cairn burials was the precedent for stacked stone gravemarkers. C. Van West, personal communication with Jane Townes, 1 April 2011, gave a range of 1810-1850 for stacked stone markers.

example in the churchyard at Shofner Lutheran Chapel may be that of Roanna

Hiles, whose date of death was recorded by the Marshes as 1847.[113]

The round top of the Hiles marker is slightly narrowed where it joins the

flat shoulders of the marker, giving it a resemblance to a head on shoulders. The

anthropomorphic effect of this category of gravemarkers is more pronounced with

an illegible, possibly early marker in Hastings Campground/New Hope

Churchyard. It has a round head on rounded shoulders above sides that curve

outward from the shoulders and then taper from shoulder to ground, making an

anthropomorphic silhouette. Two markers dated 1832 and 1840 in the Richmond

graveyard in southwestern Bedford County have waists below their stylized

heads and shoulders that increase the anthropomorphic effect of the

gravestones.

Ledgers are the third category of gravemarker in Shelbyville's original

burial ground. Early Bedford countians would have been familiar with the ledger

form, which has a long history in Great Britain and appears in the US from early

colonial American to modern cemeteries. The old Shelbyville graveyard has

several in various stages of preservation; most are limestone and earlier than

1840. They are thin worked stones, usually with carved molding edges and

dimensions that cover entire graves. The large flat tops accommodate more

lengthy inscriptions than other gravemarkers. Some ledgers rest on low footings

of stone, brick, or concrete. Others appear to rest directly on the ground, but they

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[113]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 315.

may have sunk so their footings are not visible. Because some footings are concrete and bricks that are probably later than the ledgers' dates, it is not clear whether footings are part of original installations, or if they are later additions to prevent ledgers' sinking below ground surfaces.

Like ledgers, box tombs, the fourth category of gravemarkers, have a long history of use up to the twentieth century. They are four-sided boxes with a ledger top. Without bottoms on the ground, they are not actually tombs, but are memorial boxes over in-ground graves. Many in Shelbyville and across Bedford County are in fragments because of vandalism and the mistaken assumption that the boxes are tombs with easily accessible grave goods. Most of the box tombs in the Shelbyville graveyard date *circa* 1840 or later. Many across the county have elements of the Classical Revival style with molded panels, vertical reeding or large acanthus leaves that bracket corners, and stylized sunbursts also seen in classical furniture inlays and carvings.

A variation on the box tomb form is a table ledger or table tomb. This form has an inscribed ledger supported by two or more pairs of substantial stone legs with open space between the legs under the ledger. In some examples, there is a blank ledger on the ground supporting the legs. A particularly graceful table ledger is at Old Salem graveyard near Bell Buckle.

In the Civil War era graveyards of Shelbyville and Bedford County, tablets were the most prevalent form of gravemarkers. They are the vertical generally square or rectangular shapes usually brought to mind by the term *tombstone*.

Their primary distinguishing characteristics are differences in the shapes of their tops. Tablets with variations of tripartite tops are the most numerous and widespread forms on graves through the 1860s. For that reason, discussion here is of tripartite tablets as a fifth category of gravemarkers, and of other tablet forms as a sixth category.

Tripartite tablets are erect flat headstones, many with matching footstones. Headstones vary in height from as little as eighteen inches to approximately five feet. Their tops have three distinct elements with connecting haunches.[114] The earliest style of those elements in the old town graveyard is seen on the 1824 headstones of Crece Cannon and James D. McKisick, both of which have semicircular center arches connected by scotia haunches to semicircular caps at the markers' shoulders.

The scotia haunch with deep concave curve is the most common connecting element on tripartite markers. Ann Newton's 1831 gravemarker has the same top elements as the earliest tablets but, in a variation of the tripartite style, the scotia haunches are extended in height, elevating the semicircular top arch and creating space for a fielded panel with an urn in low relief. Haunches on John H. Galbreath's 1835 marker are more elevated and more concave, giving the elevated center top element a more waisted appearance. Gravemarkers in

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[114] Diana Williams Combs, *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 211-3. For consistency in language with a public source, this author uses Combs's terms for elements of gravemarker shapes.

Enon Churchyard and at Crowell Chapel have similarly elevated center arches

dating from the late 1820s and the 1830s.

Shelbyville tripartite markers of the late 1830s and early 1840s begin to

have an extension and elevation of the center top element. The curve and height

of haunches increased and center semicircular arches became wide peaked

lanceolate elements. Like the early tripartite form, markers of the 1840s continue

to have shoulder caps, but these evolved from half circles to peaked lanceolate

caps and finally to sharply pointed triangular shoulder caps. By the mid-1840s,

silhouettes of Shelbyville gravemarkers clearly reflect lancet shapes of the Gothic

Revival period in architecture. The same stylistic trend is visible in Enon

Churchyard by 1842, and in Fairfield and Old Salem graveyards by 1851.

Gravemarkers of the late 1840s and early 1850s in the old Shelbyville

graveyard have a stylistic shift from tripartite tops to tablets with simpler tops, the

sixth category of gravemarkers at that site. Two tablets with three flattened

curved elements at the top may be transitional shapes from tripartite forms to the

numerous tablets with tops that are round, slightly arched, flat, or flattened

segmental arches. The generally simpler lines of the later tablets compared to

the tripartite forms suggest the stylistic influence of the Classical Revival in

architectural and furniture styles. Tablets with simple tops became the dominant

category of markers in the old Shelbyville graveyard and throughout the county

from the early 1850s through the 1860s.

The paucity of transitional forms makes the change to simpler tablets appear to be a stylistic break. Since cultural preferences rarely change suddenly, and since the thirty-year evolution of the gothic tripartite gravemarkers' thirty-year evolution demonstrates the conservatism of funerary art, it is possible that the rapid shift to a new dominant category for memorials indicates a change in access to sources of gravemarkers. Either earlier sources changed production styles, or a new source became available. A possible explanation for a stylistic shift at mid-century is the arrival of the railroad in Bedford County in 1852. It would have made simpler, mass-produced markers available in the local market. It is likely that plainer tablets would have had less breakage in transit by rail than tripartite markers that had projecting shoulder points and extended center elements.

The seventh category of gravemarkers identified in Shelbyville's original graveyard and seen in small numbers across Bedford County is obelisks. At the Shelbyville site, their death dates range from 1849 to 1864; county examples have dates through the 1860s. Memorializing both men and women, they reflect the mid to late nineteenth-century Egyptian Revival. A classical marble obelisk on a sculpted plinth in Shelbyville memorializes a woman and an infant, presumably mother and child. Like a number of the obelisks of Egyptian influence, it also has an element of mid-century romanticism with a carving of roses, a symbol of life cut short. Other women's obelisks in Shelbyville have a funereal willow with a kneeling angel, or an olive branch with fruit, a traditional symbol of the blessings

of marriage. Obelisks erected for men have a draped urn, and symbols of the Masons or Odd Fellows.

Most of the Civil War era obelisks are six to eight feet tall and of considerable weight. Two examples in Shelbyville may be over ten feet tall. Often executed in marble with sculpted panels on their shafts and urns or angels on their tops, obelisks indicate access to skilled suppliers. An obelisk that is one of only three marked gravemarkers of the 114 examined at the Shelbyville site has a carver's mark: Rule Hitchcock & Co. Nashville.

The eighth category of gravemarkers is the eclectic group, i.e. all of the elaborately styled gravemarkers that do not easily fit a stock category. In the original Shelbyville graveyard, there are relatively few of this group, partly because relatively few families could have afforded the elaborate individualized memorials, and partly because the dates of these markers from the late 1850s through the 1860s is the period in which the new city graveyard was established and burials were less frequent at the old site.

To facilitate detailed carving, marble was the material of choice for this category. Although marble gravemarkers exist across Bedford County, only the Cannon children's marker at Fairfield approaches the mass and elaborate decoration of the eclectic group in Shelbyville. Letitia McGrew's 1857 Shelbyville memorial would have been fashionable in contemporary major metropolitan areas. With its convex east and west faces, tightly curled symmetrical scrolls, and elaborate top ornament, its closest identified parallels are pieces of curved

and carved furniture of the same date that combine Renaissance Revival and Rococo styles.[115]

In addition to iconography mentioned previously in descriptions of specific gravemarkers, there are symbols in the old Shelbyville graveyard that are found across Bedford County from the late antebellum period into Reconstruction. A right hand with its index finger pointing to heaven, and an open book that may represent knowledge or wisdom, a Bible, or the book of life, are common motifs over several decades. Common symbolism suggests shared religious tenets across the county. Also instructive of the period's religious mindset is iconography that is absent from the original town burying ground and from county graveyards. Nowhere in Bedford County on a gravemarker of the Civil War era was there any representation of a cross. The majority of the population who were Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists avoided iconography associated with Roman Catholicism. For all denominations, the absence of crosses in graveyards may also have been a continuation of the theological aesthetic evident in their unadorned churches.

There is one category of gravemarker that would have been familiar in the Civil War era landscape but apparently has no intact examples in Bedford County. Gravehouses stand in neighboring Rutherford and Coffee Counties.

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[115]Metropolitan Museum of Art, *19th-Century America: Furniture and Other Decorative Arts* (New York: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1970), figures 129, 146, 148.

They are a characteristic of the culture of the Upland South described by Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, and Bedford County is at the heart of that culture.[116]

Gravehouses are shelters built over one or more graves. Typically they are wood with four corner posts supporting a gable or hipped roof with wood fencing or walls between the corner posts. Without continuous maintenance, their wood construction would have been subject to rapid deterioration. Their absence from the modern county landscape is probably because of decay, the custom of annual decoration days when rubbish is cleared from burial grounds, and the practice of replacing dilapidated gravemarkers with later, more fashionable forms.

The author examined the remains of a gravehouse in the churchyard of Crossroads Church in north central Bedford County. A rectangular stone footing in the ground carried a cedar sill to which were pegged two surviving substantial cedar corner posts with shaped tops. The corner posts had oval holes that would have held horizontal rails that supported vertical palings for the enclosure's sides. Evidence of wood pegs that secured rails to posts survived in holes of the corner posts. A pile of debris under the church appeared to include some of the shaped vertical palings. Another obvious corner post was at a distance in the same churchyard. It was not clear whether it was part of another gravehouse, or a missing post of the one examined.

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[116]Don Ball cited sources documenting construction of gravehouses in Coffee County, Tennessee in 1841 and 1858. Donald B. Ball, "An Alternate Hypothesis on the Origin of Upland South Gravehouses," *Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology* 23 (2008): 106; Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South,* 75-80.

Gravehouses would have been part of Bedford County's Civil War era landscape, but the remains at Crossroads Church are the only definite evidence. The example of that construction on a stone sill raises the possibility that stones in ground at other sites may indicate locations of gravehouses. At Enon Church, Greer Graveyard, and the New Hope churchyard at Fairfield, the rectangular patterns of in-ground stones end-to-end may have had the same purpose as the end-to-end stones of the gravehouse footing at Crossroads Church. The rectangular patterns are not obvious unless grounds are well mowed, so similar stones at other sites may have gone unnoticed.

The graveyard at New Hope Church in Fairfield has probably been in continuous use since the church organized in 1809. It is on a slight rise with burials facing east. Marked graves date from 1816 into the twenty-first century. The south portion of the churchyard is a large African American cemetery with a number of gravemarkers. Those examined were later than 1865.

It is not clear whether the site had African American graves in the Civil War era, but an African American Civil War family history is connected to the site. Robert L. Singleton, a Confederate veteran who lost a leg in the Battle of Stones River, is buried at New Hope. His father had freed family slaves in 1838. The son of a freedman, George Singleton, joined Robert in his Confederate army camp to help with camp duties and was with him when Robert was seriously wounded at Murfreesboro. George brought Robert home to Fairfield, then joined the Union

army and served for three years. His post-war soldier's pension supported his family and Robert's. He too is buried at New Hope.[117]

The site's continuous use at an active church for nearly two hundred years results in above average preservation of gravemarkers. With that period of use, there is a range of gravemarker types similar to the categories in Shelbyville. There is also strong indication of past replacement of gravemarkers with later styles or of the addition of markers to previously unmarked graves.

On what may be early graves in New Hope Churchyard, there are at least four variations of stacked stone markers. There are massive stacks with top slabs the size of a mattress; they are similar to stacks at Greer Graveyard on the far side of the county. There are stacks of multiple stepped courses that create a pyramidal end view. A third style of stone stack is the three-stepped course of stones larger than railroad ties with a coffin-shaped top stone.

The fourth type of stacked marker at New Hope differs from others in that in addition to three stepped courses of large semi-dressed stones, each grave in the Hord family group has a tripartite head and footstone in the lanceolate gothic style. That tripartite style in other graveyards has dates in the 1840s and 1850s, later than might be expected for stacked stones. However, one of the Hord graves has an 1825 date, and two have dates in the 1830s, suggesting the gothic tripartite markers are later additions to the stone stacks. Mary Hord's gothic

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[117]René Atwood Capley, *Bedford County Bicentennial: Celebrating the Past, 1807-2007* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 2007), 108-9.

marker has a death date of 1850, a date more consistent with that marker style at other sites. Her grave has a gothic tripartite head and footstone with some stone rubble between them, but there is less evidence at her grave of a massive stone stack than there is at the graves of her husband and two sons who died seventeen to twenty-five years before her. It may be that when Mary died, massive stone stacks were no longer a funereal custom. She was buried in her family group but without the out-of-fashion stacked stone marker, and perhaps the head and footstones in the currently-fashionable gothic tripartite fashion were added to stone stacks of her family members.

Other gravemarkers at Fairfield suggest that installation of memorials well after burials was an established practice, suggesting the need for caution by students of material culture who, without a number of similarly dated examples, cannot assume that death dates are contemporaneous with marker styles. Tall round tablets in a cluster near the south front of the church all have the same shape and approximate size. All appear to be the same work from one source. The layout of inscriptions is the same; wording and styles of letters are the same. They have the tall round tablet shape of gravemarkers found at other sites with dates in the second half of the nineteenth century: two markers of the same form at Crowell Chapel date from 1854 and 1874; one in Greer Graveyard has an 1867 date, and one in Rover's Simpson Cemetery has a date of 1869. The Fairfield markers, however, have dates from 1816 and 1822 to 1865. It is likely

that all the gravemarkers in the cluster were installed at one time, possibly for a family group, and probably near the time of the latest death date.

Other gravemarkers at New Hope are in the same combinations of styles and dates seen in Shelbyville's original graveyard. The 1831 memorial of H.R. and Huldah Green's infant daughter has the same tripartite form with extended haunches as the marker of John H. Galbreath, one of Shelbyville's early leaders who died in 1835. Box tombs have the same classical vertical reeding, oval panels, and carved sunbursts as in the burying ground at the county seat. Capped columns of the Classical Revival style are on graves with dates of 1852 and 1860. Matching the mid-century fashion in Shelbyville, graves of Thomas W. Mason and his wife Huldah have obelisks and dates of 1853 and 1857.

Although there are fewer examples of iconography in the New Hope Graveyard than in Shelbyville, motifs are the same as seen there and through the county. A lamb and a bouquet of flowers memorialize an infant less than a day old and a two-year-old girl respectively. The gravemarker for the toddler's brother who was not yet two at death, has the open book motif. A classical capped column dated 1860 has both oak leaves with acorns and a ribboned wreath.

Styles, dates, and iconography of gravemarkers in New Hope Churchyard parallel those in Shelbyville. In spite of the fact that Fairfield declined rapidly as a town and commercial center after construction of the railroad in 1852, through the Civil War era it had the same stylistic influences and access to material culture as the county seat.

The Greer Graveyard of approximately two acres is in southwestern Bedford County. Its public access is from Greer Road west of Richmond Pike (Highway 130) where the pike crosses Sugar Creek. On a slight rise that allows graves a clear view to the east, it overlooks Sugar Creek and the Shelbyville to Richmond Road that was an early route through the southwestern county to Lincoln County. The graveyard is within the 5,000-acre land grant claimed by Alexander Greer after his party surveyed the area in 1783. Based on a gravemarker showing death dates of 1805 and 1816 for two Greer daughters, Helen and Tim Marsh identified the site as the oldest marked burial ground in the county. They also indicate the old Sugar Creek Baptist Church was nearby.[118] Death dates in 1861 and 1865 on gravemarkers indicate the site was not only a historical feature of the Civil War era landscape, but it was still in use as a burial ground.

Within the larger graveyard, a thick double-walled enclosure of large stacked stones surrounds a number of Greer family graves, but not all Greer graves are within the wall. The thickness of the wall and the absence of an entrance for the enclosure suggest its purpose may have been to prevent damage to markers and graves by foraging animals. Other than the walled enclosure, there are no obvious family plots of the type that began to be popular during the rural cemetery movement in the mid-nineteenth century. In at least two areas away from the enclosure, ground stones are greatly disturbed by large

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[118]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 180.

trees and are hard to interpret. They may, however, originally have been laid in square or rectangular patterns that enclosed plots of one or two graves. Another possibility for the patterns of ground stones is that they were footings for gravehouses. Except for the walled enclosure and possible small perimeters of ground stones, as in Civil War era graveyards across Bedford County, the layout of burials appears to have been in ranks and files across the site. Burials have a common east-west axis. When present, headstones to the west indicate the living gave those interred a view to the east with the rising sun of the Resurrection.

Most of the visible gravemarkers enclosed by the thick stone wall have postbellum dates. Among the exceptions are two tall, narrow, round tablet markers with floral motifs in high relief that memorialize three Greer daughters. One marker is for Elizabeth Greer, who died in 1805 at the age of nineteen months, and Mary B. Greer, who died at age fifteen in 1816. The second marker is for Eglantine C. Greer, who died at age five in 1816. Elizabeth's 1805 death date being recorded on the same marker as Mary's 1816 date is the basis for identifying this site as the county's oldest marked burying ground.

The form and decorative motifs of the two markers raise questions about their dates of origin. The shape, proportions, and decorations do not have parallels in other county graveyards of the Civil War era examined for this study. A query posted in the online newsletter for members of the Association for Gravesone Studies did not receive any response on a known parallel for the markers' form and decoration or on the probable date of the markers'

manufacture. It is likely that these markers are not original to the death dates inscribed on them and that they are later installations. Since the earlier marker date, 1805, was the first year settlement in the area was open to Euro-Americans, there is also a possibility that the Greer infant died and was interred elsewhere, but was memorialized later with other family members when the graveyard was established after the family settled near the site.

Although the two unusual gravemarkers for the three Greer girls have the same form, layout, and decorative elements, there is a significant difference between them in the quality of execution of stone cutting and sculpting. That raises additional doubts about their contemporaneity. Assuming death dates were correctly recorded on the markers, Eglantine Greer died at age five on April 21, 1816. Her gravemarker is skillfully executed with a sculpted scroll and flowers, and a crisply cut inscription.

In contrast, the marker that memorializes infant Elizabeth, who died nearly eleven years earlier, and fifteen year old Mary, who died eight days after Eglantine, is a poorly executed attempt to copy the motifs on Eglantine's stone. The scroll and flowers are undoubtedly the same subjects but are poorly rendered. Since it is more logical that the poorly worked motifs copied quality work than that a skilled stone worker copied a poor quality gravemarker installed eleven years earlier, there is support for the idea that the marker with an 1805 death date was not created until 1816 or later.

In other graveyards throughout Bedford County, markers with death dates in the first quarter of the nineteenth century have plain inscriptions without decorative motifs. The carved flowers on the Greer girls' markers are more romantic and sentimental than usual for markers dating from 1805 to 1816. They are closer to carved flowers on markers of the second half of the nineteenth century, raising questions about their dates of origin.

The cautions about dates of origin that these two markers raise are important in considering gravemarkers generally and in relying on their dates when considering trends in forms and iconography. Although it is a logical assumption, there is no certainty that extant markers were installed near their burial dates. Markers may date much later than their death dates if they replace original markers of wood, if they were added to older gravemarkers like field stones or stacked stones that had no inscriptions, or if families replaced and upgraded markers with changes in fashion. While gravemarkers are valuable sources for historical information and material culture studies, the first impressions they present may be misleading. As with any primary source of historical information, it is necessary to consider gravemarkers critically for their contexts and for unintended as well as intended information they convey.

The Greer Graveyard was long out of use and heavily overgrown with large trees and brush. Grazing livestock, heavy mowing machinery, and vandals seriously damaged and displaced many gravemarkers. Bob Finney, a nearby resident, has cleared brush and old fencing making the graveyard accessible and

gravemarkers more visible.[119] Vinca minor, originally started as a ground cover,

and deep leaf mold obscure a number of toppled gravemarkers inside the

stacked-stone enclosure. Outside the stone walls are a number of unmarked or

illegible in situ gravemarkers and toppled and displaced markers that probably

date from earliest use of the site as a burial ground to 1900.

There are a number of massive stacked-stone graves that have top slabs

with the dimensions of twin-bed mattresses. Locals explain graves covered by

massive stones as efforts to keep free-range hogs from digging in graves. Dr.

Gerald Smith, who has conducted research on burial grounds of southern Middle

Tennessee, says that theory may be correct in some cases, but it is an

insufficient explanation for the wide distribution of the type. He also speculates

the large stacks may have been status symbols. He suggests dates in the 1830s

for stacked stone markers of the type in the Greer Graveyard.[120] At least two of

the stacked-stone gravemarkers there have headstones, but their inscriptions are

illegible and do not help date the type of marker.

The unidentified graves with stacked-stone markers may date from the

first decade of the site's use as a burial ground. If Elizabeth Greer's 1805 marker

records a burial there, it, with the 1914 marker of Letsey Robinson, document a

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[119]During the author's two visits to the Greer Graveyard, Bob Finney provided valuable information on the recent history of the site, pointed out toppled gravemarkers hidden by ground cover, and helped read faint inscriptions.

[120]Gerald Smith, personal communication with Jane Townes, 21 March and 8 April 2011.

graveyard in continuous use for over one hundred years. With that span of time, the Greer Graveyard offers examples of several forms of gravemarkers frequently seen across the county. Probably later than the massive rough or semi-dressed stacked-stone markers and a refinement of that type are markers of cleanly dressed stones roughly the size of railroad ties. There is disturbed evidence of this type of marker at the Greer site. These stones often have smooth flat surfaces with sharp corners and are usually found stacked in steps. Typically, three stones side by side at ground level have a second step of two stones laid over the two seams of the ground stones, and a third top stone along the seam of the second level of stones. Viewed from the end, these stacks are low stepped pyramids. Usually, like the massive stacked-stone markers, they have no inscriptions.

Joseph and Annie Morton's markers have a variation of the stepped stone railroad tie markers. With heavy ground cover, their markers appear to be single thick dressed ground stones of railroad tie size. However, when vegetation dies to bare ground in winter, the Morton markers appear to have a lower course of stone ties visible in the ground at each side of the top stone. Both the Mortons have head stones, and Annie has an initialed footstone.

If Joseph's death date is contemporary with his marker, that form dates to 1865. Visible with it in the Civil War era landscape of the Greer Graveyard would have been a variety of tablet markers with round, flat, and segmental arch tops. Four flat tablets document the deaths of four male Greer children in five years,

1849-1854, an indication of a high rate of child mortality. Carved roundels, each with a sleeping lamb, are on two of the Greer boys' tablets. Lambs occur on gravemarkers at a number of Bedford County sites. They are usually on graves of infants or young children as symbols of innocence.

Other iconography common to the Greer Graveyard and sites across Bedford County are the low relief willow tree on Rachel Greer's 1848 tablet and an urn in a roundel on James McKissick Greer's tablet with an 1837 death date. The latter tablet may have been installed later than its death date, but may still have been part of the Civil War era landscape because its flat top and roundel with carving are common on memorials that date from the mid-nineteenth century. Oak leaves on the urn and its pine cone finial are motifs frequently found on county gravemarkers indicating either the last requests of the dead, or more likely their survivors' iconic tributes. Oak leaves symbolize a number of virtues including honor and strength in the Christian faith, and the pine cone represents immortality.[121]

During the Civil War, the burying grounds of Bedford County recorded the human toll of conflict in the area. In Shelbyville's original graveyard is "@ [sic] Soldier's Rest, Robert L. Blackwell Aged 22 years, Confederate Soldier Resting from Battle Near Murfreesboro, Dec. 31 1862 Giving Life & Home for You." Near Wartrace, local historians Helen and Tim Marsh recorded "Dr. John K. Phillips,

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[121] Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (New York: MJF Books, 2004), 62-64.

Capt. Of Co. 2nd Arka. Regt. C.S.A., Born Feb 22, 1831, Killed in the Charge of his Regt. At the Battle of Franklin, Tenn. Nov 30, 1864, War is honorable in those who do their native rights maintain." Not all war-related local deaths were connected to official military action. Near the western edge of the county, where unionist and secessionist sentiments were often in conflict, is a marker for "Jacob Molder, Born Jan 21, 1806 and hanged by bushwackers near this spot during the Civil War.[122] It is not clear whether these three markers are contemporary with their death dates or were post-war installations, but they indicate an early tendency to romantically memorialize the Confederate war dead. Across the county are a number of other markers inscribed only with names and Confederate military units. It is possible that they mark graves of war dead, but without dates, there is no confirmation.

Many of the Civil War era graveyards of Bedford County continued in use for decades after the war. Post-war gravemarkers of Confederate veterans made it clear that military service was the defining experience of their lives. Their late nineteenth and early twentieth-century markers have names with birth and death dates and specify their military units. More than five decades after the war, Stephens F. Roberts's epitaph in Holt Cemetery confirms his identity as "A Confederate Soldier." For J.T. Barton, buried in Fairfield's New Hope Churchyard

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[122]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records*, 79, 162.

in 1899, it was as important to be remembered as "A Confederate Soldier" as it was to be a "Husband, a faithful Christian."[123]

Evidence of the power and longevity of Confederate sentiment explain the veneration of the Confederate dead manifested in memorialization of the dead and of the Lost Cause soon after the war. By December 1867, a Bedford County Monumental Society had plans to collect Confederate dead from hundreds of graves scattered across the county and give them "decent burial" in a "more desirable situation." The society petitioned the Mayor and Alderman of Shelbyville for one acre "somewhere in [the] new city cemetery." By spring 1868 relocation of 586 sets of remains to the new burial site in the county seat was underway. Thirty years later, efforts of local veterans and the Daughters of Confederate Veterans placed a monument at the site that became known as the Confederate Square at Willow Mount Cemetery.[124]

The request for a burial site for soldiers in the city *cemetery* indicates that a shift in thinking away from *graveyard* occurred during the Civil War era. Numerous graveyards, however, survive across the county and provide an informative source on the period's cultural landscape. Largely ignored except for genealogical information that was intentionally recorded, gravemarkers also provide valuable unintended information. The dates of graveyards' first burials indicate that all parts of Bedford County were populated when the Civil War

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[123]Marsh and Marsh, *Cemetery Records,* 136, 327.

[124]Turrentine, "Willow Mount Cemetery," 65-69.

began. Countywide, that population shared a consistent eschatology, similar access to goods, and a common material culture.

Bedford County's public spaces provided a common cultural landscape for the county's residents. Agricultural markets and public business were conducted on the courthouse square while the stores and professional offices surrounding the courthouse offered a range of goods and services. The industrial landscape provided a market for agricultural products of county residents and a source of income for working men and women, skilled workers, and investors. In Shelbyville and in rural towns, public schools and private academies offered educational opportunities. The recollections of Civil War veterans suggested at least a basic education was widely available. While the church buildings in Shelbyville reflected an overall economic prosperity of their congregations, the number of churches across the county indicated a shared commitment to providing places for worship. Most reflective of a common material culture were the gravemarkers with styles shared across the county.

CHAPTER FIVE

BEDFORD COUNTY'S PRIVATE LANDSCAPES

Bedford County's private spaces are an important resource for understanding the Civil War era landscape. They were not just scenery on a period stage. In many cases, private spaces were participants in the war. Soldiers re-shod their mounts at the log farmstead of the Crowell family on Duck River in the western county. Farrar family history reports a Confederate ancestor hid from Union soldiers in a chimney recess of his frame house near Flat Creek. The large frame house of the secessionist Friersons (later Caperton house) in Shelbyville was confiscated by US troops and rented to a Union loyalist. Alexander Eakin's brick home on the Murfreesboro Pike north of Shelbyville housed Confederate soldiers. Widow Lucretia Eakin sent Union officers "double quick" from her relatively new brick home in Shelbyville, but she housed Confederate Generals A.S. Johnson and William Hardee. Across the street, at different times, the family of Laura Cowan entertained both Confederate and US soldiers at meals and in their parlor.[1]

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[1] Randall Crowell, personal communication with Jane Townes, 18 October 2008; Ike Farrar, personal communication with Jane Townes, 26 May 2009; "Asst. Commissioner Relating to Restoration of Property, 1865-68." National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, microfilm, 1969, microfilm 32, reel 44 (D-K), Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; Eliza L. Cowan Atwood (1835-1895), "Diaries, 1862-1863," Atwood Collection, Archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO. Because the diary included only the month of January in 1863, all dates given without a year are

In the towns and along the roads of Bedford County, it is still possible to see examples of the private spaces that were part of the cultural landscape of the Civil War era. To some extent, it is also possible to consider lost landscapes and no longer existing material culture through documentary references to them. Since numerous extant homes and barns of the period, some with their domestic or agricultural outbuildings, are only a fraction of the number standing between 1860 and 1865, they are evidence of a rich and varied material culture of that period. In some cases, like obvious log construction or Flemish bond brickwork, the fabric of buildings identifies them as survivors from the antebellum period. In other cases, plans like dogtrot, saddlebag, hall-and-parlor, or I-houses and transverse crib barns draw attention to buildings raised before 1865. Individually and in combination, construction and stylistic features like massive stone end chimneys or paired interior brick chimneys, steeply pedimented porch covers, three-bay facades, and central entries with transom and side lights alert a windshield surveyor to buildings standing during the Civil War. In addition to extant buildings as sources for the 1860-1865 landscape, some contemporary buildings that have not survived physically can be interpreted from old photographs and information in period documents.

Taken together, Bedford County's Civil War era private spaces still visible in windshield surveys and those lost but recorded, or at least reported, are a

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1862. Diary entries concerning soldiers in the Cowan and Eakin homes are 23, 28 February, 1, 5, 27 March, 12 May, 30 June, 16 November, 4 January, 1863.

varied lot. A number of the survivors are now unique in the county, but each may be a single surviving example of ordinary buildings in the landscape of the 1860s. Three broad construction categories—log, frame, and brick—facilitate discussion of a varied architectural landscape. Examples of each category selected for discussion indicate both consistency in architectural influences across Bedford County and variety in interpretation of those influences.

Log Buildings

The first Euro-Americans who settled in Bedford County and those who came after them for several decades had the same primary concerns, creating shelter and clearing land for agricultural, industrial, and communal uses. Since virgin forest covered much of the county and limestone outcrops were in even the best soils, clearing land made logs and stones readily and inexpensively available building materials. Construction with logs was quicker and cheaper than framing with sawn lumber or building with brick even after sawpits, sawmills, and kiln sites were widely available.

From earliest settlement to approximately 1840, most domestic and agricultural buildings countywide were log construction.[2] Because of the economy and efficiency of building with logs, they continued as a primary building material, particularly for small structures like outbuildings, even after lumber was readily

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[2]Michael Gavin advised that most Middle Tennessee log houses predate 1840 although they continued in widespread use until much later. Michael Gavin, personal communication with Jane Townes, October 2007.

available. Extant log buildings in all parts of Bedford County are evidence that they were common characteristics of the cultural landscape through and well after 1865. The number of log buildings still occupied as modern comfortable residences is evidence of the viability, durability, and livability of log construction.

Log buildings are frequently found during windshield surveys along county roads. With practice and familiarity with their usual footprints, fenestration, and chimney placements, it is also possible to identify probable log buildings concealed by modern siding and additions. During the school year 2007-2008, the Bedford County 4-H Technology Club identified, recorded, and mapped a number of log houses, barns and outbuildings on at least fifteen different properties.[3] Even without a systematic search, the author located two dozen more log buildings, many still in use, suggesting that they are still common in the county's cultural landscape.

Across Bedford County there was consistency in the use of log construction, but there was variety in the types and sizes of log buildings. As would be expected with individual builders with different origins, construction details differed among buildings. Terry Jordan-Bychkov described small single-

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[3]Members of the 2007-2008 Bedford County 4-H Technology Club were Daniel Ferrell, Rory Ferrell, Bernadette Murillo, Fatima Murillo, and Godwin Murillo. Carol Ferrell was the adult leader of the group. Their records of Bedford County log buildings with GPS coordinates, maps, photographs, and measured drawings, hereafter cited as 4-H Technology Club Records, are in the author's research files and in the files of the Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

pen log corncribs with wide roof overhangs over one long wall as a "typical outbuilding throughout the Upland South."[4] Surviving examples, some still in use for storage, exist from Flat Creek in southern Bedford County to the Wartrace area, and west of the Murfreesboro Pike near the northern county line. At the far extreme from the small corncribs were imposing two-story dogtrot houses, an example of which stood until recently on Big Springs Road near the northern county line. That building had the same plan as a typical one-story dogtrot house, but it had greater width and length. Its construction left open dogtrots on both floors, but siding may have enclosed the open area of the second floor.

Between the extremes of small corncrib and large two-story dogtrot house were numerous one or one-and-a half-story dogtrot and one and two-pen log houses. A one-and a-half-story log dogtrot survives on the western Bedford County property of Randall Crowell, whose ancestor Samuel Crowell had established a seat on the property by 1824 when he was authorized to build a milldam nearby.[5] Features shared by that house and log houses in other parts of the county suggest typical uses of living space. The Crowell house, a one-pen log house moved from Flat Creek by Lauren Hayes, and a two-pen log house

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[4]Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2003), 45.

[5]*Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Murfreesborough, TN: J. Norvell & G.A. & A.C. Sublett, 1824), 86-87.

occupied by Vivia and Jimmy Fletcher in Fairfield all have an enclosed corner stair with triangular treads that turn the stair to reach the half story above while taking up a minimum amount of space on the first floor. The Crowell and Hayes houses and a now uninhabitable single-pen log house on the Fly farm west of Shelbyville on Lewisburg Pike all have or had wide gable-end chimneys built with large semi-dressed stones.[6] The size of the chimneys accommodated wide fireplaces with hearths that extended three feet or more into the ground-floor rooms to provide large heating and cooking areas. Although they were built in different parts of the county, both the Hayes and Fletcher houses have heavy ceiling beams that were chamfered and scored along their lengths to improve their interior appearances.

Three corner notching techniques were common on extant log buildings in Bedford County—saddle, half-dovetail, and V-notching. Saddle notches with

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[6]While trying to locate and examine log buildings in Bedford County, the author benefited greatly from the generosity and hospitality of owners and occupants who welcomed a stranger with a camera to their homes or property and spent time discussing their buildings' histories. Randall Crowell made his remarkable log farmstead available to the author and shared his knowledge of the site's history. Lauren Hayes welcomed photography of her home and shared information on its construction details. After a serendipitous meeting, Vivia Fletcher opened the log core of her home to the author who would not have been aware of it with only its additions visible from the exterior. Joe Fly and Linda Fly allowed free access to their property to examine a standing house and stored logs of another building. Joe Farrar graciously spent an afternoon guiding the author to log and other Civil War era buildings in the Flat Creek area, and pointing out the otherwise inaccessible Pearson graveyard. Angie and Thomas Coop were kind enough to open the log core of their home to an unexpected visitor.

round or semi-round logs require less time and work dressing logs and fitting notches. That technique occurs frequently across the county in barns and small utility buildings. Neither the 4-H survey team nor the author observed saddle notches in houses. Half-dovetail and V-notches occur in houses and barns, but the half-dovetail was the most frequently observed notch in houses. The Crowell dogtrot and the Hayes and Fly single-pen houses have half-dovetail notches. However, a large log barn close to the Crowell house and probably contemporaneous with it has V-notches. Similarly, multiple notching techniques occur in close proximity in a cluster of probably contemporaneous buildings on the author's property near Wartrace. A one-and-half-story log core of a large frame barn may have been constructed as a house. It has V-notches while a few feet away, a corncrib and a larger outbuilding have half-dovetail notches. The northern Bedford County log home of James Spence was probably built in two phases in the 1820s, and it has two types of notches. It is a two-story single pen with half-dovetail notches connected by a dogtrot to a one-story single pen that has V-notched logs.[7]

The log house and barn that were probably built by Samuel Crowell are part of a unique surviving complex of log buildings that exemplifies an early farmstead in continuous use through the Civil War. In addition to the house and barn, the structures include a smokehouse and storage building in the yard of the

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[7] 4-H Technology Club Records.

house and three small buildings in the barnyard. There is also evidence of a

spring or well and a cistern.

The Crowell dogtrot may date to the first decade of settlement in Bedford

County.[8] Each of its two log pens which are connected by a dogtrot with a

pegged wooden floor, had a large stone chimney in its gable end. To enlarge and

update the house, the chimney ,of one pen of the log building was removed and

relocated to its side wall. That end of the log house became the first floor of a

two-story frame addition on an axis perpendicular to the original log house. The

frame addition became a new five-ranked principal façade. It had a two-tiered

vernacular Greek Revival portico with square columns and pilasters. A double-

leaf paneled door opened into a hall approximately ten feet wide that adjoined

and ran parallel to the original log house for its full length thus increasing the

footprint of the house by approximately 50%. Across the wide entry hall from the

original ground-floor log room, the addition further increased the footprint of the

house with a parlor below the new second floor living space. The parlor, with a

large wood fireplace surround and mantle, was the most fashionable of the first-

floor rooms. Door and window treatments in that room were unrefined classical

wood frames with ears.

By the Civil War, the original Crowell log house had its frame addition and

was probably covered, like the addition with the siding that is now evident. The

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house would therefore have appeared to be a roomy Greek Revival ell-shaped

home (figure 9). The construction history of this house is typical of the long use,

adaptations, and stylistic modifications seen in other early residences in Bedford

County, many of which would have been part of the Civil War era landscape.

Some early log homes built for shelter and security were enlarged as families

expanded and resources increased. With additions and exterior treatments that

addressed necessities of space and architectural fashions, the 1860-1865

landscape would have been a mix of residential types.

Figure 9. Crowell House, log dogtrot incorporated into frame addition, photograph by author.

The ninety-degree reorientation of the front of the Crowell house also

indicates a shift in the thinking of its occupants about their home site. The original

log dogtrot house faced the large log barn and the barnyard outbuildings, making

the residence part of the work site. The Greek Revival addition faced the access

road to the home site. Although the barn could still be seen on a diagonal from

the new front door, it was not central to the view. Visitors to the new front of the

house arrived at a classical columned portico instead of standing on a step with

their backs to the barn.

The Crowell barn (figure 10) may be the best-preserved log barn in

Bedford County. It has a large footprint and the characteristics that

Figure 10. Crowell log barn, photograph by author.

Terry Jordan-Bychkov used to define a transverse-crib barn typical of mixed farming in the Upland South: "(1) gables facing front and rear; (2) a central through-passage runway directly beneath the roof ridge and having wagon access at both ends; (3) four to ten cribs (most typically [as in the Crowell barn] six) situated on either side of the runway; (4) a loft positioned above the cribs; and (5) multipurpose functions, including at a minimum a threefold division among granaries, stalls...and hay storage." The Crowell barn has a roof projection at the top of the gable end that may be a forerunner of a hay hood or hay bonnet. Jordan-Bychkov found the same roof projection and loft access doors sized and positioned like those in the Bedford County barn in other examples in his study area.[9]

The 4-H survey team and the author found other transverse-crib log barns in several areas of Bedford County. With differences in size and numbers of cribs, they are variations on the plan of the Crowell barn. Also found are variations on a four-crib plan with crossing runways. A barn of that type on the west side of Liberty Pike near the Rutherford County line has four distinct cribs under one roof. Its shorter cross aisle or runway has been closed by boards to make two additional cribs. Enclosed runways or dogtrots and protective siding obscure the log construction of a number of barns, outbuildings, and houses,

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[9]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 46-47.

raising the possibility that extant log buildings are much more numerous in Bedford County than those that have been identified.

Frame Buildings

Log buildings were undoubtedly part of local townscapes as well as rural sites, perhaps as late as the Civil War. However, by 1860, most of Shelbyville's surviving log buildings had probably been replaced by or incorporated into frame buildings that, like the Crowell house addition, concealed the original logs. Lisa C. Tolbert's description of Murfreesboro's shift by midcentury to frame and brick construction probably applies to Shelbyville as well.[10] The only Civil War era buildings there that this author could associate with log construction were frame buildings that included logs, enclosed older log houses, or had an older log house on the property.[11] By 1835 when the Frierson-Coble-Caperton house (Caperton house) was built, frame construction was well advanced in Shelbyville.[12]

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[10]Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 36-37.

[11]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors to the Past: Homes of Shelbyville and Bedford County* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 1969), 20, 22, 32.

[12]The author enjoyed the hospitality of Holty Caperton who graciously permitted photography in her home and fielded questions about its history. Forms with information nominating Bedford County sites to the National Register of Historic Places are not yet available online. The author is grateful to Christine H. Messing of the National Register Archives who made the forms for some of the county's sites temporarily available. Andrea L. Stewart and R. Paul Cross,

The Caperton house has been continuously occupied and unusually well maintained since its construction. It retains a high degree of integrity of original materials and features so it is a good starting point for study of frame buildings in Shelbyville. The house is a three-ranked, two-story frame residence with end gables. In execution of the Greek Revival style, the Caperton house is more refined than the Crowell house addition. However, a similar stylistic influence on the two buildings is clear. Additionally, both the country home of a miller and farmer in western Bedford County, and a lawyer's home in the county seat have principal entries with two-tiered pedimented Greek Revival porticoes with square Doric columns and pilasters. Both also have double-leaf paneled doors opening into wide halls (figure 11). On each side of the hall, both houses have the same arrangement of rooms typical of I-houses, one room on each side of the hall on each floor. Unlike the Crowell house with its gable-end chimneys, however, the Caperton house has two interior chimneys that accommodate fireplaces in each room in the main block of the house. Wings extend from each end of the rear of the basic I-house. They appear as part of the house's footprint on the Beers Map of 1878 so they may have existed as early as 1865.[13] A wide cross-hall that connects the two wings intersects the main entry hall.

Frierson-Coble House Nomination Form, National Register of Historic Places Archives, 1982.

[13]D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," reproduction, possession of author.

The Caperton house faces west to Jefferson Street and across the street

to the gable end of the first brick church built by the Presbyterians in 1825. The

first and second-floor front porches of the house have square Doric columns with

Figure 11. Caperton House, west entrance, photograph by author.

bases and caps. Pairs of columns stand at the front porch corners, and thinner

matching pilasters flank a wide door surround of raised horizontal panels, and

reeded molding framing sidelights, transom, and door. Sidelights are four glass

panes over a molded wood base. The large rectangular transom has small

square panes set diagonally in thin muntins.

The molding around elements of the entry has bulls-eye corner blocks.

The same trim frames the original three-part windows and interior doors and

windows. Bulls-eye corner blocks also occur on interior window frames of the

church across the street that was built approximately ten years before the

Caperton house. There are bull's-eye corner blocks in an abandoned building of

unknown date near Wartrace as well. The same detail of door and window trim is

familiar to the author in buildings in Virginia's Shennandoah Valley and its

Tidewater region. The widespread occurrence of this trim detail suggests that

Bedford County builders were part of an aesthetic continuity and followed

standards from experience or perhaps from widely circulated pattern books.

Gothic Revival lancet arches that trim the Caperton porch columns and

pilasters probably postdate the war and may have resulted from fashion

upgrades in the neighborhood. The one-and-a-half-story frame Moorman cottage

that stands close to the Caperton house, and which also probably dates to the

1830s, has six square columns on the front edge of a long veranda. They are

similar to the columns on the Caperton house and also have applied lancet

arches as trim. The Moorman cottage also has a raised panel surround at the

entry and similar interior flooring of wide poplar boards with square nails similar

to the Caperton house.[14]

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[14]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 12.

Built within ten years of each other, the two houses, the 1825 Presbyterian Church close to both, and the 1831 Methodist Church a block away mark a phase of Shelbyville's expansion of substantial residential and public buildings away from the public square and to the eastern boundaries of the original one hundred acre town. That expansion occurred along the route of, and at the same time as, construction of the Shelbyville-Murfreesboro Turnpike. The improved road probably contributed to the desirability of the lots three to four blocks from the center of town and influenced the construction of the two churches and a number of large homes in the neighborhood between 1825 and 1860.

Similarly, after an 1848 legislative act establishing the Shelbyville and Skull Camp Ford Turnpike and Bridge Company authorized improvements to a road running from the southeast corner of the county seat toward Flat Creek, that street began to develop with imposing frame and brick homes and became known as High Street, later Belmont Avenue.[15] Several frame houses along Belmont survive from the Civil War era and indicate the street was then an impressive neighborhood. In spite of their numerous alterations and various degrees of disrepair, the extant frame houses share characteristics of orientation to the turnpike built after 1848, considerable mass, and a wide range of Greek Revival elements. All have, or had, columns and pilasters of various types from single-story fluted shafts with Ionic capitals to two-story Doric square columns.

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[15]*Acts of the State of Tennessee 1847-8 Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly for the Years 1847-8* (Jackson, TN: Gates & Parker, 1848), 249-50; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 35-41.

Some retain sidelights and glazed transoms at their entries. Together the buildings on Belmont Avenue and those in proximity to the Caperton house suggest that Greek Revival was the predominant stylistic influence in Shelbyville's Civil War townscape.

Frame residences with considerable mass and Greek Revival elements were found not just in the county seat; they were also features of the Civil War era landscape countywide. In 1855, from the balcony of his Greek Revival home near Richmond in the southwestern county, Meredith P. Gentry, a local Whig with both a state and national reputation, announced his candidacy for Governor of Tennessee in opposition to Andrew Johnson. The staging of his announcement would have been impressive, with Gentry on the second-floor balcony beneath a pedimented front porch roof, framed by full-height square Doric columns and pilasters and full sidelights and transom. Gentry's "Hillside" was an I-house with a large two-story extension to the rear that roughly doubled the footprint of the front I-house. A side entrance also had Greek Revival treatment of its one-story porch.[16]

The Gentry house burned in the late 1950s, but two extant Civil War era homes and a third house that may pre-date the war stand in different parts of Bedford County to demonstrate a consistency in house type and style across the

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[16]Monte Arnold, ed., *Shelbyville Times-Gazette Sesquicentennial Historical Edition* (Shelbyville, TN: Shelbyville Times-Gazette, 7 October 1969), 55; Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 62.

county. In the 1840s, James Franklin Farrar built a house near Flat Creek in the southern county. Both the house and an associated barn built around 1850 are still in use by the Farrar family.[17] At about the same time, at the Marshall County line in the western county, James Thomas Montgomery built a similar house at Palmetto Farm.[18] West of Fairfield in eastern Bedford County, another I-house documents a widespread similarity in the Civil War era residential landscape.[19]

When it was built in the 1840s, the Farrar house was on the road to Lynchburg. However, later road improvements shifted the roadbed of what became Highway 82 a short distance to the east, leaving the house fronting the original narrow road. Relocation of the road was advantageous because both the Farrar house and the barn built in the 1850s are on the edges of the original road and would have been destroyed if that had been the one widened for the highway. In a pattern seen in other early county farmsteads, the house and barn front opposite sides of the road with a slight offset so the two buildings do not face each other directly, but each has a clear view of the other. Fronting the road,

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[17]Ike Farrar graciously opened his home and barn for photography, shared the history of the Farrar property and the Flat Creek area, and pointed out Civil War era buildings in southern Bedford County.

[18]Bedford County Historical Society, Doors, 83. Forms with information nominating Bedford County sites to the National Register of Historic Places are not yet available online. The author is grateful to Christine H. Messing of the National Register Archives who made the forms for some of the county's sites temporarily available. Richard Quin, Palmetto Farm Nomination Form, National Register of Historic Places Archives, 1985.

[19]The author has not identified ownership of the I-house in the Fairfield area. It is on the south side of Fairfield Pike, just west of the CSX railroad.

both buildings are easily accessible, and proximity and the line of sight between the house and barn affords protection for the farmstead's most valuable outbuilding by occupants of the nearby house.

The Farrar house is a two-story frame I-house with a two-story rear ell, a portion of which is an early twentieth-century addition. The original block has a three-bay façade with a shouldered brick chimney in each gable end. The central bay has full-height square columns supporting a pedimented portico above the ground-floor entrance and the second story balcony that has a millwork balustrade and a door to the upper hall. The double-leaf exterior doors on each floor have sidelights characteristic of Greek Revival houses across Bedford County. In contrast to the overlapping weatherboard siding of the side bays, siding of the central bay under the pediment has flush board siding creating a large focal point around the entrance of the house . Both the pediment and the cornice have simply executed curved brackets. Each side bay has one six-over-six window flanked by vertical wood panels. Those panels replaced vertical sidelights of original three-part windows similar to those in the Caperton house.

The interior plan of the Farrar house is typical of I-houses, having a central hall with a stair to the second floor and one room on each side of the hall on each floor. The rear ell added two rooms per floor. The Civil War era rooms retain original woodwork including wide ash and poplar floorboards, high plain baseboards, wood mantels above simple pilasters, and wide two-panel doors

with central stiles. The entrance hall has horizontal wainscoting with a wide chair rail. Doorframes have plain moldings.[20]

Behind the Farrar house and close by for supervision from the house, two original outbuildings document layout of a domestic and agricultural site of the Civil War era. One is a smokehouse that accommodates two hundred hams. The other is an apple house for storage of orchard products. Both are simple one-room frame buildings, each with an entrance in its gable end.[21]

The farmstead's principal outbuilding, the barn across the road from the house, dates from the early 1850s and is remarkably well built and maintained. Together, the barn, smokehouse, and apple house are descriptors of what Terry Jordan-Bychkov called "upland southern mixed farming." The Farrar barn is very large with all the characteristics Jordan-Bychkov uses to define a three-portal transverse-crib barn that is "exclusively and uniquely an upland southern type": gables front and rear, a central passage runway beneath the ridge, wagon access at both ends, multiple cribs each side of the runway, a hayloft over the cribs, and spaces for multiple uses (hay storage, stalls, gear storage, etc.).[22]

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[20]Descriptive details of the Farrar house are from the author's photographs and field notes and from Lynn Hulan, *Farrar Homeplace Nomination Form,* National Register of Historic Places Archives, 1990.

[21]Ike Farrar, personal communication with Jane Townes, 26 May 2009.

[22]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South,* 43-45, 47, 54.

The barn has a skillfully executed queen post truss system with tall vertical posts extending from the ground to purlins above a high hayloft. Braces and pegged joints are visible. The tall ground-to-roof posts and other wood members have chamfered corners creating the appearance of a light, almost graceful framing system.[23] The skilled construction, attention to detail, and large size of the Farrar barn attest to its importance on the Civil War era farmstead.

Markedly similar to the Farrar house in southern Bedford County is the house at Palmetto Farm on the Lewisburg Pike on the western county line. Built in the 1840s, it also is a two-story frame I-house with an ell and a three-bay façade with a shouldered brick chimney in each gable end.[24] It too has a central bay with full-height square columns supporting a Greek Revival pedimented portico over a ground-floor entrance and a second story balcony door.

Decorative elements of the Palmetto house are more elaborate than the Farrar house. Its columns have vertical molding and molded caps. Its balcony balustrade has elaborate fretwork, and its exterior doors on both floors have transom as well as sidelights. The doors and surrounding lights are set in compound moldings with square corner blocks.

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[23]The Farrar barn is in southern Bedford County near the Moore County line. At the opposite end of the county between Fairfield and the Coffee County line, another large barn also closely fronting an old road has a similar framing system with ground-to-roof posts. It does not have chamfered corners on framing elements and is therefore less attractive than the Farrar barn, but it is evidence of common practices in barn framing and siting across the county.

[24]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 83.

The Palmetto house retains a considerable degree of original character and material integrity. As expected for an I-house, two large rooms flank a central stair hall on both floors. Local woods including ash, poplar, cedar, oak and walnut were used in the house. Wood floors, high baseboards, and large wood fireplace surrounds and mantles survive.

Several structures survive in the house yard to describe the landscape of domestic activity. Although they may be contemporary with original house construction, dates of the smokehouse, and cistern with icehouse are uncertain. If not original to the house, they probably are replacements for earlier structures serving the same purposes in the same locations.

A once detached log kitchen, now clad with wood siding, was the original house on the site. It was a single-pen log house with a stone chimney at the gable end.[25] In continuous use as a home or part of a larger house since its construction in the 1840s, the Palmetto log kitchen typifies histories of residential sites and buildings across Bedford County. At many sites, the first residences, often log buildings, were added to or replaced with frame or brick buildings. As was the case at the Crowell farmstead where a frame addition with Greek Revival elements was added to a log building, original residences continued in use as part of expanded and improved homes, or as domestic outbuildings. The survival of such buildings through the Civil War era is indicative of a practical, adaptive

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[25]Quin, *Palmetto Farm Nomination Form.*

reuse of buildings and a tendency for home sites to evolve with changes in owners' family or economic circumstances.

Another I-house in a third part of Bedford County also has a log building at its rear suggesting a long and evolving occupancy of the site. Located a short distance west of the CSX railroad and facing the south side of Fairfield Pike, the two-story house with three bays may pre-date the Civil War. Like the other houses considered, its rooms on each floor flank a central hall. It has Greek Revival elements, including double-leaf doors on both floors that have transoms and sidelights.

With a footprint and façade similar to the Caperton house in Shelbyville and the Farrar and Palmetto houses, this I-house has more elaborate columns and pilasters than the other houses. Its pedimented portico has full-height fluted square columns and pilasters with elevated bases and tall compound caps. Although the columns and pilasters are more elaborate than those at the other houses, they are still square. There is a preponderance of square elements across the county, and the author is unable to date extant round columns and pilasters to 1865 or before with any certainty. Either square elements were a common aesthetic choice for the Greek Revival buildings across Bedford County, or perhaps round columns and pilasters were more difficult than skillful execution of square elements and beyond the skill of local workmen.

It is not only the large two-story I-houses across the county that indicate the Greek Revival style was prevalent in the Civil War landscape. A number of

less imposing one and one-and-a-half story houses had similar but smaller

footprints and similar stylistic elements. On a number of county roads there are

houses with original three-bay facades like I-houses but smaller in scale. Their

pedimented porticos shelter central entrances that typically have the same

double-leaf doors with transom and sidelights seen in I-houses (figure 12). In the

same plan as I-houses, those entrances give access to central halls flanked on

each side by the buildings' main rooms. As is the case with I-houses, the one-

story buildings typically have two chimneys located either at each gable end, or in

interior walls on each side of the central hall.

Figure 12. Log building with siding and Greek Revival entrance, Bugscuffle Road south of Wartrace, photograph by author.

The one-story porch covers have unmistakable influences of the Greek Revival style, but they vary in quality of execution. Some, like the destroyed but recorded Leonard Walker home, are boxy projecting gables, usually above simple square posts and pilasters. Others, like the Cashion home in western Bedford County, and the well-maintained former Hewgley home on Bugscuffle Road south of Wartrace, have typical closed pediments above wide architraves supported by molded porch columns and pilasters. The Walker, Cashion, and Hewgley homes all have local reputations as log buildings under wood siding, making them examples of early building types that were updated to conform to a county-wide architectural fashion.[26]

The Singleton house (Heidt Tavern/Singleton Residence) in Fairfield is a striking example of a house site in use over a long period that evolved and added Greek Revival features before the Civil War. The original house on the bank of the Garrison Fork may have been built as early as 1790 for an early Bedford County miller named Heidt who also operated a store and tavern on an early post road. It is a story-and-a-half side-gabled building with chimneys in its gable ends. The extant original stone chimney has slender proportions and is similar to that of the Martin house near Fairfield that has an accepted construction date of 1809.

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[26]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 59, 84; Elsie Bell, personal communication with Jane Townes, 11 May 2010; Hollyn Hewgley, personal communication with Jane Townes, June 2003.

The Singleton house's enclosed dogtrot connects the original building to a later house with a simplified Greek Revival façade that fronts the road. Since the later part of the house is a height and width that conceals the rear building, acquisition of the mill and house site by a Dr. Singleton around 1840 may have prompted construction of a more fashionable front to conceal a still useful but less sophisticated house on the property.[27] The later front has three bays with a steep boxy projecting gable over the porch. Transom and sidelights at the front entrance have proportions similar to those of other Greek Revival buildings across the county. The building's principal rooms flanking the central hall have fireplaces with interior chimneys.[28]

Brick Buildings

The local reputation of some one-story Greek Revival buildings having log construction under their siding suggests that the ubiquity of three-bay facades in frame buildings may be a holdover from log dogtrot forms and plans. The simple dogtrot building usually associated with log construction continued in brick in Bedford County, so it may also have been the pattern for frame buildings.

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[27]Joe D. Brooks III, Duck River vertical files, watermills worksheet, tributaries of the Garrison Fork, Joe D. Brooks III Collection.

[28]Descriptive details of the Singleton house are from the author's photographs and field notes and from Lynn Hulan, *Heidt Tavern/Singleton Residence Nomination Form,* National Register of Historic Places Archives, 1991.

While the author has not seen extant brick dogtrot buildings in Bedford

County, at least three survived to be photographed. The birthplace of artist

George de Forest Brush was a brick dogtrot. A Huffman family house that was a

brick dogtrot survived on the Murfreesboro Pike in Shelbyville to be photographed

in 1946. A third brick dogtrot known as the Bivvins house was on the National

Register of Historic Places but was delisted in 2009 after fire damage and

demolition.[29]

All three buildings were one story, one room deep, and had a single room

on each side of a central hall or dogtrot. All had low to medium pitch gable roofs

and brick end chimneys. The Brush and Huffman houses had similar fenestration

with one front window in each room flanking an entrance into a central hall. Both

the front and back of the Bivvins house had a window and a door in each brick

pen. Although the date of the Huffman brick dogtrot is not known, family history is

that it predates the Civil War. Approximate construction dates for the Bivvins and

Brush houses were 1845 and 1852-1855 respectively.[30]

There is a marked similarity between the previously described Dixon

Academy (*circa* 1855) and the Bivvins house. Their plans and fenestration are

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[29]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 7; Dick Hulan, personal communication with Jane Townes, 21 July 2010; R. Paul Cross, *Bivvins House Nomination Form*, National Register of Historic Places Archives, 1979, delisted 2009.

[30]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 7; Hulan, personal communication; R. Paul Cross, *Bivvins House Nomination Form*.

similar. Both have heavy window and door crowns that extend a few inches beyond the openings below. On the facades of both buildings, the top courses of brick are molded, forming a decorative cornice with brick dentils, a cornice treatment that the author has not seen on any other buildings in Bedford County.

In 1979, when the Bivvins house was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, it retained its original interior treatments including wood floors and mantels, high baseboards, and heavy molded chair rails. Original plaster walls that survived under wallpaper had multiple stenciled patterns.[31] Such decoration has not been noted for other Bedford County houses of the Civil War era. However, the Bivvins house may be an indicator of a technique of interior decoration that has been obscured or obliterated in other buildings by wallpaper and paint.

The author is unaware of any extant brick dogtrot buildings in Bedford County. They may, however, survive camouflaged by later additions or trim. Much more obvious are a number of large and imposing brick residences from the Civil War era landscape that survived either to the present or recently enough to be photographed. While they share some details of construction and style, unlike the sameness of log and frame buildings and brick dogtrots, most of the extant or recorded large brick houses across the county are unique. Unlike log buildings, whose style was dictated by material and construction techniques and

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[31]Cross, *Bivvins House Nomination Form.*

frame buildings that adhered strictly to the Greek Revival architectural vocabulary and grammar, large brick residences have significant variety.

Construction dates of the county's large brick residences range from the Martin house in 1809 to completion of Wolf Meadow in 1864, the same time frame during which there was little variation among log buildings or among frame buildings. Several of the large buildings date from the 1840s and 1850s. Even within that narrower time frame, all but two buildings are distinctly different even if they share similar details. Therefore individuality in brick buildings was not dependent upon their temporal context.

The individuality of the large brick houses may result from their construction processes. Lewis Tillman's memoir recorded the building project directed by his father between 1860 and 1864 that produced the family home known as Wolf Meadow. He described an independent project in which every detail was ordered and overseen by his father. As owner of a large property, all of Tillman's building materials except paint and drawn roof shingles were available to his specifications from his land, and he had an enslaved work force to carry out his plan. He brought brick makers to the building site, where the basement excavated for the house provided their clay. For specialized jobs like carpentry and plastering, Tillman hired free blacks and slaves who were skilled

craftsmen.[32] A pool of hired craftsmen would explain similarities in construction and finishing details across the county. The Tillman memoir described a homeowner who was his own general contractor. It is likely that he was his own architect as well. The owner-directed construction process at Wolf Meadow may have been typical of the large brick homes in the Civil War era landscape and the reason for their individuality.

Tillman's Wolf Meadow no longer exists, but a published photograph gives its plan and features. It was a large brick block of two and a half stories on a stone foundation. Three bays wide, it appears in photographs to have been two rooms deep with a central hall on both floors. End gables of medium pitch had cornices with large Italianate brackets. The front of the house had the same bracketed cornice and narrow paired windows of an Italianate style. The flat rectangular window crowns, however, were typical of Greek Revival houses in the area. Other Greek Revival characteristics were doors on both stories with the porch and balcony recessed behind the front wall, and door surrounds with transom and sidelights. Atypical of Greek Revival buildings was a second balcony at the level of the attic covered by a large pedimented dormer. The dormer's bracketed cornice matched the Italianate front and gable-end cornices and created an impression of height for the house that was greater than usual for

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[32]Dwight L. Smith, "An Antebellum Boyhood: Samuel Escue Tillman on a Middle Tennessee Plantation," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 47 no. 1 (1988): 3-5.

local Greek Revival buildings. The mix of Greek Revival and Italianate styles at Wolf Meadow probably resulted from Tillman's personal design combining features familiar from other county buildings.[33]

Like Wolf Meadow, the earliest extant brick residence in Bedford County was probably also an owner-directed construction project. The locally accepted date for the Martin house is 1809, the early settlement period of the county when contract builders were probably not available. The house is a substantial Georgian block with Flemish bond (figure 13). Unique in Bedford County, it has

Figure 13. Martin House, original entrances, photograph by author.

[33]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 61.

similarities to the Bowen-Campbell house (*circa* 1787) in Goodlettsville,

Tennessee.[34] Both houses have Flemish bond and Georgian characteristics

including their box plans, lack of porches at entrances, sash windows with

numerous small panes and symmetrical openings that are vertically and

horizontally aligned. Originally both houses had two front entrances. Before the

original two doors on the Martin house were bricked in and changed to windows,

they opened into separate apartments, probably for the separate households of

brothers Matt and Barclay Martin.

The original ground floor plan is essentially a box with two rooms, each of

which had one of the exterior doors. A masonry wall eighteen inches thick divides

the rooms, but it now has a six-panel cherry door for access between them. That

door matches the present principal entry door, both of which have unusually

artistic wrought iron hinges (figure 14). Those doors may have been the original

front doors. The style and quality of work of their hinges, which are unlike any

others seen or reported locally, indicate access to craftsmen and markets beyond

Bedford County even during the early settlement period.[35] At opposite ends of the

dividing wall, each ground floor room has an enclosed corner stair to the second

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[34]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 56; Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 26; Douglas M. Slater, "Bowen-Campbell House," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture* http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=116, accessed 14 September 2011.

[35]Elsie Bell, a descendent of the builders of the Martin house and its current owner, graciously opened her home to the author and shared her knowledge of the property and the history of the area.

floor. The dividing wall continues from the ground floor to divide the second floor

rooms, each of which has a small fireplace. From the upstairs room on the east,

another set of stairs provides access to the attic. The Martin house retains a high

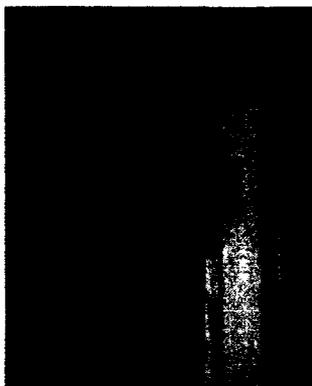degree of its original integrity and many of its original

Figure 14. Original hinge, Martin House, photograph by author.

features, including woods that would have been locally available. Floors are ash

with wrought nails; woodwork and unpainted principal doors and fireplace

surrounds and mantles in the two original ground floor apartments are cherry.

From the early Martin house to Wolf Meadow completed during the Civil

War, brick buildings were constructed across the county. There was, however, a

concentration of large brick homes in the county seat that was also the

commercial center for the county and the town of social orientation for

prosperous rural households. Several large brick buildings now in Shelbyville

were outside town or on its outskirts when they were built in the 1840s and

1850s. Although constructed over a relatively short period and close enough

geographically that every owner would have been familiar with the earlier buildings, with two exceptions, their footprints and facades differ. They do, however, have some details of construction or style in common, suggesting that a common pool of craftsmen worked on multiple buildings.

Possibly as early as the 1840s, Alexander Eakin built a large two or three-story brick house on his land north of Shelbyville. The extant building fronting the west side of Murfreesboro Pike has a large front block and a large rear ell that may be a post-construction addition. The chimney and window crowns in the ell differ from those in the main block of the house. The current two-story façade of the house has simplified Italianate details and an irregular three-part gable-front-and-wing footprint that has visual balance although it is asymmetrical. A wide low-pitched projecting front gable at the south end has a cornice with heavy ornate brackets. At the top of the gable wall beneath the cornice is a small round window framed with a broken Roman wreath. Heavy ornate brackets like those on the projecting front gable are on the cornices of the main block's end gables. They do not, however continue across the front of the house from the front projecting gable. The cornice across the center of the house and the end wing of the facade is plain molding. Brackets may have been removed from the front cornice but if so that was done prior to a photograph taken in the 1960s. The change may have been part of alterations made to the house in the late 1940s.[36]

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[36]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 27.

A square center portion of the three-part front is recessed behind the projecting gable, and it projects from the longest wall of the façade. The main entrance of the house is in the center section on the ground floor. Without a porch, the entry is enhanced by carving applied above the door and a projecting crown supported by carved consoles. On the second floor, above the entrance, a pair of tall narrow windows with four-over-four sashes above wood panels, is an Italianate detail. The square midsection of the façade was probably an Italianate tower that has been cut down. The visual impression that there had been a taller Italianate tower is reinforced by a description of the house that mentions "a third floor room was removed" in 1949.[37] Tall windows on both floors have heavy molded projecting window crowns.

Two interior brick chimneys of the Alexander Eakin house have corbelled chimney caps and another feature characteristic of other buildings in Shelbyville. The mason laid bricks to form a recessed panel in each face of the chimneys. An almost identical corbelled and paneled chimney is visible in photographs of the demolition of the W.G. Cowan house, which may also have been built in the 1840s. Lucretia Eakin's house, built in the early 1850s, had a similar treatment but with three recessed panels in the wide faces of the interior chimneys. The two

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[37]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 27.

Eakins and Cowan were in-laws, and may have used the same mason for work on their homes.[38]

W. G. Cowan had rural farm property and a tannery in Shelbyville; he also operated a store on Shelbyville's public square with his brother John W. Cowan. He was part of an extremely large extended family of immigrants from Ireland who achieved financial success and were town leaders. Probably about the same time that Alexander Eakin built his house on the Murfreesboro Pike, Cowan built a large brick home just northeast of the original one-hundred-acre town of Shelbyville.[39] The degree of similarity between the Cowan and Eakin houses makes them unusual among the large brick residences of the Civil War era.

Both houses had additions to the rear, but the footprints of the front portions of the houses appear to have been identical. Like the Eakin house, the façade of the Cowan house had three parts: a front-facing gable with a small round window at the peak of the gable, a three-story central tower over the main

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[38]W.G. Cowan house demolition photos, collection of Elaine Philpot; Eakin-Coldwell-Smith house, earliest photo, collection of Donna Smith Sepull.

[39]The W.G. Cowan house was in use as a residence until the early 1920s, when it was altered to serve as the town's first hospital. All images of the house the author could locate include the hospital additions. After decades of use as a hospital, the building served as a church until it was demolished in the 1960s to make way for a new church sanctuary. Elaine Philpot photographed the demolition process, creating a record of features of the original Cowan house. The author is grateful to Mrs. Philpot who generously shared her photographs of the demolition of the W.G. Cowan house and spent a great deal of time explaining the layout of rooms and the locations of features of the house. Descriptions of the house are based on the Philpot photographs and a published image of the old hospital. Arnold, *Sesquicentennial*, 132.

entrance that was recessed behind the gable wall, and a wing recessed behind the tower. Ornate brackets visible in the demolition photos made cornices on the Cowan house similar to those on the Eakin house.

In a published photograph, the Cowan house retains its three-story Italianate tower. Like the Eakin house, the second floor of the tower has paired narrow windows under a common square crown. The third floor of the tower has paired arched windows. In published and demolition photos, windows in the projecting gable wall and in the recessed wing have heavy projecting window crowns like those of the Eakin house.

The Cowan house had an Italianate ground floor porch and entry framed by square columns supporting flat arches. Ghosts of matching pilasters appear along the brick wall of the porch in demolition photos. Plain wood balustrades of narrow balconies under all the second-floor windows visually united the three-part façade.

Probably a few years after Alexander Eakin and W.G. Cowan built homes, their widowed sister-in-law, Lucretia Eakin, built an elaborate home in Shelbyville. The top floor of her house was destroyed by fire in the late 1800s or early 1900s, but the main floor and raised basement survive. The extant building and a few old images of the original house document a full-blown Italianate influence in Shelbyville by 1852-1854.

The house built for Lucretia Eakin on lot ten of the original plat of Shelbyville was a two-story, almost square rectangle on a full-height raised

basement. Judging from the footprint, the interior plan for both floors was probably a central hall with two rooms on each side. It had a hipped roof with low pitch pierced by two interior brick chimneys that had paneled faces. Like the nearby First Presbyterian Church with a similar construction date, Lucretia Eakin's house had tan brick in running bond.[40]

Other features of the house and the church suggest they may have had the same builder. Shapes of interior doorframes in the two buildings are identical. Raised basements with above-grade windows add verticality to both buildings. With their main floors elevated above grade, high and steep steps that are necessary to reach the main entrances make them focal points. Both have trim lines between their basements and first floors. Monumental brick pilasters rise from the trim lines to wood capitals below the entablature at the roofline. The pilasters on the church are set along its long wall and corners, where they turn to form pilasters on the end walls. The house, with less wall area than the church, has visually lighter paneled pilasters only at its corners. The vertical lines of the pilasters on the house are interrupted at the level of the second floor with horizontal brick that lines up with the second-floor balconies to visually unify the three-part façade.

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[40]The author is grateful to Donna Sepull, current owner of the Lucretia Eakin house, who generously allowed full access to the house on a number of occasions. She also shared her collection of early images of the house and information on the house's history, materials, and construction features. The description of the house is from the author's examination, photographs and field notes, and from photographs in Mrs. Sepull's collection.

The center portion of the façade projects from the main block of Lucretia Eakin's house and has the principal entrance for the main floor. In early images, it appears that the shallow entry porch had paired columns and engaged columns. The fluted porch columns as well as the engaged columns framing the door now have simple Egyptian revival capitals, but it is unclear whether these are original or replacements after fire damage to the building. The door has glass transom and sidelights that have much narrower, more vertical proportions than the county's ubiquitous Greek Revival lights. Above the transom is a band of carving in a treatment similar to that on the Alexander Eakin house. Both the Eakin houses have projecting molded cornices above their doors with carved bracket supports.

The columns of the front porch supported a second-story balcony on the projecting façade. From near the balcony floor to the level of heavy paired brackets at the roof cornice, a group of three tall narrow arched windows nearly filled the projecting wall. The windows' heavy framing and carved hoods were distinctly Italianate. Heavy bracketed and carved window crowns on each floor added to the Italianate style of the house. Ghost outlines of the heavy carved window crowns exist on the façade of the now one-story house. Two windows on each of the original two floors and the group of three windows opened on small balconies with balustrades of decorative millwork. Together the balustrades created a unifying visual horizontal across the front of the building.

Lucretia Eakin's home was part of a neighborhood that included the home of her brother-in-law across the street, the Moorman cottage next door, the Caperton house, and the two churches built at different times by the Presbyterian congregation. All were within the original northeastern town boundary of Shelbyville. Construction of the Shelbyville-Murfreesboro Turnpike after 1830 encouraged expansion north beyond the limits of the original town plat. Martin Street, the Shelbyville end of the pike, had several large homes by the 1850s, including one built for Thomas Whiteside that had similarities to the Presbyterian Church and Lucretia Eakin's home. The Whiteside house was tan brick in running bond like the Lucretia Eakin house and the Presbyterian Church. Its masonry and stylistic features suggest those buildings had similar construction dates and possibly the same builder.[41]

Many years of renovations by multiple owners and recent years of neglect leading to deterioration make it difficult to describe original stylistic features of the Whiteside house with any certainty. Its most recent appearance was Greek Revival with two-story fluted columns with large volutes supporting a portico with a simply molded wide entablature and a very low pediment. It is not clear whether those stylistic features were original. A rough junction between cornices and

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[41]The Thomas Whiteside house, known recently as the Jensen house, was demolished in 2008. The description here is from photographs taken by the author during demolition. There is a 1960s photograph and property history on the site in Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 23.

roofs of the house and the portico suggest that feature may not have been original.

The Greek Revival style is, however, evident in original masonry details. Each corner of the building had two-story brick pilasters with molded wood capitals similar to those on the Presbyterian Church. Also like those on the Presbyterian Church, the pilasters at the corners turned the corners as pilasters on the perpendicular walls. Both the church and the Whiteside house had large brick pilasters framing the central bay. The hipped roof with low pitch was probably original, although variations in cornices around the house suggest the roof, at least at the cornices, may have been reworked.

The Whiteside house was a large, substantial brick building with a rectangular footprint. Although not as deep as it was wide, the house had three bays in each exterior wall. The front of the house facing the west side of the Murfeesboro Pike had a central ground-floor entrance with a door slightly recessed in the exterior wall. Wood pilasters on the wall turned the corner of the recess and continued as molded panels that framed the door. A band of repetitive carving separated door from glass transom. The transom and sidelights had proportions and placement similar to those in the Alexander and Lucretia Eakin homes. Above the transom, entablature with a wide frieze supported a small pediment that reached the underside of the balcony above. Odd proportions and poor fit of that over-door treatment raise questions about its date of origin.

The second story balcony above the main entrance is the full width of the central bay and may be original. It appears in photographs to have been unsupported by the two-story columns immediately in front of it. Double-leaf glass doors opened onto the balcony from a second-floor central hall. The transom and sidelights of the balcony door match those on the first floor. The plain crown over the balcony door may indicate the original appearance of the first floor entry.

Consistent with the Greek Revival style, each exterior wall had wide sash windows with six-over-six panes. However, at the time of demolition in 2008, window crowns varied around the building. Those most visible were projecting wood moldings similar to those on the Presbyterian Church.

Published comments on the Whiteside house describe a well-constructed building with "sills and rafters [that] are select hardwoods...[and wooden elements] hand mitered to fit and wooden-pegged into place."[42] The solidity of the original building was confirmed during demolition. Exterior and interior structural walls were several bricks thick on both stories. Heavy wood joists salvaged from the building had thick tenons several inches wide and long that lined up with deep rectangular holes in the brick walls. Wood pegs securing joints were over eight inches long.

Demolition clearly defined the house plan as four-square with central halls on both floors. A pattern of brick contrasting with plaster on interior walls was a slope connecting horizontals at different levels. That pattern defined the main

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[42]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors*, 23.

staircase as a flight of steps from the first floor entry hall to a landing with a turn to a flight of steps to the second floor. One interior paneled door visible in demolition photos had a painted transom that may have originally been a glass transom like those in the W.G. Cowan and Lucretia Eakin houses.

Interpreting Lost Material Culture

Because it resulted from destruction of an exceptional building, the opportunity to see interior details of a Civil War era house was regrettable. However, photographing the Whiteside house in its stages of demolition yielded informative details and a record of a Civil War era building's interior that would be difficult to gather from either old images or an extant building. The author has not located images of Bedford County building interiors made prior to 1865. Most extant buildings continued in use for years after the war, and some are still in use as thoroughly modern homes. Their preservation and longevity were possible because of generations of renovations and alterations that preclude observations about their Civil War era interiors.

Even without the visual experience of a Civil War era home, it is possible to describe the material culture of the period using a methodology that develops information from documentary sources that were not intended to be fully descriptive. No one description can have universal application because of the varied influences on material culture including personal taste, access to markets, financial resources, and social customs. It is possible, however, to develop a

sample description of features of a home and the use of its spaces that would be shared by similar households.

The diary kept by Laura Cowan, a young Shelbyville woman from January 1, 1862 through January 31, 1863 is a starting point for such an opportunity. The full diary entry of January 28, 1863 typifies Cowan's style and content of entries. It is less than descriptive, but it provides clues to features of her home and the use of its spaces.

> Ground covered with snow. We sent over and invited Cousins Dave & Sallie, Miss Sallie & Judge Ewing for tea. Cousin Tenie & Lish spent the evening with us. About five o'clock the bell rang— Papa went to the door & showed two gentlemen in the parlor. Col Foster & Dr Teasdale sent & recomended by Mr & Mrs Andrew Erwin Then in a few minutes a hack stopped at the front gate and who should get out but two ladies—They came in with their trunks & bundles & carpet bags. One was Miss Fannie O Bryan, the other Miss Clark, a sister of Miss Sue Clarks. Mr Cunningham brought them here. Then the invited guests came, & with our two boarders we had a table full. After tea Capt Miller came to see Miss Clark & Mr O Bryan to see his sister. The parlor was not clear until eleven o'clock.[43]

From that entry we have clues to the social circle of the Cowan household, and the facts that the home was large enough to accommodate unexpected guests, had a gated front entry, a doorbell and a parlor. Diary entries with content similar to the one above are starting points for information on Laura Cowan's house. While they offer little description, they do provide isolated facts that are clues to characteristics of her home. By reading those clues collectively and

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[43]Cowan Diary, 28 January 1863. All quotations that follow are from Laura Cowan's diary. They are identified in the text by the dates of diary entries.

combining their information with data from antebellum public records, secondary sources, and extant structures contemporary with the diarist's house, it is possible to create chains of evidence for reasonable hypotheses about the Cowan house and thereby about other houses occupied by the Cowans' family members and social circle.

Both the Cowan and Eakin families were large, and there were a number of marriages between those families, creating an extended family with a number of homes. There were also family connections with the Friersons and Coopers, who were socially and economically prominent in Bedford County. Laura Cowan recorded frequent visits to the homes of her aunt Lucretia Eakin, and of her uncles Alexander Eakin and W.G. Cowan, and she mentioned entertaining members of those households in her home. Laura and her family members frequently exchanged visits with the Frierson family (Caperton house), and with the Edmund Coopers who lived in the house built by Thomas Whiteside. The extended family of Cowans and Eakins had mercantile and industrial interests in several Middle Tennessee towns. Their economic success as well as family connections made them part of the same socio-economic class as the members of the Cooper and Frierson families who were attorneys. The proximity of the homes of those families and their shared socio-economic class make it likely that the material culture of their homes was similar. Therefore, Laura Cowan's diary entries are clues to the material culture of her socio-economic class as well as to her home.

The process of combining evidence from the diary and outside sources is one of information "triangulation," working from known points to supportable conclusions about unknown points. The result is a description of the location, property, structure, and some interior features of the diarist's home that does not have irrefutable documentation. It is instead a collation of what is known and can be documented, what can reasonably be assumed, and what is suspected based on clues in the diary, known parallels, and logic.

Laura Cowan's father was John W. Cowan whose home in the 1860s was on lot number twenty-nine of the original plat of Shelbyville. The house lot joined that of the Presbyterian Church on the south and was across Jefferson Street from the home of Lucretia Eakin on the east. Neither the diarist's home nor a definitive illustration or description of it exists.[44] However, the process of triangulating information using varied sources permits some description of it. The extant Lucretia Eakin house is an imposing structure, but on the 1878 Beers map the footprint of the J.W. Cowan house is almost twice the size of the Eakin house footprint. Mapped footprints of the Cowan house and the Presbyterian Church

[44]A postcard of the First Presbyterian Church offered in an online auction shows a portion of a house north of the church that may be the John W. Cowan house; ebay, http://www.uberstamps.com/aah_0919.jpg, accessed 18 March 2011.

are about equal in area. From that it is clear that in 1878 Laura Cowan's home was a large residence.[45]

The mapped building that is certainly the Cowan house extends from Jefferson Street on the east toward the west to the approximate center of the property. It has an irregular footprint that suggests the possibility of two additions on an earlier structure, or one addition on a structure built originally with an ell. Language in a deed that places the diarist's grandmother, Jane Eakin in residence on the site for many years prior to 1841, makes it likely that an original structure evolved with one or more additions to make the 1878 footprint.[46]

Jane Eakin was the widow of the elder John Eakin. They arrived in the Shelbyville area from Northern Ireland before the town was ten years old. By his death in 1825, Eakin had considerable property, a tannery, and commercial success.[47] Given his economic status, it is a reasonable assumption that Eakin's

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[45]D.G. Beers and J. Lanagan, "Map of Bedford County, Tenn. From New and Actual Surveys Compiled and Published by D.G. Beers & Co., 27 South Sixth St. Philadelphia, 1878," with plat of original town boundaries by Tim Marsh, Marsh Collection. Although the Beers map indicates a scale of 1¼ inch to the mile, this study used a modern reproduction of the map. Its reproduction ratio is unknown so dimensions of structures on the reproduction map are unknown. It is possible to comment only on relative dimensions of mapped buildings.

[46]Deed Book LL, Bedford County, Tennessee Deed Books 1808-1865, Office of the Register of Deeds, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN, 118-9.

[47]John and Jane Eakin were Laura Cowan's grandparents. The author is grateful to Cathy Eakin, Margaret Eakin, and Missy Eakin for access to the unpublished Eakin Family Papers, a privately held collection of genealogies, correspondence, newspaper clippings, copies of manuscript documents, and loose papers of the Eakin family of Shelbyville, TN and collateral families. Helen

residence would be a substantial one. Widow Jane Eakin's home of many years on an original town lot was probably the original Eakin home that increased in size with additions to form the 1878 footprint. Locating the Eakin home just inside the original town boundary is consistent with prosperous early, but not first settlers whose homes were closer to the public square.

Throughout her diary, Cowan mentioned at least nine different rooms by name or function. She frequently mentioned boarders, indicating a house larger than necessary for her family.[48] An 1847 deed mentions her father, and presumably his family, already in residence at the site. Her grandmother died, probably still a resident, in 1846. Possible occupation by at least seven people spanning three generations in 1846, and certain occupation by eleven people at the time of the 1860 census suggest a large house.[49] Taken together, the diary's

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C. and Timothy R. Marsh, unpublished collection of genealogical files bound as "Bedford County, Tennessee Records," History Room, Argie Cooper Public Library, Shelbyville, TN.

[48]Throughout the thirteen months covered by the diary there were a number of individuals taking meals at the Cowan house or staying with the family. Occasionally the diarist referred to people in the home as boarders, but it was not clear whether her home had a public role as a boarding house, or if she used the word for strangers the family accommodated out of hospitality or Christian duty. In the diary entry of January 28, 1863 quoted previously, a friend of the family unexpectedly brought two women to stay, apparently with the expectation they would be accommodated.

[49]Deed Book PP, Bedford County, Tennessee Deed Books 1808-1865, Office of the Register of Deeds, Courthouse Annex, Shelbyville, TN, 300-2; Byron and Barbara Sistler, eds., *1850 Census Tennessee, Volume 2, Childs Through Gary* (Evanston, IL: 1974), 69; Byron and Barbara Sistler, eds, *1860 Census*

internal evidence, the Beers map, deeds, family history, and the 1860 census

argue that Laura Cowan's house was a large one that may have been an original

early structure with one or more additions.

The house was large, not only in its footprint, but also in the number of its

stories. Diary entries referring to activities upstairs and downstairs clearly

indicated a multi-story house. On January 21, 1863, several men stayed

overnight at the Cowan house, probably moving south after the Battle of Stones

River. The diarist mentioned room assignments with guests in family bedrooms

and her teenage brother and his young guest in "the upper room." Because the

term "upstairs" was applied to several rooms, the specificity of "the upper room"

suggests a third story in the house, perhaps a third-story attic or garret, or a third-

story room in an Italianate tower like those on the homes of the diarist's uncles.

Primary construction material of a large house of two to three stories built

well before 1841 in Shelbyville might be either wood or brick. For Laura Cowan's

house, there is no evidence for either, but logic and extant and recorded

buildings connected to the large extended Eakin-Cowan family suggest brick

might have been the material of choice. Lucretia Eakin's house built, in the early

1850s across the street from her mother-in-law Jane Eakin, is multi-storied and

brick as is the home of Jane's son Alexander Eakin, whose home was probably

built in the1840s. At about the same time, John W. Cowan's brother Willliam Guy

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Cowan built a matching large multi-story brick home. The prosperity and status of the Eakin and Cowan families, and the examples of nearby family brick homes argue for an assumption that Laura Cowan's home was brick.

Regardless of construction material, a house the size of the Cowans' required multiple chimneys that were probably brick. The diary entry for January 4, 1863 confirmed the house had multiple fireplaces. Recording troops falling back to the south after several days in January rain at the Battle of Stones River, the diarist noted that "About eight o'clock Genl Bragg came in – his body guard dismounted in front of the [Presbyterian] church and in a few minutes we had every fire place crowded with his men drying blankets &c." A fireplace in each bedroom and each ground-floor public space was typical for antebellum homes of the area. There was no indication in the diary of location of chimney stacks or fireplaces, but seven contemporary homes nearby, including the frame Caperton house and homes of family members Lucretia Eakin and Alexander Eakin, had interior chimneys.

Neither internal evidence of the diary nor any known source for the Cowan house suggests its roof type or pitch. Most of the extant contemporary houses nearby have gable roofs, but Lucretia Eakin's house across the street had a hipped roof. The irregular structure mapped in 1878 probably had a cross-framed roof, either a cross-gabled or a cross-hipped roof. An old postcard image of the Presbyterian Church shows a house to the north that may have been the J.W.

Cowan house. That building appears to have a hipped roof with an intersecting gable on its southwest corner.[50]

It is tempting to take a rough sketch by the diarist as a clue to the roof of her house, but there is nothing to identify her drawing as her home. She covered the last blank page of the diary with practice signatures and three rough architectural sketches. One is an exterior stair topped by a small roofed porch. Another appears to be a simple gable structure with a shed-roofed addition. The third sketch, her house or an unrelated structure, is a cross-hipped building with a flat-roofed addition that would have an irregular footprint.

The exterior appearance of the J.W. Cowan house is unknown. Its irregular shape and probable multiple periods of construction suggest its style may have changed with fashion. Given Jane Eakin's occupancy for many years before 1841, the style of the original structure was probably Greek Revival. Her son Alexander and daughter-in-law Lucretia built imposing antebellum homes that survive. Knowing the architectural statements of status they made, it is unlikely that the elder Eakin's home owned by her wealthy son Spencer at his death in 1841 was less fashionable.[51]

Ownership of the house passed to Laura Cowan's father in 1847, close to the time his brother W. G. Cowan built his large Italianate home. Through 1862

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[50]Presbyterian Church, Shelbyville, Tenn., postcard, ebay, 22 September 2011, per Ralph McBride.

[51]Bedford County, Deed Book LL, 118-9.

the diarist's father and her uncle William were prosperous store owners, making it reasonable to expect John W. Cowan's home, like his brother's and his Eakin in-laws' homes, to have a fashionable exterior.

Although its style is unknown, one exterior feature of the house is definite. On January 8, 1863, Laura Cowan mentioned her mother talking on the piazza with visitors before bringing them into the house. Undoubtedly that piazza was the front entrance to the house, the side of the structure facing Jefferson Street. Carnton, a contemporary house in Franklin, Tennessee, has piazzas on first and second floors. Although taken a number of years after 1862 and possibly showing a later addition, a photograph of the W.G. Cowan house shows a first story porch or piazza and an uncovered second-story deck. A number of homes in Shelbyville contemporary with Laura Cowan's house and belonging to people with whom she had almost daily contact had second-floor balconies, porches, and piazzas surviving to be photographed.[52] There is a reasonable possibility that the Cowan house had piazzas on two stories. That possibility makes the small drawing of an exterior stair to a covered porch at the back of the diary more intriguing.

Although the piazza is the only exterior architectural feature of the house that the diarist mentioned, she left clues to the exterior space of her home. It is clear from numerous references to gates that the property was fenced with

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[52]Bedford County Historical Society, *Doors to the Past*, 8, 15-16, 22-23, 28.

multiple entrance points, the front, back, and stable gates. It probably had a

perimeter property fence along streets to the east, south and west, between the

house and the Presbyterian Church on the southwest, and between the Cowan

property and a street or neighbor to the north.[53]

On a number of occasions, from the back gate, Laura Cowan watched

military parades and troop movements "on the pike." That was probably the

Shelbyville-Murfreesboro-Nashville Turnpike, now US 231, and those references

defined the western line of the Cowan property as its back side. At a distance of

two short town blocks from the pike and from the slightly higher ground of her

back gate, she recorded on June 16, 1862 that she "could hear & see distinctly

from there." Reference to a gate on September 3 when Union soldiers were

withdrawing from Shelbyville suggests that it was at a distance from the cistern

that logically and according to the precedent of Lucretia Eakin's property would

have been very close to the house.

Inside the property line were at least two fenced enclosures. On

September 2, 1862 "one old drunk [Federal] soldier came in at the stable gate &

seeing Uncle Gilbert asked him where the negro women were. Uncle G.

'ganderlike' pointed to Easter who was in the lot & said two more were up at the

house." In addition to the fenced stable lot, there was probably a fence around

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[53]Although the 1878 Beers Map shows a neighbor north of the Cowan
property, and there has not been a street there in modern memory, Tim Marsh's
reconstructed plat of original town lots indicates a street or alley north of Cowan's
lots.

the house and immediate yard and garden where, on March 26, Laura was planting flowers when she saw the first Union troops in Shelbyville "flying along up to town." Frequent notes of guests to the house coming in at the front gate argued for a yard fence, and she mentioned a front walk that would have connected the gate and piazza.

On the piazza, visitors rang a front doorbell to gain entrance into the house. The primary role of Laura Cowan's home was serving as the center and connection of her nuclear family. In their home, the Cowans had family prayers and shared meals. Laura reviewed her younger brother's schoolwork, and she and her sister Mary read, sewed, and organized sheet music together. The house was also the almost daily location of interaction between various members of the Eakin and Cowan families. Laura's female cousins and friends attended regular reading groups and sewing circles there. Male and female cousins visited, shared books and newspapers, and talked politics there. But the spaces inside that door received little comment from the diarist. She mentioned nine rooms by name or function: one she shared with her sister, her aunt's room, her brother's room, a spare bedroom, the upper room, her mother's room, kitchen, dining room, and parlor. No reference to any private space included description or even clues to the layout or décor of rooms. Her shared room and her aunt's room were upstairs, suggesting other bedrooms were also.

Diary entries referring to "Ma's room" do not establish what floor it was on. On the evening of October 13, Laura "sat upstairs and read...then went & sat in

Ma's room until bed time." On January 30, 1863, "all day long Ma's room [was] full of company coming & going." In the first entry Ma's room might be on either floor, but there appears to be a distinction between upstairs and that room. In the second, a first-floor location is reasonable given the improbability of a devout southern lady of social prominence receiving callers in a private space upstairs.

Because Laura commented more on activities in public spaces downstairs than on private spaces upstairs, she left more clues for description of rooms downstairs. In 1862, the Cowan kitchen may have been in a basement or on the ground floor inside the house, not in a detached structure. On September 2, a slave named Mitchell built the morning fire in the kitchen stove. Use of a stove instead of a fireplace for cooking reduced the hazard of fire, making separation of the kitchen and house less necessary. Language of the August 1 entry confirmed a kitchen in the house in close proximity to the parlor: "After dinner Ma & Aunt Sarah went to Aunt Hannah's to spend the evening. I went into the kitchen to make some jumbles before I had half finished the bell rang and I had to go into the parlor to see Laura Dayton & Bettie D."

Diary entries do not provide clues to the floor plan of the house, but it is reasonable to assume the kitchen was near the rear of the house and adjacent to the dining room that was the location of frequent dinners for a number of people. With unexpected guests staying through dinnertime or tea and visitors unexpectedly brought home from church, it was not unusual to have ten to fourteen people at the Cowans' meals. Given that number to seat, the room was

large enough to accommodate a large table. With John W. Cowan's economic status and mercantile connections through which to purchase furnishings, there were probably a number of matched chairs. Those not in use at a meal would be against the walls with serving tables or a sideboard. Harold Peterson provides an illustration of a dining room and table set for twelve in a manner that would have been familiar to Laura Cowan.[54] The dining room and the rest of the house undoubtedly had wood floors, probably poplar that is found in contemporary houses in Shelbyville. Seasonally or depending upon the occasion, the floor had carpet as on May 27, when Laura and a male slave "cleaned up the dining room [and] put down the green carpet."

The diary entry of February 28 demonstrated carpets had both seasonal and occasional public display purposes. When a Confederate cousin of the diarist was in town with a general and other soldiers and said "he would bring some of his friends to see [the family], all hands were set to work & in half an hour [they] had the parlor carpet and window curtains fixed, which had been taken up for the summer." If the Cowans removed or fixed curtains for the summer, it was probably to leave large parlor windows open for ventilation.

The presence of curtains and carpet in the Cowan house and the hurried activity to dress the parlor for guests fit Katherine C. Grier's description of the

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[54]Harold L. Peterson, *Americans at Home: From the Colonists to the Late Victorians, A Pictorial Source Book of American Domestic Interiors with an Appendix on Inns and Taverns* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), plate 92.

décor and use of middle-class Victorian parlors.[55] She described parlors as theaters where Victorian families presented themselves to the public. That was true for the Cowan household; most diary entries referring to the parlor included references to guests. On March 6, "Who should come over but General Hardee himself. When he had gone Mr Scanlon came in the parlor to hear us play."

Laura Cowan's diary offers only a few clues to features of her parlor, but those fit characteristics typical of middle-class Victorian parlors. Aside from diary references to carpet and curtains, logic alone argues that the Cowan parlor had furnishings and decorations typical of upper middle class homes in the mid-nineteenth century. John W. Cowan, his brothers and in-laws were financially successful and had commercial contacts to access the latest goods. The influences on parlor fashion that Grier describes – passenger rail cars, hotel furnishings, and ladies' books – were familiar to members of the Cowan family and their Shelbyville neighbors. Even in 1862 when it meant crossing military lines, John W. Cowan traveled by train for business. Laura's sister Eliza Cowan Atwood lived in St. Louis but traveled to Shelbyville, and older sister Mary and Aunt Eliza traveled to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, and New York. The newspapers that arrived at the Cowan house in bundles from Nashville, Louisville, and Ohio brought advertisements of fashionable furnishings. Although Laura did not mention ladies' books in notes on her reading, the large number of

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[55]Katherine C. Grier, *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press), 89-116.

households continuously circulating and exchanging reading material suggests she would have seen them, and she would have been familiar with parlor décor of a number of other upper middle-class families.

The diary entry in which "Mr Scanlon came in the parlor to hear us play" located musical activity in the parlor, suggesting it was the room where Laura Cowan frequently practiced and gave music lessons. She did not specify an instrument, but references to playing a melodeon at church indicated familiarity with keyboard instruments that would be parlor furniture rather than portable string or wind instruments. On February 5, Laura's cousin and sister went to the church to practice on a melodeon. On February 14, apparently at choir meeting at the church, Laura "learnt a new voluntary which Mr Wassamer [?] played on the melodeon." Leaving the house to practice on a melodeon, and specifying the instrument on which she learned a piece suggested that the keyboard instrument in Laura Cowan's home was a piano instead of a melodeon.

For most of the nineteenth century, melodeons rivaled pianos in popularity for home use, but pianos were more expensive and were indicators of economic status.[56] John W. Cowan achieved economic success as a merchant, and he had commercial and shipping contacts in Nashville and Saint Louis, points from which a piano could be purchased and shipped. Those facts, the apparent musical accomplishment of his daughter, and the language of diary references to the

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[56]Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 518-21, 548-51, 560-3.

church melodeon suggest the instrument in the Cowan parlor was a piano rather than a melodeon.

A keyboard instrument in the parlor, whether it was a piano or a melodeon, is another point of agreement between the Cowan house and elements of Grier's vocabulary of middle-class parlor furnishings. Her list of pieces essential to a well-appointed parlor includes a piano. Other characteristics of parlor furnishings reasonably assumed to have been in the Cowan parlor are a suite of matched upholstered chairs, folding reception chairs, and a center table.[57] The frequency with which a number of visitors were accommodated at one time argues for a parlor with a number of chairs.

In Grier's vocabulary of parlors, central tables were essential focal points. Often draped, they were the usual location of a lamp and, in a Christian home, a Bible. There was no direct reference to lighting in the diary, but mention of a delivery of coal oil leaking away on the wagon trip from Nashville suggested oil lamps may have been in Shelbyville parlors. The diarist and all her immediate and large extended family were pious Presbyterians. Her references to family prayers left no doubt that a Cowan family Bible existed. Laura's entry of March 20 located it in public space accessible to visitors, probably the parlor on a central table. That day "George & Mr Ewing came over and being at a loss to know what to say Mr Ewing got the Bible and commenced to ask questions."

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[57]Grier, *Culture & Comfort*, 90.

Homes contemporary with Laura Cowan's that Grier and Peterson described and illustrated had high ceilings creating large plastered wall spaces displaying paintings, prints, family pictures, and ladies' fancywork. Like the Caperton and Lucretia Eakin houses and other contemporary neighbors that survive, the Cowan house would have had high ceilings and probably plaster walls with prints and family pictures. The diarist mentioned receiving a gift of prints of Union and Confederate generals. On May 3, in spite of skirmishes around Shelbyville and a heavy US troop presence on the public square, Laura, her brother, and her father went up town and "had [their] Ambrotypes taken to send to Ireland," presumably to her father's family there, suggesting the value they placed on family pictures.

The print of Confederate generals which Laura preferred over the one of Yankee generals, and family ambrotypes or daguerreotypes probably hung in the Cowan house, but there was no diary indication of fancywork. Although Laura and her friends sewed often, none of the diary entries referred to ornamental needlework. All the identified items she or her sewing society worked on were utilitarian, perhaps reflecting the wartime context: dresses, men's coats and pants, nightgowns, soldiers' handkerchiefs and towels. The large blocks of time she spent sewing, the number of people for whom she sewed, and the materials including silk that she worked with suggested skill with a needle, but she never recorded any time spent on fancywork. Her only references to what might have been a craft activity for home display were April 21 when she and possibly her

sister Mary "commenced [their] leather work directly after breakfast and worked steadily all day long," April 22 when she "made one corner of [her] frame, and April 23 when she and her work partner "worked on [their] frames all morning."

These examples of how the diarist's record of her activities unintentionally provides clues to her material culture demonstrate the potential usefulness of combining documents and material culture as source material for historical interpretation. Laura Cowan's house does not survive, but some of its characteristics are clear from her diary. The document she created reveals some of the material culture of Bedford County in the Civil War era. That material culture surrounding the diarist provides information on her education, daily life, and socio-economic class. Working from the Cowan diary, to material culture, to observations about civilian life in Civil War era Shelbyville demonstrated the utility of a process of triangulation among facts gleaned from material culture and documentary sources.

The number of extant Civil War era buildings in Bedford County facilitates such a method of study. Ranging from simple log corncribs to large brick homes with Greek Revival or Italianate details, even this small selection of surviving buildings defines characteristics of the county's private spaces. Across the county there was consistency in construction methods and building types. Log, frame, and brick buildings would have been familiar to all Bedford Countians.

The consistency in building types suggests shared cultural expectations across the county, Terry Jordan-Bychkov's "Upland Southern-ness."[58] Builders in different county locales had a similar understanding of how to build houses, barns, and cribs and the general appearance those buildings should have. They varied, however, in their individual interpretations of building types. While the footprints of barns were similar and usually had multiple interior spaces, their organization of cribs and runways varied. The dogtrot was a familiar countywide form in log construction. However, in at least three buildings that survived to be recorded, it was also appropriated for brick construction.

Extant buildings across the county describe the dominant architectural style of the Civil War era as Greek Revival. Square columns and pilasters, pedimented porticoes, and dentil or modillion cornices are found on relatively small one-story houses and I-houses of frame construction as well as on large brick buildings. Like building forms that were standard but variously interpreted, stylistic elements were subject to builders' interpretation. On the Bivvins house, for example, the Greek Revival cornice with dentils usually found in wood was executed in molded brick.

Elements of form and style in buildings like the Singleton house at Fairfield and the Crowell house on the opposite side of the county demonstrate that homeowners were both practical and fashion conscious. Samuel Crowell's

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[58]Jordan-Bychkov, *Upland South*, 84.

original log dogtrot was a solid practical home, but with the addition of a two-story frame Greek Revival I-house that re-oriented the front of the building it became a fashionable statement of his success as farmer and mill owner. Given the fact that the older part of the Singleton house is still occupied, it would have been livable when its Greek Revival addition hid the original front from the public road and presented a fashionable new façade to the Fairfield Pike.

The quality of builders' work and incorporation of older buildings into newer constructions made longevity a characteristic of private spaces across Bedford County. The frame Caperton house was approximately thirty years old by the end of the war, but even at that age and after confiscation by federal authorities and tenancy by a Unionist, the house was "a good one and in good condition."[59] By the Civil War, log buildings like the Fletcher house, still in use as a comfortable twenty-first century home, had additions and modifications that increased their useful lives. A number of the log buildings identified by the Bedford County 4-H Technology Club continued in use as the cores of large barn additions. Individually, buildings surviving from the Civil War era are interesting and informative artifacts. Collectively, they describe the era's landscape of private spaces.

Combing the diary for clues to a physical description of the Cowan house also led to conclusions about the roles of the house and its occupants. It was a property, and possibly one evolving building, occupied for at least forty years by

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[59]"Asst. Commissioner Relating to Restoration of Property, 1865-68."

members of one family. At times, three generations and as many as four adults born and reared in Ireland shared the home. That made it a symbol of establishment and stability for an immigrant family. Originally the home of Jane Eakin, mother of at least nine of the extended Eakin-Cowan family in Shelbyville and grandmother of more than sixteen Shelbyvillians mentioned in the diary, it was symbolic as a family seat and possibly a unifying place for an extremely large family.

Laura Cowan's diary provided information on her material culture and a starting point for a methodology to develop information on material culture from resources that are neither detailed nor fully descriptive. By collating information from diary entries and external sources, it was possible to develop an assumptive but supportable description of the Cowan home, its grounds and use of spaces. The process of working from clues in the diary to reasonable statements about the Cowan home required caution to avoid being influenced by impressions formed while reading the diary, or by preconceptions of nineteenth-century life brought to the project. With logic as the primary lens through which to examine diary clues and external evidence, triangulation of information, working from known points to supportable conclusions about unknown points, proved to be an effective methodology to examine one segment of Bedford County's material culture of the Civil War era.

CONCLUSION

This research project began with a simple question: "What sources exist to inform a study of Bedford County, Tennessee in the Civil War era?" The volume of the county's surviving documentary record, including diaries and memoirs, was a pleasant surprise. A greater surprise was that in addition to the traditional documentary sources available, there is a rich and varied extant material culture that is a largely unexamined historical resource for the Civil War era in Bedford County.

The examination of a place and an historical period through cultural landscapes and material culture required a multi-disciplinary approach and development of a methodology to use a variety of sources, from a schoolgirl's sampler to a log building complex. The methodology I developed to accommodate study of sundry objects and sites is a process of information triangulation. That is, material culture, images that are evidence of material culture, and recorded descriptions of sites and objects provide established points of information from which supportable conclusions can be drawn about unknown points.

The use of material culture as a primary source for this dissertation expanded the available historical database for Bedford County. Research for this project developed new information on the county and opened some new questions for scholarship there as well as in other places. For example, working from the Duck River to its industrial landscape, I found female wageworkers and

foreign workers who apparently had experience in the textile industry in Britain and the northeastern United States. Finding those groups opened new questions about southern women's work outside large cities, and about the level of southern industrial expertise, even in small industrial centers, at the start of the Civil War.

The river and its industries provided an early lesson in the importance of the natural landscape in the development of cultural landscapes. Any scholarship on historical places needs to start with the natural place. Histories often start with how humans shaped the land, but this dissertation demonstrates that human changes to natural landscapes were often not alterations, but rather accommodations. For example, a road between two points with a hill between them required cutting a platform like a notch in the slope of the hill and curving the platform up and around the hill as a road. The hill was not significantly altered, but it accommodated the human need for a road. The locations of settlements, economic development, even administrative county divisions were determined by topography.

This study of one county suggested new questions for broader scholarship on the Civil War. From early 1862 to the end of the war, there was more military activity in Bedford County than is usually recognized. The activity did not involve major battles, but there was continuous damage and rebuilding along the rail line. Long occupation by US troops which meant continuous foraging and conscription, is a largely unstudied subject for the Upland South and the Western

Theater. Occupation resulted in a long period of unstudied civilian-military interaction quite different from that of battle zones.

This study of Bedford County's material culture added descriptive context for a place located in what historian Stephen Ash called the "Third South." It expanded our understanding of one of the towns covered by Lisa Tolbert's study of antebellum county seats, and it put Terry Jordan-Bychkov's study of the individual characteristics of the Upland South into a collective interpretive context. Because the county studied here was at the epicenter of Jordan-Bychkov's "Upland Southern-ness," and was an area influential in western migration and development, this dissertation is a starting point or point of comparison for cultural studies of later western counties and towns.

Most importantly, this dissertation demonstrated the effectiveness of material culture as a primary source and the possibility that objects and landscapes can provide information and insights not available in documentary sources. In letters, public records, and newspapers, Bedford County in the Civil War era was a place that was bitterly divided politically. But its material culture indicates it was a homogeneous cultural entity.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The information in this appendix is abstracted from the five published volumes of Tennessee Civil War veterans' responses to questions about their pre-war lives. The excerpts, which are in the words and spelling of the Bedford County veterans as transcribed for publication, are organized by volume and page numbers. They are responses to questions asking for information on types of schools, building descriptions, distance of schools from homes, length of school terms and total schooling of respondents, curricula, and whether teachers were male or female.[1]

Volume 1

172— Free and subscription schools. The free school was public. Grammar school education, ordinary country schools. 1 room log school with long benches extending across the [p173] room for seats. 3 months. A man most of the time.

190—Public free school. About 2 months each year. Both, generally a man.

216—Free school and run about three months in the fall of the year. Advanced rapidly, had completed the Bluebacked Speller at 14. [Students attended] just as regularly as their parents would allow them or make them. Most always a man – women were supposed not to be able to control big boys.

219—Public free school. About 2 ½ to 3 months. Man, they didn't think a woman could teach school them days.

300—Log school building, log slabs in the legs for benches. Collins school house. Marshall Academy. Union Academy. Public schools. 2, 3,and 4 months in the year. Some went regular and some had to work and couldn't go. Man teacher. Never did see a woman teacher when a boy.

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[1]Colleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley, eds., *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1985), 5 vols.

399—It was not the opertunities fore school was bad free scool 6 or 8 weaks in the year. My school was vary limited. [pg 400] Free school 6 to 8 weak.

414—I attend free school about three months per year but we had to quit [415] to pull foffer [probably wrote fodder & was mistranscribed] and about two months for year was all I every went to school had old blue back speller book. I never went to school 12 months all told. I just learned to read and write a little and that was all. Free school but they had a pay school for some few months in the winter. Was public. Three month in the year.

Volume 2

456—Subscription. Private. Man.

463—Privet districk common school. Was a free school. Old log house cracks in it a fellow could throw a dog through the crackes. Fire place in it big enuff to cut a 10 foot fence raile in the middle put in the fire. I went in all 16 months and lernd the rest at home. [Students attended] all the parents could spaire them. My teacher was a man the woman did not tech them day.

487—Free schools. Public. About 3 months in a year. Man

554—The common free schools of that period. Only the country free schools. Public as a rule. 2 or 3 years. 1 mile to the nearest and 3 or 4 to the farthest. Men.

555—Country schools. Public schools. About 4 month in a year. [Total schooling] about 12 months. About a mile and a half. Prenciably men.

615—Public school. Had two Public school – male and female. About 8 months. [Total schooling] about 3½ years. About 400 yards. Both [teachers].

723—Old District schools very poor ones at that; teachers we had then wouldn't be recognized now. Some subscription some free. Public. [Total schooling] about eighteen months, about 4 months at a time. ½ mile. Sometimes a man and sometimes a woman.

831—Country school. Everyone sending children helped pay the expenses. Until the age of 14 but only a part of each year. Several miles; rode horseback. Man, always.

862—A small school a taught by one teacher in a log school house. About 8 weeks. Two primary schools. Private. 3 months. About 1½ miles. Man

Volume 3
958—Free school. From 1 to 3 miles. Free schools subscription. 2 to 5 miles. [Taught by] both.

1042—Free & subscription. About 4 mo. in the yr. for 10 yr. 1 mile. Rock Hill and Flat Creek. Public and private. 4 mo. Not very [many attended] so many had to work. Mostly men.

1047—Subscription school. 3 or 4 years altogether in 8 or 10 years, also after the war. About 2 miles. Mt. Pisgah also Thomas School near where Bedford College was started. [p.1048] Private. 3 or 4 months. Sometimes men and other woman.

1097—Public schools. About 3 years. 1 mile. Public school, some time private schools for a short time. Genrly Public ocassionaly some one would ___ [sic] private school for a short time. 4 to 5 [miles to school]. Men

1285—School in the country. Subscription schools where the teacher "warded [boarded?] round." Private, the people paid for the school by warding the teacher time about. Very short while in winter. About 3 months. Sometimes 4 months. They went to school when they were not needed at home. School was secondary. What education I got I worked out for myself. About ½ mile. Man.

Volume 4
1324—Both free or public schools and subscription. From 5 years old to 17 when not making crops. About 3 month free. ½ to 2 miles. Both [men and women taught].

1374—Public. About 7 or 8 years. 1½ miles. Low grade. Public. About 3 months. Man.

1500—The first part of my education was received at the Public Schools. From first to last I don't think I was in school over 4 years. 1½ miles. Mostly the public. 3 to 4 months. My teachers were men with one exception.

1546—Private school. About 2 years. About 3 miles. A private school, the teacher being emplyed by the neighborhood. Private. 2 or 3 months. Sometimes a man and sometimes a woman.

1601—About 2 or 3 months public school each year and sometimes subscription school after that. [Total schooling] probably about 30 or 35 months. 2 or 3 miles. The short public schools and subscription schools. A few months of each. About 5 months altogether. Man.

1615—Private school. Not over 12 months. Not over ¼ mile. Boon's school house in 22nd District in Bedford Co was where I went most Mt Herman and New [Herman]. Private. From 3 to 4 months. Man

1632—Country log school. 3 months. ½ mile. One country school. Public. 4 months. Man.

1732—Common free schools—very limited in ability. About 12 to 15 month. ½ mile. Common free school. Public. 3 months. Man.

1774—Little free school. Eight Bro. we takened time about going about 6 or 8 yrs. About 1½ mi. [Schools in neighborhood:] Tompson creek, Roberts, Hilltop Public. About 2½ or 3 mo. Man

1775—Free school. 12 years. One mile. "Public free school at [Raus]. Public. Man.

Volume 5

1801—Publick school. About 2 years. A bout one mile some time and some times would be farther. Public schools. About 3 months in the fall. Men teachers.

2018—Before the civil ware in small vacant houses in the neighborhood. I don't know how month [sic] before the war after ____ [sic] I went two terms of ten month. The first ten months one mile the second three. I never went to school in the same house but one time. Tennessee country schools. A small part Publick I don't remember how much. About ten months." My first school was taught by a woman. The others by men.