The Untold Stories of the Maney Family Slaves: A Case Study of Slavery in Murfreesboro

by

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ABSTRACT

For years, Oaklands Mansion has stood proudly at the head of downtown Murfreesboro. Today, the Oaklands Mansion house museum offers tours surrounding the Civil War history of the home. As a wealthy, prominent family in Murfreesboro, Oaklands' Maney family was one of the largest slave holding families in Murfreesboro. However, very little research has been devoted to the African Americans enslaved by the Maney family. Upon emancipation, this African American community played an influential role in post-Civil War Murfreesboro. An in-depth analysis of two African American Maney families illustrates common struggles faced by African Americans in Murfreesboro during the Reconstruction Era. This study will help broaden the knowledge of the African American Maney community in Murfreesboro and can be used to better understand Murfreesboro history. This project attempts to give a voice to the African Americans who have been overlooked by history.

CHAPTER I

Clay in the Hands of the Potter

The Murfreesboro courthouse buzzed with excitement. The year was 1874, and the small Tennessee town continued to reel from the effects of emancipation and Reconstruction. Murfreesboro awaited the court's decision on a sharecropping case involving well-known businessman Lewis Maney and his former slave, Silas Maney. The case, brought before the court nearly ten years prior in April 1868, dealt with the racial and economic questions raised by the Civil War's end and Reconstruction amendments. The defendant was Silas Maney, a formerly enslaved African American who had been accused of fraudulent business practices. Challenging Silas in court was Lewis Maney and his business partners. Lewis Maney had once been a prominent figure in Murfreesboro business and politics; however, the Civil War brought financial difficulties and struggles for the Maney family. Determined to reassert himself in Murfreesboro society, Maney brought Silas to court, and thus began one of the many battles African Americans would fight in their quest for equality. The court case provides insight into the values of the African American community throughout the Reconstruction Era and beyond.

After the Civil War, Lewis Maney had allied himself with several other white Murfreesboro landowners to create a sharecropping network that cultivated cotton.

Formerly enslaved by the Maney family, Silas lived in close proximity to the Maney's

home, Oaklands Mansion, and worked as a sharecropper on the Oaklands plantation.
Lewis Maney first brought Silas to court in April 1868 to repossess a horse that Silas used to cultivate crops. According to court documents, Silas claimed the horse was necessary to properly cultivate his cotton crop.
The Murfreesboro court allowed Silas use of the horse but required him to pay for its use via extra cotton bales after the harvest.
One unnamed Murfreesboro man spoke in favor of Silas. The man claimed that Maney and his partners were only interested in gaining profit for themselves.
He asserted that the case against Silas was rooted in malice, calling Silas merely clay in Maneys' hands.
"But not for ... Silas Maney who is but the 'Clay in the hand of the Potter' L[ewis]. M. Maney one of the complainants to be molded into Complainant or Respondent as ... malice may dictate.
As an African American man in post-bellum Murfreesboro, Silas seemed little more than a pawn in a larger scheme, subject to the whims of the white men who dominated the town.

¹ For this project, the phrase "former Maney slaves" and other variants of the phrase will be used, as the nature of this thesis is to examine the commonalities and familial bonds that developed among a specific African American community through their experience with the Maney family prior to the Civil War.

² Letter, "L.M. Maney v. Silas Maney," filed May 29, 1868, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874," Rutherford County Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

³ Court notes, "L.M. Maney et al v. Silas Maney et al Crop Bill," filed November 5, 1867, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874," Rutherford County Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁴ Letter, "L.M. Maney v. Silas Maney."

⁵ Letter, "L.M. Maney v. Silas Maney."

⁶ Letter, "L.M. Maney v. Silas Maney."

Lewis Maney brought Silas back to court after the harvest. Maney and his partners claimed they had not received just compensation for allowing Silas use of the horse. The plaintiffs argued that they had the right to receive four bales of cotton or its subsequent proceeds. They argued that Silas owed service to the sharecropping company; therefore, the harvested cotton was not his property and was subject to the use of Lewis Maney and his partners. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, forcing Silas to pay four bales of cotton or the proceeds from their sale. Holding true to the assertion that Silas was nothing but "Clay in the hand of the Potter," the court's decision emphasized the post-bellum African American man was meant to know his place in society. It was not in his interest to go against the will of powerful white males.

Lewis Maney et al. v. Silas Maney et al. defined the arguments and values of Reconstruction Era Murfreesboro, defining the society atmosphere and predominant thinking of post-Civil War Murfreesboro. The plaintiffs, all wealthy white landowners, attempted to maintain the social structure of the pre- Civil War Era, even in the absence of legal slavery. Plantation owners shaped the practice of sharecropping to -protect their

⁷ Court decision, "L.M. Maney + others v. Silas Maney + J.W. Johnston Final Decree," filed June 4, 1874, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874," Rutherford County Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁸ Court notes, "L.M. Maney, et al. v. Silas Maney et al Crop Bill," filed November 5, 1867, "Maney, L.M. et al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874."

⁹ Court decision, "L.M. Maney + others v. Silas Maney + J.W. Johnston Final Decree."

interests and institute a system of racial biases. ¹⁰ Lewis Maney et. al. v. Silas Maney et. al. also underscores an attempt to maintain a social hierarchy of white men as the heads of society and silence any African American who questioned the system. However, S. Maney sought to assert his newly-granted freedom within the legal system and maintain his right to property. In what was likely a first-of-its-kind case in Murfreesboro, S. Maney legally faced his former owner in court. His right to speak in his own defense had not been afforded to him just a few years before the court proceedings. A look at the rights of slaves and presence of a social hierarchy before and during the Civil War provides the background for understanding the political and societal motives of people living during the Reconstruction Era.

The Law and Slavery

Before the Civil War, southern state legislatures passed several laws to restrict rights of enslaved African Americans, protect rights of wealthy slaveowners, and define the parameters of the slave trade across city and state lines. Historian Clayton Jewett explains, "legal codes not only were enacted to ensure the stability of the peculiar institution but also were designed to regulate the actions and personal habits of slaves."¹¹

¹⁰ Ian D. Ochiltree, "'A Just and Self-Respecting System'?: Black Independence, Sharecropping, and Paternalistic Relations in the American South and South Africa," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 353, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/3744387?Search=yes&resultItemClick= true&searchText=american&searchText=sharecropping&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQu ery%3Damerican%2Bsharecropping&ab_segments=0%2Fdefault-2%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3A44a52232e642c4477e4c0c9fe3d07f68&seq=2#metadata info tab contents

¹¹ Clayton E. Jewett and John O. Allen, *Slavery in the South: A State-by-State History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 230.

State governments passed laws not only to regulate slave activity but also to define legal actions the enslaved were allowed under the law. However, many other laws surrounding slavery had similar purposes across the South. In his article, William W. Fisher III states: "In important respects, the rules used by the Southern colonies and states to administer the system of chattel slavery were consistent and coherent." Within the legal codes, an enslaved African American living in the southern United States was considered as both property and as a person. Despite similar views of slavery in relation to the law, the implementation of legal codes concerning slavery in Tennessee were relatively liberal compared to other slave states. 14

As Property

As property, a slave had no legal rights. ¹⁵ Across the South, a slave's labor was legally classified as the "property right" of slave owners. ¹⁶ Under this jurisdiction of the law, the enslaved community was subject to legal limitations, had little access to the privileges of court, and was subject to dictates of the slaveowner. ¹⁷ The legal idea of slaves as property allowed legislators to regulate the function of the enslaved community

¹² William W. Fisher III, "Ideology and Imagery in the Law of Slavery," in *Slavery and the Law*, ed. Paul Finkleman (Madison: Madison House Publishers, 1997), 43, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mtsu/reader.action?docID=1354795.

¹³ Fisher III, "Ideology and Imagery in the Law of Slavery," 43.

¹⁴ Chase C. Mooney, "Some Institution and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1942): 196, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42620751?seq=3 #metadata info tab contents.

¹⁵ Caleb Perry Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (New York: Negro University Press, 1968), 56.

¹⁶ Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 62.

¹⁷ Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 56.

within society. This practice confirmed the idea that the white male was the head of society, giving wealthy slaveholding men the ability to dictate the exact actions of African Americans. Tennessee historian Stephen V. Ash claims that "The law assumed that it was often unnecessary, barring unusual circumstances, to act directly on the slave," thus circumventing the will of the slave and undermining their humanity. ¹⁸ Common law in the United States dictated that an African American took the bondage status of his mother and was subject to the restrictions of that status. ¹⁹ Any law passed regarding slavery was designed to protect the interests of the white slaveowners and ultimately prevent emancipation. ²⁰

The legal institution of slavery in Tennessee was designed to protect the economic interests of society. Laws restricting slaves' rights often were passed to maintain "servile discipline" and the created order of society. Legal restrictions often can be divided into laws regarding property ownership and slave movement. In terms of property, slaves were "regarded as personal property in Tennessee and what he owned belonged to the master." Therefore, what little property the slave owned was not legally considered his own but was subject to the jurisdiction of the slave owner. Slaves could neither own nor

¹⁸ Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 56.

¹⁹ Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 42.

²⁰ John White and Ralph Willett, *Slavery in the American South*, ed. Patrick Richardson (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 18-19.

²¹ Ash, Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-1870, 55.

²² Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 30.

carry weapons, for fear of insurrection.²³ Likewise, slaves were not allowed to possess, drink, purchase, or sell alcohol.²⁴ Not only were slaves denied property ownership, but also were not permitted to receive property via a gift, inheritance, or other means.²⁵ Tennessee also passed laws to restrict the movement of slaves and discourage runaways. Slaves were subject to a nightly curfew, and their failure to abide by the curfew brought punishment from county police.²⁶ Additionally, slaves were prohibited from leaving the slaveowner's property unless given expressed written consent.²⁷ These legal restrictions were enacted to hinder any attempts by slaves to obtain their freedom or start an insurrection against the slaveowners.

Under the provision that a slave was property, an enslaved African American was not afforded any legal protection in court. While many slaveowners encouraged slaves to marry and start families, slave marriages were not legally recognized by the courts. In fact, slaves were not allowed to make any type of contract unless it was with the consent of the slaveowner to obtain freedom. Furthermore, an enslaved man was neither allowed to act as a witness in court nor testify against a white man. Finally, a slave could not enter into a civil suit or argue his own case in court.²⁸ These laws, which afforded an enslaved African American no legal rights, were designed to silence slaves. By silencing them, the

²³ Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 13-14.

²⁴ Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 13-14.

²⁵ Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 31.

²⁶ Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 13.

²⁷ Mooney, Slavery in Tennessee, 13.

²⁸ See: Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee*, 30-32.

slaveowner effectively forced his slaves into quiet submission. The enslaved had no legal course of action whereby to challenge the slaveowner's actions.

Lewis Maney attempted to maintain the idea that African Americans had no legal rights while also ensuring that white landowners reaped the benefits. Throughout the trial, Silas faced the notion that he did not have the basic rights to property or income. Silas had just emerged from a time in which the law did not grant him the right to own property, move freely, or testify in court. Although the Reconstruction Era claimed to grant these rights, Silas was still forced to fight for the ability to use a horse for work. While he was allowed to appear in court and not considered someone's personal property, Silas still did not culturally have the legal rights of a person equal to a white man under the law.

As a Person

Although state laws recognized the enslaved as property, the law simultaneously recognized African Americans as people capable of making their own decisions. When describing the nature of slavery in Tennessee, historian Caleb Patterson states, "Under our modified system of slavery, slaves are not mere chattels, but are regarded in the two-fold character of persons and property; that is, as persons they are considered by our laws as accountable moral agents...[.]" While this seems contradictory, the legal recognition of an enslaved individual as a person did not lessen the provision that a slave was property, but rather reinforced the provision by enhancing the proprietary value of an

²⁹ Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee*, 57.

enslaved individual.³⁰ The idea of understanding a slave's humanity only arose as a means of holding African Americans liable for their actions instead of the slaveowner.³¹ Therefore, while seemingly pointing to inherent contradictions within the slave codes, the provision of enslaved African Americans as people only served to further the protection of slaveowners from legal consequences. Thus, recognizing the slaves as a person was not a hint of legal morality, but was in reality one more avenue whereby power and dominance could be asserted over African Americans.

While slaves could not testify in court or bring law suits to court, enslaved individuals could be tried for crimes. Trying a slave in court usually was reserved for the most serious offences. A "serious offence" was defined as any crime which threatened the racial status quo. ³² Once in court, a slave was tried in the same manner as a free man, even allowing a grand jury investigation. ³³ If convicted of a crime such as theft, rape, or murder, punishment often was death by hanging. ³⁴ While the courts claimed impartiality, there are records of slaves being put to death for crimes despite insufficient evidence. Sometimes, new evidence invalidated the court's earlier ruling. One such case involved Charles Maney, an enslaved man belonging to the Maney family, who was convicted of

³⁰ Arthur F. Howington, What Sayeth the Law: The Treatment of Slaves and Free Blacks in the State and Courts of Tennessee (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1986), 1.

³¹ White and Willett, *Slavery in the American South*, 19.

³² Ash, Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 56.

³³ Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 57.

³⁴ Greg Tucker, "First Documented Execution was in 1813," *Daily News Journal* (Murfreesboro, TN: July 24, 2011), http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/first-documented-execution-was-in-1813/.

rape.³⁵ Although "there was a strong suspicion at the time that he was not the guilty party," Charles was hanged for the crime in Murfreesboro.³⁶ Several months later, one of the Maney family slaves living in Mississippi confessed to the crime for which Charles Maney had been executed.³⁷ The provision allowing slaves a court trial only extended to trying enslaved individuals for crimes. The court trials were also problematic because, while making the concession that an enslaved African American was capable of making his own decisions, the court refused to recognize his opinion, testimony, or evidence during the trial. Therefore, while it was legally recognized that enslaved African Americans were people with complex thoughts and emotions, the provisions made in court were simply another form of submission enforced by slaveowners.

Legal codes in Tennessee maintained that enslaved individuals were bound inside this two-fold system: they were both property and a person. While claiming that the two areas were separate, the rights and privileges that were either stripped from or purportedly given to slaves both enforce the same pre-Civil War era ideals. The legal codes upheld the idea that enslaved African Americans were beneath white men; consequently, the enslaved were underserving of basic rights or a voice within society. The legal system also threatened anyone who attempted to go against the "status quo" of society and punished anyone who dared to defy his social class and standing.

³⁵ Tucker, "First Documented Execution was in 1813."

³⁶ Tucker, "First Documented Execution was in 1813," quoting *Goodspeed's History of Rutherford County* (1886).

³⁷ Tucker, "First Documented Execution was in 1813."

The provision that characterized enslaved African Americans as people in court was not an admission of a slave's humanity but rather another means by which to silence the enslaved community. This jurisdiction of the law was designed to benefit slaveowners and quell any attempts at insurrection. While not protecting the institution of slavery, *Lewis Maney et. al.* v. *Silas Maney et. al.* followed the same pattern as the slave codes, protecting wealthy white landowners and keeping African Americans subservient. While Silas was able to fight for his rights in court, he ultimately faced the same fate, taking the fall for Lewis Maney's benefit.

Middle Tennessee and the Institution of Slavery

The institution of slavery manifested differently across the South. Tennessee was a border state between free and slaveholding states. As such, the practice of slavery in Tennessee greatly differed from the practice on plantations in the deep South. Therefore, this unique institutional practice warrants an in-depth analysis of slavery in Tennessee. Enslaved African Americans comprised about twenty-five percent of Tennessee's population by 1860. Historical records show that 36,844 Tennesseans owned at least one slave. The practice of slavery varied greatly across different regions

³⁸ Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," 195-228.

³⁹ Jewett and Allen, *Slavery in the South*, 224.

⁴⁰ Jewett and Allen, *Slavery in the South*, Appendix 1.

of the state. Therefore, it is important to understand the institutional, societal, and agricultural aspects of slavery in the Middle Tennessee region.

The Institution of Slavery

By the early 1800s, slavery within Tennessee had grown significantly and had begun to have a strong economic influence on the state's economy. Slaves were viewed as a form of cash and collateral, and enslaved African Americans often were used to pay debts, ensure inheritance, and pay marriage dowries. ⁴¹ While defining the role of slavery in Murfreesboro, historian Kristofer Ray claims, "Indeed, the institution of slavery exerted enormous influence over Middle Tennessee's social and geographic identity." ⁴² In fact, due to the closely-knit community of most towns in Middle Tennessee, like Murfreesboro, Franklin, and Shelbyville, slavery's effects likely were more keenly felt by all its citizens. ⁴³

Murfreesboro played an influential role in Tennessee's early history, serving as the state capital from 1819-1826.⁴⁴ Outside of its role as state capital, Murfreesboro served as a political center for Tennessee and remained as such throughout its early history. Wealthy politicians from around the state brought not only their ideas for government but also their practice of slavery. Within a year of the start of Murfreesboro's

⁴¹ Kristofer Ray, *Middle Tennessee 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 70.

⁴² Ray, Middle Tennessee 1775-1825, 141.

⁴³ Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

⁴⁴ Carlton C. Sims, A History of Rutherford County (Carlton C. Sims, 1947), 3.

stint as the capital, Middle Tennessee's economy was already too closely tied to the institution of slavery for the economy to efficiently function without the practice. ⁴⁵ The political importance of Murfreesboro aided in Middle Tennessee's distinction as having the largest concentration of slaves in the state. In the early 1800s, almost seventy percent of the state's enslaved population lived in Middle Tennessee. ⁴⁶ Despite the large concentration of slaves in the region, only about forty-five percent of the free male population in Middle Tennessee owned slaves. ⁴⁷ Although slightly less than half of the population owned slaves, the economy was intrinsically tied to its practice. Slaveowners likely were wealthy politicians, plantation owners, or large business owners who perpetrated the slave trade within the confines of Middle Tennessee.

An often overlooked aspect of slavery was the sale of enslaved individuals across plantations, cities, and states. As African Americans were considered property and acceptable forms of payment, specific monetary values were assigned to them based on age, gender, and ability to work. State laws regulated the movement of slaves as merchandise to ensure the most economic profit. During the Civil War, fifteen-year-old male slaves were marketed at fourteen hundred dollars; twenty-one year old males were marketed at seventeen hundred dollars; and thirty-four year old males were marketed at thirteen hundred dollars.⁴⁸ Age played a large role in the market value of a slave. A

⁴⁵ Ray, *Middle Tennessee 1775-1825*, 151.

⁴⁶ Ray, Middle Tennessee 1775-1825, 69.

⁴⁷ Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," 212.

⁴⁸ Jewett and Allen, *Slavery in the South*, 225.

twenty-one year old male was more highly valued because of his strength and capability for hard labor. Women, however, were considered more valuable based on their potential to produce multiple offspring. For example, Dr. James Maney, first owner of Oaklands Mansion and father of Lewis Maney, purchased an African American woman, Sylvia, and her two young sons, Peter and Ben, for fifteen hundred dollars. ⁴⁹ Within days, Maney turned a one-hundred dollar profit by selling Sylvia and her sons. ⁵⁰ While the slave trade was common throughout the state, Tennessee also functioned as a "transferring state;" slaves were purchased in Tennessee and "transferred" to Deep Southern states where they could be sold for a higher price. ⁵¹ The state of Tennessee mandated that slaves could not be brought into the state solely to be sold as merchandise. ⁵² Therefore, it was not uncommon for slaveowners to move large portions of their slave population to out-of-state plantations to participate in the slave trade. The buying, selling, and trading of human lives created a complex system which rendered economies, businesses, and plantations dependent upon the profit generated from the slave trade.

⁴⁹ Bill of sale, Joseph Spence to James Maney, September 21, 1859, "Beyond the Plantation," Oaklands Mansion Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁵⁰ Bill of sale, James Maney to J. Todd, September 28, 1859, "Beyond the Plantation," Oaklands Mansion Archives, Murfreesboro, TN. Maney sold Sylvia, Ben, and Peter (spelled in the bill of sale to J. Todd as Petter). By 1870, Sylvia had taken the last name Maney and lived in Murfreesboro with her youngest son, Ben. Ben later married Laura Pollard in Texas. Ben Maney's certificate of death lists Sylvia as mixed race and states that his father was an unknown white man.

⁵¹ Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," 202.

⁵² Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 43.

The Societal Implications of Slavery

The presence of an enslaved community had consequences which rippled through antebellum Civil War society. The degradation of African Americans created a social hierarchy among whites, who often achieved influence within society in accordance with the number of slaves one owned. Stephen Ash also states that "slaveholding provided the most obvious contrast between classes. Slaves were both a symbol and substance of wealth... In order to succeed socially, it was necessary to own slaves." Slaves were a visible sign of one's wealth, and in effect, one's prominence within a community. Slaves contributed to the wealthy landowners' social status but also made the function of cities and communities possible.

Slaves were expected to perform the most common, everyday tasks throughout town. This allowed wealthy white men and women to enjoy leisure time and create social networks while the enslaved prepared meals, cleaned homes, and catered to other needs. Urban historian Lisa Tolbert describes the gender roles placed on enslaved African Americans, stating: "Slave women were cooks and laundresses. Men were stable hands and drivers. Boys were dining-room servants and messengers. Girls took care of younger children and ran errands." Slaves performed any task that the white population deemed undesirable.

⁵³ Ash, Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 44.

⁵⁴ Tolbert, Constructing Townscapes, 196-197.

The everyday life of the free, slave-owning, white population held very few expectations. Murfreesboro resident Kate Carney (1861), detailed her day-to-day life throughout her diary. One 1861 entry noted:

One of Bro. Wilson's negro men got very badly hurt with a mule today. Mended Sister's hoop skirt. Finished "The Virginians," read some papers & a magazine, practiced on my guitar, & this evening practiced shooting with Sister's pistol. We walked down to the river in the evening. Don't know how I shall kill time until next Wednesday. 55

Carney lamented the lack of ways to spend her time once she completed her novel. She spent her days enjoying walks to the river and reading the daily news. However, within the confines of the same paragraph, Carney dismissively mentions an enslaved man who faced serious injuries while working the fields. Another contemporary of the time, Murfreesboro native John Spence, also wrote about slavery in Murfreesboro. Both Spence and Carney demonstrate an attitude of dismissiveness regarding the presence of slavery in Murfreesboro. In his memoirs, Spence attempted to excuse slavery, stating that slaves often were treated as family members and were much better off than poor white men. ⁵⁶

The Agricultural Impact of Slavery

Middle Tennessee's enslaved community provided a large agricultural labor force that cultivated lucrative cash crops. The profit from these crops stimulated Middle

⁵⁵ Kate Carney, "The Diary of Kate S. Carney Diary, April 15, 1861 – July 31, 1862: by Kate Carney," May 30, 1861, ed. J. Mitchell, *Four Diaries From the American Civil War: Written by Women* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2010), 476.

⁵⁶ John C. Spence, *Annals of Rutherford County: Volume One 1799-1825* (Nashville: The Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 115.

Tennessee's economy and provided its primary source of income. Middle Tennessee plantations chiefly grew corn, oats, wheat, flax, cotton, and tobacco.⁵⁷ Cotton and tobacco were the staple "money crops" in the region.⁵⁸ Enslaved African Americans cultivated and harvested the plantations' profitable crops. Therefore, communities valued slaves not only for their proprietary worth but also for their hand in reaping the rewards of large cash crops.

Middle Tennessee quickly became a center for crop cultivation. By 1856,
Rutherford County produced nearly five thousand bales of cotton. ⁵⁹ Likely, most of this cotton was grown on large, slaveholding plantations. In the same year, fifty-two plantations in Rutherford County consisted of five hundred to one thousand acres of land and most likely grew cash crops. ⁶⁰ The land value and income from agricultural produce also seems to have been directly correlated to the number of slaves one held. A comparison of three slaveholders residing in and around Rutherford county illustrates this correlation. Hiram Murray of Readyville owned nine slaves in 1850, and the estimated worth of his agricultural production was valued at two-thousand dollars. ⁶¹ Robert Jarmon of Lascassas owned nineteen slaves in 1860, and his agricultural production was valued

⁵⁷ Spence, Annals of Rutherford County, 111.

⁵⁸ Spence, Annals of Rutherford County, 111.

⁵⁹ Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee*, 61.

⁶⁰ Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 61.

⁶¹ Heritage Center of Murfreesboro & Rutherford County, "Slavery in Rutherford County Primary Source Set," accessed March 2, 2019, http://www.sitemason.com/files/IGSJrO/Slavery%20in%20 Rutherford%20County%20Primary%20Source%20Set.pdf, 5-6.

at twelve-thousand dollars. ⁶² Finally, Legrand Carney of Murfreesboro, father of Kate Carney, owned sixty-four slaves in 1860, and his agricultural production was valued at two-hundred twenty-eight thousand dollars. ⁶³ The number of slaves one owned directly correlated to the volume of crop production. More slaves yielded more produce and, as a result, more income for the land owners. It can also be assumed that those who owned more slaves also owned more land; thus, the wealthier men brought in larger harvests and cultivated more land.

Prior to the Reconstruction Era, Silas Maney was considered an asset not just to the Maney family but also to the Murfreesboro economy. Silas' labor was of no benefit to himself, thus further solidifying the societal perception that he was inferior to white men. Through the court case, Silas attempted to distance himself from his former position of inferiority and reassert himself as an equal within the new post-Civil War society.

Conclusion

While the Reconstruction Era promised freedom, reform, and a new future,
African Americans continued to face struggles and hardships that prevented them from
improving their situation. *Lewis Maney et. al.* v. *Silas Maney et. al.* demonstrated that
although slavery had been abolished, African Americans had not broken from the stigma
that they were little more than an asset under the dictates of the white men. Silas Maney

 $^{^{62}}$ Heritage Center of Murfreesboro & Rutherford County, "Slavery in Rutherford County Primary Source Set," 10-11.

⁶³ Heritage Center of Murfreesboro & Rutherford County, "Slavery in Rutherford County Primary Source Set," 12-13.

challenged this idea in court, breaking from traditional thought, but realized that he still had little voice in society. The result of *Lewis Maney et. al.* v. *Silas Maney et. al.* both literally and symbolically indicated the numerous challenges that awaited African Americans post-Civil War.

The history of slavery in Middle Tennessee provides context for the sentiments and values African Americans adopted during the Reconstruction era. The rights which had been denied to African Americans for decades ignited the enslaved community toward establishing themselves as co-equal freemen in society. Enslaved Americans chose sides in the Civil War, thus challenging the institution of slavery that permeated every aspect of life in Tennessee. After emancipation, African Americans no longer allowed themselves to be "Clay in the Hands of the Potter." Instead they molded their own destinies, strengthened by the kilns of hardship.

Chapter II

Learning Freedom

The year was 1852 and the estate of Tennessee Senator David Dickinson was finally settled. Among Dickinson's assets were an extensive household, landholdings, monetary wealth, and more than one-hundred slaves. Since Dickinson's will had been written several years before his death, several of his family members mentioned in the will had since passed away, and the Murfreesboro court stepped in to divide Dickinson's property among his surviving family. The court did not render a quick judgement, leaving those enslaved by Dickinson with much uncertainty concerning their future. As the case continued, Dickinson's slaves waited to learn where the court would place them among the senator's surviving relatives.

One such individual was an enslaved woman named Frances. In documents supporting Dickinson's will, Frances was listed as a domestic servant for the Dickinson family, and was specifically named in Dickinson's 1848 will to "be allowed... to make choice of her master or mistress among my [David Dickinson] family...[.]" Frances was stated to be thirty-nine at the time the will was written. When Dickinson's estate was finally settled, the court ruled that Frances now belonged to Sally Bell, Dickinson's

¹ Will, David Dickinson's Will, Rutherford County Archives, in box "Record Book 14 1846-1849," (October 18, 1848), Murfreesboro, TN, 416.

² Will, David Dickinson's Will, in box "Record Book 14 1846-1849," 404.

granddaughter.³ It is uncertain whether the court upheld Dickinson's will in this manner, allowing Frances to choose remaining with Sally. Whatever the court decided to uphold, with this decree Frances was bound to Sally Bell for the duration of the Civil War, where she continued to work as a domestic servant. In time, both Sally Bell and Frances would find their way into the Maney family.

The Maney Family

From the moment the Maney family moved to Murfreesboro, they began to exert enormous influence over Murfreesboro business, politics, and society. James Maney was the first of the Maney family to live in Murfreesboro after he and his wife, Sally Murfree Maney, inherited a large tract of land from Hardy Murfree, Sally Maney's father and the namesake of Murfreesboro, in 1814. James and Sally Maney received fifteen hundred eighty-eight acres of land "at \$3 per acre... lying in the County of Rutherford near the town of Murfree's Borough on the Waters of Stone's River...[.]" It was at this location that James Maney established his medical practice and started his home. Dr. Maney established himself in Murfreesboro as one of the first medical practitioners in the town. §

³ Court Decree, "William L. Murfree + his wife Fanny Priscilla, and William L. Murfree + Lewis G. Galloway, Executor of David Dickinson dec Vs. David D.W. Bell, David + Lewis Galloway, David D. Bell, John Bell, Sallie Bell, and David Maney," Rutherford County Archives, in *Rutherford County Chancery Court Minute Book B*, Murfreesboro, TN, 142.

⁴ Robert M. McBride, "Oaklands: A Venerable Host; A Renewed Welcome," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (December 1983), 305, file:///C:/Users/Audrey/Documents/MTSU/THESIS/Oaklands%20A%20Venerable%20Host.pdf.

⁵ Estate settlement, Hardy Murfree estate settlement, Williamson County Archives, Franklin, TN, Probate Records, [42].

⁶ John C. Spence. *Annals of Rutherford County: Vol. I (1799-1828)* (Nashville: Williams Printing Company, 1991), 105-106.

Dr. Maney built a small home for his growing family and moved permanently to Murfreesboro by the early 1820s. Dr. Maney was a member of a wealthy North Carolina family. He continued to flourish as a prominent businessman in Murfreesboro and gained a reputation among his neighbors as "a very wealthy man." James and Sally Maney had eight children in Murfreesboro; however, only four of these children survived to adulthood: Thomas H. Maney, Lewis M. Maney, Mary W. Maney, and David D. Maney.

The surviving Maney children each started their own family in Murfreesboro and established themselves as prominent figures in the town. Thomas Maney married Fanny Bell, the daughter of U.S. Speaker of the House and former presidential candidate John Bell. ¹⁰ Thomas and Dr. Maney also were partners in a cotton gin business in Murfreesboro. ¹¹ Lewis Maney was commissioned as a major during the Mexican War and was referred to as Major Maney. ¹² Major Maney married Rachel Adeline Cannon, the daughter of Tennessee's governor, Newton Cannon, and became the head of the

⁷ McBride, "Oaklands," 306.

⁸ War Claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney War Claim RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," Murfreesboro, TN, [II-A-4].

⁹ McBride, "Oaklands," 308.

¹⁰ War Claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claim RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [II-A-4].

¹¹ War Claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," [II-A-4].

¹² War Claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claim RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [II-A-4]. Due to the volume of Maney family members being discussed in this project, Lewis Maney will be referred to by his title "Major Maney" for the duration of the project.

Maney household after the death of Sally Maney. Mary Maney Keeble married Edwin A. Keeble in 1826. Keeble was a notable lawyer and editor in Murfreesboro, and he later served as Murfreesboro's mayor, Rutherford County's representative in the Tennessee state legislature, and Tennessee's representative in the Confederate Congress. Finally, David Dickson Maney, the youngest of the Maney's surviving children, made his place in Murfreesboro as the editor of the *Rutherford Telegraph* and as Rutherford County's representative in the Tennessee state legislature. ¹³

In 1863, Mary Maney Keeble passed away and her husband, Edwin Keeble remarried. He married Sally Dickinson Bell, the granddaughter of David Dickinson and niece to William Hardy Murfree. At the time of Edwin and Sally's marriage, Frances was still enslaved by Sally Bell. Frances followed her mistress into the Keeble home and was thus introduced to the Maney family.

Maney Land Holdings

As prominent, influential members of Murfreesboro society, the Maneys owned significant property across Tennessee. Dr. Maney's grandson stated that within Middle Tennessee the family owned three tracts of land consisting of two hundred sixty-five acres, two hundred fifteen acres, and eight hundred acres respectively. ¹⁶ Dr. Maney also "acquired large tracts of land in Mississippi and West Tennessee and spent considerable

¹³ McBride, "Oaklands," 308-313.

¹⁴ John Lodl, "Keeble Family Tree," Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

¹⁵ John Lodl, "Bell Family Tree," Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

¹⁶ War Claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [11].

time in the management of those interests."¹⁷ Although Dr. Maney owned these properties until his death, his four children oversaw its management.

The Maneys owned several tracts of land in Mississippi which were run by

Thomas Maney until his death in 1847. The Trio Plantation, the largest of the Maney's Mississippi plantations, was twenty-four-hundred acres. The plantation included sixteen hundred acres of cleared land, a cotton gin, and living quarters for the owner and slaves. After Thomas' death, Dr. and Major Maney took charge of Trio Plantation. One of the Maney's neighbors reported that Dr. Maney traveled to Mississippi to oversee the sale of cotton in 1860. Major and Mrs. Maney also spent considerable time at the Mississippi plantation. The couple visited once every year to oversee the plantation and purchase luxury items for their Murfreesboro home.

Dr. Maney owned at least three large, connecting tracts of agricultural land near Murfreesboro. Each of the three Maney children who resided in Tennessee was placed on one of Dr. Maney's landholdings, with the intention to deed the land to Dr. Maney's children upon his death. Major Maney received a plantation near the Barfield community

¹⁷ Carlton C. Sims, A History of Rutherford County (Carlton C. Sims, 1947), 132.

¹⁸ Folder summary, "Trio Plantation," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Trio Mississippi Plantation Research," Murfreesboro, TN, [1].

¹⁹ Folder summary, "Trio Plantation," in folder, Trio Mississippi Plantation Research," [1].

²⁰ Folder summary, "Trio Plantation," in folder "Trio Mississippi Plantation Research," [1].

²¹ War claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [23].

²² War claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [II-A-5].

shortly after his marriage. David D. Maney was given a tract of land near Sulphur Springs Road, leaving the land closest to the town of Murfreesboro for Mary and Edwin Keeble. After Sally Maney's death in 1857, Major and Mrs. Maney moved to the main plantation home presently known as Oaklands Mansion. Today, Oaklands Mansion is a museum, offering visitors guided tours of the home throughout the week. However, in the 1860s Oaklands was the heart of the Maney's social and political influence. The Maney War Claims after the Civil War state that as a prominent home in Murfreesboro, the Maney family saw guests such as John Bell and family members from the Murfree and Cannon family.²³ Other guests that visited the home included General Nathan Bedford Forrest, Colonel William Duffield, General Braxton Bragg, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and Sarah Childress Polk.²⁴

Maney Slave Holdings

While the Maneys were influential businessmen and landholders, the Maney family earned a majority of their profit through the slave trade. After Hardy Murfree's death, the Maneys not only inherited the Murfreesboro plantation but also twenty-two slaves from the Murfree estate at an estimated worth of three thousand four hundred twelve dollars.²⁵ By 1850, the United States census indicated that Dr. Maney owned

²³ See: War claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," [II-A-5].

²⁴ Oaklands Mansion. "History of Oaklands." Last revised 2017, accessed May 14, 2019 from http://www.oaklandsmansion.org/history-of-oaklands/.

²⁵ Estate settlement, Hardy Murfree estate settlement, probate records, Williamson County Archives, Franklin, TN, [75]. See also: CPI, Inflation calculator, 2019, accessed August 30, 2019 from http://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1814?amount=3412.50. Current value is estimated at forty-nine thousand five hundred forty-eight dollars.

thirty-five slaves in Murfreesboro and eighty-six slaves in Madison County,
Mississippi. 26 Major Maney also owned twenty-four slaves in Murfreesboro. 27 Between
Dr. and Major Maney, there were likely about sixty enslaved African Americans living
and working at Oaklands Mansion by 1857. In 1857, Dr. Maney also divided his slave
holdings amongst his three children. By 1860, Dr. Maney owned at least one hundred
slaves in Madison County, Mississippi. 28 In Murfreesboro, there were approximately one
hundred enslaved individuals living and working on the various Maney plantations. 29 As
Dr. Maney divided his slave holdings between Major Maney, David Maney, and Edwin
Keeble, many families were separated, often working on plantations several miles away
from loved ones. In one of the interviews to settle the Maney's Civil War claims, Henry
Curren stated that he was a slave of Edwin Keeble's; however, his mother belonged to
Dr. Maney. 30 It does appear that although the Maney's enslaved community worked on
several different plantations, there was some movement between the Murfreesboro

²⁶ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1850 United States Census (Slave Schedule)*, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

²⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Lewis," *1850 United States Census (Slave Schedule)*, from Familysearch.com database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6S83-Y7G?i=71&cc=1420440.

²⁸ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1860 United States Census (Slave Schedule)*, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

²⁹ United States Census, 1860 United States Census (Slave Schedule), Rutherford County Archives.

³⁰ War claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," 11-12.

plantations. Curren claimed that despite belonging to the Keebles, he "lived on the Maney quarters for the slaves before and during the war."³¹

African Americans and the Reconstruction Era

Following the Civil War, the political and social atmosphere of the United States began to change drastically. The decade immediately following the Civil War became known as the Reconstruction Era. The war-torn South began rebuilding its homes, communities, and economies. The government worked to unify the nation, and newly freed African Americans relished in the joys of emancipation. Unfortunately, their joys were short lived as African Americans grappled with the repercussions of their previously enslaved lives. Upon emancipation, one of the main concerns of African Americans was locating family members who had been separated by the slave trade. ³² African Americans began forming communities in which every member shared common experiences of slavery and its consequences. African American churches became centers of community that encouraged members by relating their struggles to biblical accounts. ³³ Church

³¹ War claims, "Newton C. Maney, Administrator of Jas. Maney vs. The United States," in folder "Maney War Claims RCA Primary Sources (from Oaklands Collection)," 11.

³² Antoinette G. van Zelm, "Hope Within A Wilderness of Suffering: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom," Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, 3, accessed October 14, 2019, www.tn4me.org/pdf/TransitionfromSlaverytoFreedom.pdf.

³³ Matthew Harper, *The End of Days: African American Religion and Politics in the Age of Emancipation* (eBook: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 2, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/10.5149/9781469629377_harper.4?refreqid=excelsior%3A6d7db942bbfd0c1a 95cbafb028225443&seq=2#metadata info tab contents.

congregations provided a venue for African Americans to form "families" with other formerly enslaved individuals who had lost family members to the slave trade.³⁴

As the Reconstruction Era began, African Americans attempted to assert themselves as free members of society and cast aside the burden of slavery. However, many Southerners wanted to maintain southern tradition, which included the institution of slavery. As African Americans tried to reestablish their lives, Southern politicians and white landowners began to dictate the confines of their freedom. Although emancipation had been granted, freedom came with its share of struggles for both the African Americans and the whites. One very prominent struggle of the Reconstruction Era was the rise of a new workforce.

African American Males in the Workplace

Prior to emancipation, African Americans were forced into the labor system, and an overseer dictated everyday tasks. However, with new freedom came new responsibilities. Freedmen found themselves in need of paying jobs to support themselves and their families. This proved difficult, especially in the South. As one freedman stated: "we colored people did not know how to be free and the white people did not know how

³⁴ van Zelm, "Hope Within a Wilderness of Suffering," 7.

³⁵ Jason Phillips, "'Rebels in War and Peace': Their Ethos and Its impact," in *The Great Task Remaining Before Us: Reconstruction as America's Continuing Civil War*, eds. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (eBook: Fordham University, 2010), 154-172. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/j.ctt14bs08c.14?refreqid=excelsior%3A631a0f9e13e07c3cacb73847c4c63d5f#metadata_info_tab_contents.

³⁶ Matthew Harper, *The End of Days: African American Religion and Politics in the Age of Emancipation* (eBook: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 2, accessed October 17, 2019 from https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/10.5149/9781469629377_harper.4?refreqid=excelsior%3A6d7db942bbfd0c1a95cbafb028225443&seq=2#metadata info tab.

to have a free colored person about them."³⁷ Thus, tensions arose between the white and black community in southern states. White landowners wanted to continue the traditions of the pre-Civil War era and tried to implement a work system that replicated "what they saw as the virtues and advantages of plantation slavery."³⁸ However, African Americans, while often continuing to work their former owners' plantation, wanted to have autonomy and control over their work.³⁹

In the fall of 1865, Southern planters had to quickly reorganize the workforce in time for the harvest. 40 White landowners created a system which incorporated overseers and gang labor, effectively attempting to reinstate slavery. 41 However, African Americans enjoyed their newfound freedom and left their plantation homes in hopes of the promised "forty acres and a mule," a federal program that pledged every freed African American would receive forty acres of land and a mule. 42 African Americans' dreams of land ownership and personal assets did not come to fruition as quickly as

³⁷ Museum Exhibit, Houston Hartsfield Holloway, "Reconstruction and Its Aftermath," Library of Congress, African American Odyssey, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aopart5.html.

³⁸ Ian D. Ochiltree, "'A Just and Self-Respecting System'?: Black Independence, Sharecropping, and Paternalistic Relations in the American South and South Africa," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (Spring 1998), 355, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/3744387?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=american&searchText=sharecropping&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Damerican%2Bsharecropping&ab_segments=0%2Fdefault-2%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3A44a52232e642c4477e4c0c9fe3d07f68&seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents.

³⁹ van Zelm, "Hope Within a Wilderness of Suffering," 4.

⁴⁰ Joseph D. Reid, Jr., "Sharecropping As An Understandable Market Response: The Post-Bellum South," *The Journal of Economic History* 33, no. 1 (March 1973), 107, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/2117145?seq=2#metadata info tab contents.

⁴¹ Ochiltree, "'A Just and Self-Respecting System'?," 355.

⁴² van Zelm, "Hope Within a Wilderness of Suffering," 5.

hoped. As a result, many African American males returned to the familiar plantations to work. As a result, many African American males returned to the familiar plantations to work. However, they did not submit to a system similar to slavery. African Americans negotiated with landowners to create a "sharecropping system" that abolished close supervision, allowed workers their own plot of land, and provided some form of credit and payment. Initially, this system reaffirmed and coexisted with African American's freedom. However, over time "whites in the American South saw that sharecropping could become a solution to the problem of how to reassert dominance rather than representing the source of the problem itself," and the opportunities for African Americans in the sharecropping system began to disappear.

African American Women in the Workplace

Prolonged employment and consistent wage earning were more uncertain for African American women in the Reconstruction workplace. After the Civil War, African American women seemingly had more opportunities to choose how and where they spent their time. African American women consistently demonstrated "that they would seek to put the interests of their families first," and women would often divide their time between

⁴³ Wesley Allen Riddle, "The Origins of Black Sharecropping," *Mississippi Quarterly* 49 (Winter 1995/1996), http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/eds/detail/detail?vid=20&sid=588490d2-7084-4922-9313-6500c504055c%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#db=hft&AN=509527372.

⁴⁴ Roger L. Ransom, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (eBook: University of California, 2013), 89-90, https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/A33CB4916A37B3772C36E8F0A53D1D57/9780511812385c5 p81-105 CBO.pdf/agricultural reconstruction.pdf.

⁴⁵ Ochiltree, "'A Just and Self-Respecting System'?," 366.

wage labor and caring for their families. 46 In the early Reconstruction era, women preferred fostering family relations over continuing to work a plantation. 47 African American women influenced the early Reconstruction work ethic, creating family-based work units instead of gang labor. 48 This arrangement was ideal for many African American women, but soon proved unsustainable. Family-based work units were only conducive for families who could rely solely on the husband's income.

The challenges of the Reconstruction era often forced formerly enslaved women to find jobs and help support their families. However, planters often did not hire women. In an effort to maintain their profit margins, planters looked to hire the fewest number of paid, able-bodied workers to run the plantation. Women who lived on the plantation through a sharecropping contract were expected to put in the same amount of work as their male counterparts, to ensure the continued operation of the plantation. Women

⁴⁶ Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to Present* (eBook: 1985), 44, http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzQ2MTEwM19fQU41?sid=ae806fdd-369d-4345-8059-143718a48815@sessionmgr 4008&vid=7&format=EB.

⁴⁷ Donna L. Franklin, *Ensuring Inequality: The Structural Transformation of the African American Family* (eBook: 1997), 29, http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxl YmtfXzUzMzEwX19BTg2?sid=ae806fdd-369d-4345-8059-143718a48815@sessionmgr4008&vid=13&format=EB&rid=8.

⁴⁸ Franklin, Ensuring Inequality, 29.

⁴⁹ Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow, 52.

⁵⁰ Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau: Race, Gender, and the Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (eBook: Fordham University, 2010), 66, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/j.ctt13wzz3s.8?refreqid=excelsior%3Aacf3765af17452d81b9dec9d38fc4faf&s eq=3#metadata info tab contents.

who attempted to divide work and family life were often chastised and punished for "refusing to work" by both plantation owners and the Freedmen's Bureau.⁵¹

Women who could not depend on a husband or other family members for income, turned to any available position. Women with several children were often turned away from plantation work because the cost of maintaining her family was more than the wages a woman would earn. 52 Therefore, many women turned to domestic tasks. It was not uncommon for African American women to work for their former mistresses, who still referred to them as "servants." 53 Women who worked in plantation homes were at the mercy of white landowners, more so than those under sharecropping arrangements.

Domestic servants performed menial household tasks and often denied the right to spend quality time with their own families. 54 In addition, African American domestic servants often reported unreceived wages. 55 Trapped in the system of domestic labor, African American women continued to work for wealthy white women, and the stigma of inferiority continued into the mid-1900s. 56

⁵¹ Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow, 44.

⁵² Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow, 54.

⁵³ Cecilia Rio, "'A Treadmill Life': Class and African American Women's Paid Domestic Service in the Postbellum South, 1863-1920," *Rethinking Marxism* 20, no. 1 (2008), 94, https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/doi/pdf/10.1080/08935690701740046?needAccess=true.

⁵⁴ Rio, "A Treadmill Life," Rethinking Marxism, 97.

⁵⁵ Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 54.

⁵⁶ Annie S. Barnes, "White Mistresses and African American Domestic Workers: Ideals for Change," *Anthropological Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (Jan 1993), 22-36, https://www-jstororg.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/3317094?seq=2#metadata info tab contents.

The Maney Family and the Reconstruction Era

The Maney family was not exempt from the struggles and change brought about during the Reconstruction Era. Lewis Maney, David Maney, and Edwin Keeble unified to combine each of the Maney landholdings into one large unit. Major Maney and his sons also became prominent in downtown Murfreesboro's business scene. Major Maney entered into a partnership with his son-in-law in a dry goods business. Major Maney was also a leader of several sharecropping contracts on his land. He late 1800s, Major Maney's two sons were also heavily involved in Murfreesboro's business scene. The eldest son, Newton Maney, served as a partner in a lumber firm, owned an insurance business, and presided as vice president of the Murfreesboro Bank and Trust Co. The younger son, Lewis Maney Jr., established a grocery business in downtown Murfreesboro.

Decline of the Maney Family

Despite the establishment of several successful businesses, the Maney family quickly lost societal prominence during the Reconstruction Era. In 1869, the Maney

⁵⁷ Court Records, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Lockie W. Reeves vs. L.M. Maney et. al," Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁵⁸ Barry Lamb, *Images of 19th Century Rutherford County: Its Homes + People* (Nashville: Panacea Press, 2007), 57.

⁵⁹ Court records, "L.M. Maney et. al v. Silas Maney et. al.- Crop Bill," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et. al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874- Chancery Court Files," Chancery Court Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶⁰ Barry Lamb, *Rutherford County Illustrated: Leaders in Progress* (Franklin: Familystories-4-U, 2009), 93.

⁶¹ Lamb, Rutherford County Illustrated: Leaders in Progress, 93.

family was called to court to pay debts owed to Ms. Lockie Reeves. ⁶² Dr. and Major Maney were the legal guardians of Ms. Reeves and, according to court records, had failed to provide for her expenses. ⁶³ The Maney family sold landholdings in Mississippi and other regions of Tennessee as more debts came to light. ⁶⁴ The Maneys also sold the land located in front of Oaklands Mansion, which became "Maney's Addition," the first subdivision in Murfreesboro. ⁶⁵ In 1884, the Murfreesboro court declared that the Maneys owed the debts (with interest) immediately. ⁶⁶ As a result, Mrs. Maney auctioned Oaklands and the adjacent land to fully cover the family's debt. ⁶⁷

African American Maneys in Murfreesboro

Those enslaved by the Maneys dispersed throughout Murfreesboro after emancipation. Shortly after the Civil War, Murfreesboro zoned several voting "wards"

⁶² Court Decree, "Lockie W. Reeves vs. L.M. Maney et. al.," Rutherford County Archives [TN], in folder "Reeves, Lockie vs. L.M. Maney et. al. c. 1876-1878," in box "Rutherford County Archives Chancery Court Loose Records Reeves, Lockie to Reeves, Viola," Chancery Court Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶³ Court Records, "L.M. Maney as Guardian for Miss Lockie Reeves to W.H. Murfree," in folder "Reeves, Lockie vs. L.M. Maney et. al. c. 1876-1878," in box "Rutherford County Archives [TN], Chancery Court Loose Records Reeves, Lockie to Reeves, Viola," Chancery Court Records, Murfreesboro, TN. See also: Court Decree "Lockie W. Reeves vs. L.M. Maney et. al."

⁶⁴ Court Records, document has no name, Rutherford County Archives [TN], in folder "Reeves, Mollie L. vs. L.M. Maney c. 1878," in box "Rutherford County Archives Chancery Court Loose Records Reeves Lockie to Reeves, Viola," Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶⁵ City of Murfreesboro, "[Archived] 32nd Annaul [*sic*] Christmas Candlelight Tour of Homes, Dec. 5," November 30, 2015, accessed June 27, 2019, http://www.murfreesborotn.gov/CivicAlerts.aspx? AID=1233&ARC=2706.

⁶⁶ Court Decree, "Lockey H. Reeves v. L.M. Maney," *Minute Book: R 1882-84, Rutherford County, Rutherford County, Rutherford County, Murfreesboro, TN.*

⁶⁷ Oaklands Mansion, "1884-Changing Hands," 2017, accessed June 27, 2019, http://www.oaklandsmansion.org/history-of-oaklands-2/.

and Rutherford County divided into voting "districts." Wards Three and Six primarily consisted of African American communities. 69 Oaklands Mansion was located within Ward Three. 70

The 1870 census records provide detail as to which district or ward an individual inhabited. This is an invaluable resource in tracing African American families formerly enslaved by the Maney family. An analysis of census records that only referenced African Americans with the last name "Maney" and who were over the age of ten yielded interesting results. Using this criteria, fifty-four African Americans who lived in Rutherford County were identified as having likely been enslaved by the Maney family. Of these fifty-four individuals, thirty-three percent lived in Murfreesboro's Ward Three, the same Ward as Oaklands Mansion. Another fifty-seven percent of these individuals lived in a Ward directly adjoining Maney landholdings. The African Americans not living in Murfreesboro proper, lived in Rutherford County within close proximity to Murfreesboro.⁷¹

The 1870 census record also detailed the occupation of each individual, allowing an analysis of the most common occupations held by African American Maneys in Murfreesboro. Over fifty percent of the individuals studied were recorded as a farm

⁶⁸ Library of Congress, "Map of Rutherford County, Tenn.: from actual surveys," accessed July 2, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3963r.la000878/?r=-1.066,-0.09,3.131,1.549,0.

⁶⁹ John Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1860-1880," (Master's Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2004), 59.

⁷⁰ Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities," 59.

⁷¹ All data was extrapolated using the 1870 census records via the ancestry.com database.

laborer. Those listed as farm laborers included both male and female workers between the ages of ten and sixty. Most females who are not designated as farm laborers were listed as "keeping house" or as a "domestic servant." Those listed as "keeping house" were either much older women in their late forties to early sixties or young women in the early twenties. There were no middle-aged women listed as keeping house. All African American "domestic servants" were in their late teens or early twenties.

After the Civil War, Frances was listed in the 1870 census record as "Frances Bell," having taken the name of her former mistress.⁷³ Frances still worked as a "House servant" for Sally Bell Keeble and her family.⁷⁴ Upon the death of Edwin Keeble, Sally moved in with Major Maney's brother, David Maney. Frances, who was in her midsixties, not only continued to work for Sally Bell and the Maney family, but she also brought her own family to live with David Maney's household throughout the Reconstruction Era.

Conclusion

The Maney family rose and declined within Murfreesboro, but not without leaving a lasting legacy in Murfreesboro. While they are most known for their societal prominence, it is important not to overlook the lasting implications the Maney family had

⁷² All data was extrapolated using the 1870 census records via the ancestry.com database.

⁷³ United States Census, "Bell, Francis," *1870 United States Census*, accessed September 11, 2019, from familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-62H9-67K?cc=1438024&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AMD8M-DDJ.

⁷⁴ United States Census, "Bell, Francis," *1870 United States Census*, accessed August 30, 2019, from familysearch.org database.

African Americans. Upon emancipation, these individuals were left to grapple with the effects slavery had on them and their families. The horrors of slavery at Oaklands Mansion had lasting influences on family structure and the community surrounding the former plantation home. Despite forming communities with other African Americans who understood the pains of slavery, for generations the shadow of enslavement could never be forgotten or remedied. The bonds formed by these individuals served as a constant reminder of a life they wanted to leave behind.

Chapter III

James Maney

James Madison Maney was born into a life of slavery around the year 1843. Enslaved by the Maney family, public records tell the story of J. Maney's pre-emancipation life. After being forced into Civil War service by the Maney family, J. Maney was eligible to apply for a Confederate Soldier Pension in 1922. Maney's pension application recounts his experiences as a slave of the Maney family during the Civil War. As the Civil War broke out, life became more uncertain for those living in the South. This uncertainty was perhaps greatest for enslaved African Americans who, in the midst of warfare and political upheaval, were confronted with the eminent hope of emancipation. As war threatened the institution of slavery, slave holders adjusted the duties and homes of many enslaved African Americans. For James Maney, this meant he was taken from his plantation home and eventually placed on the battlefield alongside his owner.

At the start of the Civil War, James lived and worked on the Maney's Trio

Plantation in Mississippi.³ As the Union Army entered the state, Dr. James Maney moved

¹ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death 8370," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Tennessee State Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

² Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," from Tennessee Colored Confederate Pension, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

³ Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

his Mississippi plantation slaves to "Dixie Works" in Macon, Georgia. Dixie Works was a "refugee industry" that specifically looked for enslaved blacksmiths to work the machinery and produce military tools for the Confederate army. J. Maney only worked in Macon for a few months, after which he was sent into battle as a body servant for James Keeble. James Keeble was the eldest son of Mary Maney Keeble and Edwin Keeble and the grandson of Dr. James Maney. J. Maney followed Keeble and his regiment throughout the duration of his service in the Civil War. After Keeble and his regiment surrendered in Greensboro, North Carolina, J. Maney followed him back to Murfreesboro. After arriving in Murfreesboro, James Maney lived and worked in the town until his death in 1932.

James Maney's Family

By 1870, the United States census listed J. Maney as living in Murfreesboro with his brother Albert. 10 Records for James and his family are sparse until July 1893, when

⁴ Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁵ Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 150, https://www-fulcrum-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/epubs/v405s9468?locale=en#/6/6[xhtml00000003]!/4/1:0.

⁶ Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁷ John Lodl, "Keeble Family Tree," Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁸ Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁹ Exhibit Display, "Jim Maney," in folder "Maney, James (+Albert)."

¹⁰ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1870 United States Census*, from Familysearch.com database, accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DH8Q-SD9?i=7&cc=1438024.

James married Anna Lytle.¹¹ It appears that Anna Lytle entered the marriage with two sons, James Lee Lytle and William G. Lytle, which James Maney adopted upon his marriage.¹² While little is known about Anna Lytle before her marriage to James Maney, it is likely that she had been married prior to 1893. Her first husband would have born the last name "Lytle" and was likely enslaved by the Lytle family, a founding family of Murfreesboro. By 1900, Anna and James also had two children of their own, Cenia and Lewis.¹³ It is likely that Lewis passed away in the decade between 1900 and 1910. There is no record of Lewis after the 1900 census, including a failure to be mentioned in James Maney's will. James and Anna Lytle Maney had two more daughters, Rebecca and Elizabeth, born in 1901 and 1902 respectively.¹⁴ It is likely that Anna Lytle Maney died between 1902 and 1906 because there are no further public records concerning her life; however, the United States does not keep death records until about 1915. Therefore, it is difficult to determine exactly what happened to Anna Lytle Maney. James remarried in February 1906 to Anna Davis.¹⁵ The 1910 census shows that James Maney's three

¹¹ Marriage Books 2: 1889-1907, "James Maney to Anna Lytle," 127, accessed July 18, 2019, from familysearch.org, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G93F-MQ4S?i=325&cc=1619127.

¹² United States Census, "Lytle, James Lee," *1900 United States Census*, accessed July 18, 2019, from Familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DCB3-LYJ?i=33&cc=1325221.

¹³ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1900 United States Census*, accessed July 18, 2019, from familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DCB3-LYJ?i=33&cc=1325221.

¹⁴ United States Census, "Maney, Jim," *1910 United States Census*, accessed July 23, 2019, from Familysearch.com database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TXC-QQM?i=8&cc=1727033.

¹⁵ Marriage Books 2: 1889-1907, "James Maney to Anna Davis," 547, accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G93F-MQ4S?i=325&cc=1619127.

surviving daughters lived in his household with Anna Davis; however, Maney's stepsons are no longer listed as part of his household. ¹⁶ By 1910, James Lytle would have been about twenty-three years old, and William Lytle would have been about twenty years old. ¹⁷ It does appear that James Lytle took the last name "Maney" after moving out of J. Maney's home. A Social Security index stated that a James Lee Maney, whose parents were James Maney and Anna Lytle, had moved to Chicago, Illinois. ¹⁸ No other public records could be found for James and William Lytle. J. Maney married once more in 1919 to Eliza Maney. ¹⁹ It is uncertain what happened to Anna Davis Maney after her marriage to J. Maney. There are no other public records for Anna Davis Maney after the 1910 United States Census. James and Eliza lived alone in 1920; all of his daughters had moved out of their Murfreesboro home. ²⁰

J. Maney's oldest daughter, Cenia, married at least once prior to her father's death in 1932.²¹ Cenia Maney Rogers moved to Ohio and is referred to by her middle name, Catherine, in other public records. Catherine remarried in 1941 to James Wright in Ohio

¹⁶ United States Census, "Maney, Jim," 1910 United States Census.

¹⁷ United States Census, "Lytle, James Lee," 1900 United States Census.

¹⁸ Social Security Index, "James Lee Maney," December 1936, accessed August 28, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=Numident&h=9034608.

¹⁹ Marriage License, "Marriage License no. 1763," June 21, 1919, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Tennessee State Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

²⁰ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1920 United States Census*, accessed July 23, 2019, from Familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9RXJ-78?i=17&cc=1488411.

²¹ Will, James Maney's Last Will and Testament, September 3, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

on June 20, 1941.²² Catherine and James Wright moved to Michigan during the second half of 1941 and filed for divorce in Wayne County Michigan on December 9, 1941.²³ The cause for divorce was listed as cruelty and was decided in Catherine's favor.²⁴ At the time of the divorce, Catherine had no minor children living with her.²⁵ Catherine remarried in Ohio to Jack Johnson on July 3, 1949.²⁶ Catherine Johnson died in Detroit, Michigan on July 25, 1974 at the age of seventy-two, and it is uncertain as to whether she had any children.²⁷

 $^{^{22}}$ Divorce Records, "Divorce Record 321550," April 1, 1942, accessed August 15, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/9092/41327_338695-00727?pid=6253641&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3DMI-Divorces%26h%3D6253641&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.53196 136.1917741169.1565720416-2119793560.1565720416&_gac=1.182835668.1565891817.Cj0KCQ jwhdTqBRDNARIsABsOl98GAD6mD7jRmUtMTRKj9FYz6FQ41_2yabvDAUutVdjllKzylk4qJVcaApLs EALw wcB.

²³ Divorce Records, "Divorce Record 321550," April 1, 1942.

²⁴ Divorce Records, "Divorce Record 321550," April 1, 1942.

²⁵ Divorce Records, "Divorce Record 321550," April 1, 1942.

 $^{^{26}}$ Marriage License, Marriage License Application No. 181761, Ohio State Records, July 3, 1949, accessed August 15, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/61378/TH-1-18858-28117-38?pid=903833450&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26 dbid%3D61378%26h%3D903833450%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DsCP1 29%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=sCP129&_phstart=success Source&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.18480377.1917741169.1565720416-2119793560.1565720416&_gac= 1.229061870.1565891817.Cj0KCQjwhdTqBRDNARIsABsOl98GAD6mD7jRmUtMTRKj9FYz6FQ41_2y abvDAUutVdjllKzylk4qJVcaApLsEALw wcB.

²⁷ Death Certificate, *Michigan Death Index 1971-1996*, Michigan State Records, accessed August 15, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=mivitals&h=1156305.

Maney's youngest daughter, Elizabeth, moved to Cook County, Illinois. ²⁸ Elizabeth married at least once during her lifetime; however, her death certificate stated that she was a widow. ²⁹ It is uncertain who she married, as she maintained the last name "Maney." Census records indicate that Elizabeth lived in Nashville in 1930 and stated that she was divorced. ³⁰ Elizabeth boarded in a home in Nashville and was a social worker. ³¹ There are no records that Elizabeth ever had any children. Her death certificate stated that she was a social worker. ³² Elizabeth died in November 1981 around the age of seventy-seven in Chicago, Illinois. ³³

James Maney's Home

Directly after the Civil War, J. Maney lived with his family in the Twenty-First District of Murfreesboro.³⁴ When James Maney reappeared in the 1900 census, he was living next door to his brother on High Street in the Third Ward of Murfreesboro.³⁵

²⁸ Death Certificate, "Elizabeth Maney," November 11, 1981, Illinois State Record, accessed August 31, 2019, from Familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2MJ-5DW4.

²⁹ Death Certificate, "Elizabeth Maney," November 11, 1981.

³⁰ United States Census, "Maney, Elizabeth," *1930 United States Census*, accessed August 15, 2019, from the ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4548153_00496?pid=68138364&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1930 usfedcen%26h%3D68138364&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.85129 689.1917741169.1565720416-2119793560.1565720416.

³¹ United States Census, "Maney, Elizabeth," 1930 United States Census.

³² Death Certificate, "Elizabeth Maney," November 11, 1981.

³³ Death Certificate, "Elizabeth Maney," November 11, 1981.

³⁴ United States Census, "Maney, James," 1870 United States Census.

³⁵ United States Census, "Maney, James," 1900 United States Census.

Today, High Street is known as Highland Avenue and is located in the downtown district of Murfreesboro. After the Maney family sold Oaklands Mansion, they moved into a home on Maney's Avenue. 36 J. Maney's home on High Street was located just one street away from his former owner's new home. 37 Maney's Avenue was named for the former owner of the subdivision lot, the Maney family. Today, the street is still known as Maney Avenue and is headed by Oaklands Mansion. The lot in which James Maney lived was "in the plan of Maney's addition to Murfreesboro..." 38 The lot on which J. Maney and his brother built a home belonged to William McFadden. 39 It is likely that J. Maney rented the land from McFadden until his death. Upon McFadden's death, J. Maney purchased the land from his wife for the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars and the deed to the land was transferred to J. Maney. 40 J. Maney owned the home on Highland Avenue for the rest of his life. In his will, J. Maney was able to state that he was "the owner in fee simple of a house and lot on the corner of Jackson street [sic] and Highland Avnue [sic].

³⁶ United States Census, "Maney, Rachel," *1900 United States Census*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DCB3-LYJ?i=33&cc=1325221.

³⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Rachel," 1900 United States Census.

³⁸ Land Deed, "Mrs. M.A. McFadden Adm of Wm H. McFadden To: Deed James + Albert Maney," July 31, 1907, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

³⁹ Land Deed, "Mrs. M. A. McFadden Adm of Wm H. McFadden To: Deed James + Albert Maney," July 31, 1907, in folder "Maney, James (+Albert)."

⁴⁰ Land Deed, "Mrs. M.A. McFadden Adm of Wm H. McFadden To: Deed James + Albert Maney," July 31, 1907, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

Murfreesboro, Tennessee. This realty and a little household furniture is my own abslute [sic] property that I own...." 1

Analysis of the 1910 and 1920 census shows that James Maney's street address changed from 465 High Street to 465 Jackson Street. ⁴² Despite his new street address, there is no evidence that J. Maney purchased any other land holdings and thus continued to live in the same home until his death. Upon his death, J. Maney willed the home to his wife, Eliza Maney. ⁴³ J. Maney's will stated that after Eliza's death, possession of the home would fall to his three surviving daughters. ⁴⁴ Eliza died in Nashville on February 11, 1947. ⁴⁵ After Eliza Maney's death, Cenia and Elizabeth took possession of the home. The home was sold two months later to the Huddleston family. ⁴⁶

The 1910 census provided a detailed look at the diversity of J. Maney's neighborhood. The 1910 census stated that J. Maney lived in Ward One of Murfreesboro and the one-hundred and twenty-fifth enumeration district.⁴⁷ This location covered a

⁴¹ Will, James Maney's Last Will and Testament, September 3, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

⁴² United States Census, "Maney, Jim," *1910 United States Census*, and United States Census, "Maney, James," *1920 United States Census*.

⁴³ Will, James Maney's Last Will and Testament, September 3, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁴⁴ Will, James Maney's Last Will and Testament, September 3, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁴⁵ Death Certificate, "Eliza Maney Certificate of Death," February 13, 1947, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Tennessee State Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁴⁶ Land Deed, "Elizabeth Maney et al To: Deed R.A. Huddleston & Wife," April 16, 1947, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Tennessee State Records, Murfreesboro, TN.

⁴⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Jim," 1910 United States Census.

portion of Maney's Addition in Murfreesboro. J. Maney's home on North High Street was located in a predominantly African American community. A majority of African Americans in the district lived between Maney's Avenue, Jackson Street, and North High Street. There were other small concentrations of African Americans living near downtown Murfreesboro who often lived within close proximity to a white household. It is possible that these African Americans worked for the white families next to which they lived. J. Maney himself lived less than a mile away from two of Major Lewis Maney's grandchildren. J. Maney lived next door to an African American "Lytle" family. ⁴⁸ It is possible that this family was related to Maney's first wife, Anna Lytle, and had relatives who had been enslaved by the Lytle family. J. Maney's other neighbor was his older brother, Albert Maney. ⁴⁹

James Maney's Work

James Maney held many jobs between 1870 and 1930. J. Maney first appeared in the 1870 census and was simply listed as a "farm laborer." It is unknown as to where James Maney worked or for whom he worked. The home which J. Maney purchased was

⁴⁸ United States Census, "Lytle, Harvis," *1910 United States Census*, accessed August 15, 2019, from Familysearch.com database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GTXC-3PT?i=7&wc=QZZH-N48%3A133640301%2C140867501%2C140911201%2C1589089706&cc=1727033.

⁴⁹ United States Census, "Maney, Albert," *1910 United States Census*, accessed August 15, 2019, from Familysearch.com database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GTXC-3PT?i=7&wc=QZZH-N48%3A133640301%2C140867501%2C140911201%2C1589089706&cc=1727033.

⁵⁰ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1870 United States Census*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DH8Q-SD9?i=7&cc=1438024.

owned by Dr. Maney during the time in which J. Maney first worked as a farm laborer. ⁵¹ It is possible that J. Maney worked for his former owner during this time period; however, J. Maney lived on the outskirts of Murfreesboro, a few miles away from Oaklands Mansion, in the early 1870s. It is feasible that J. Maney may have worked for another wealthy land owner such as William McFadden.

When J. Maney resurfaced in the 1900 census, he was listed as a miller for a local grist mill. ⁵² It is uncertain where J. Maney worked as a miller; however, it is likely that Maney worked near Stones River. Local history states that several grist mills existed along Stones River, and farmers would bring their corn and wheat crops to be ground into corn mean and flour. ⁵³ If J. Maney did not work near Stones River, it is possible that he worked closer to home. Sanborn fire insurance maps for Murfreesboro in 1897 show the "J.F. Tressider Saw Mill, Grist Mill, and Plow Handle Factory" was located in the town of Murfreesboro within a few blocks of J. Maney's Jackson Street home. ⁵⁴ J. Maney likely took his position as a miller several years before his listing in the 1900 census.

J. Maney was able to purchase his home in full in 1878. ⁵⁵ It is improbable that J. Maney

⁵¹ Land Deed, "Mrs. M.A. McFadden Adm of Wm McFadden To: Deed James + Albert Maney," July 31, 1907, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)."

⁵² United States Census, "Maney, James," 1900 United States Census.

⁵³ WGN History, "A Pictorial Step Back to the 1900's in Rutherford County," January 17, 2013, accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.wgnsradio.com/a-pictorial-step-back-to-the-1900s-in-rutherford-county-cms-10680.

⁵⁴ Library of Congress, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee*, Sanborn Map Company, August 1897, Accessed August 6, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3964mm.g3964mm g083551897/?sp=8&r=-0.01,0.098,0.865,0.428,0.

⁵⁵ Land Deed, "Mrs. M.A. McFadden Adm of Wm McFadden To: Deed James + Albert Maney," July 31, 1907, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert).

could have made such a purchase while working as a less profitable farm laborer. Anna Lytle Maney was also working in 1900 and was listed as washing and ironing.⁵⁶

However, the census notes that Anna Maney had been unemployed for several months, making James Maney the sole wage earner for his family in 1900.⁵⁷ Anna Maney's unemployment was likely due to the birth of her and James' second child, Lewis, who had been born in late 1899.

By 1910, J. Maney had again changed occupations. The 1910 census listed J. Maney as a laborer at a lumberyard. So While the 1910 census does not provide an employer for J. Maney, he likely worked in the same location for several years. Later, by 1920, J. Maney was listed as a night watchman for a saw mill, which would have been a functioning part of the lumberyard. Maney was employed by Cox and Gebers, a lumberyard firm in Murfreesboro. Cox was involved in several businesses with the Maney family, including a sharecropping firm and a hardwood lumber company. It is possible that the Cox and Gebers lumber yard was a part of the initial hardwood lumber firm with the Maney family. J. Maney worked for Cox throughout the early 1900s.

⁵⁶ United States Census, "Maney, Anna," *1900 United States Census*, from Familysearch.com database, accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DCB3-LYJ?i=33&cc=1325221&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AMSZ9-3Z9.

⁵⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Anna," 1900 United States Census.

⁵⁸ United States Census, "Maney, Jim," 1910 United States Census.

⁵⁹ United States Census, "Maney, James," 1920 United States Census.

 $^{^{60}}$ Folder Summary, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶¹ Letter head, "Cox, Maney, & Rather: Hardwood Lumber," Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro, TN. Cox also worked with Lewis Maney in the sharecropping dispute against Silas Maney.

J. Maney's death certificate stated that he was an engineer; however, there are no records to indicate that J. Maney ever worked as a full-time engineer or provide a location for his work. 62 It is possible that J. Maney's assertion that he was an engineer references his time at Dixie Works. Dixie Works specifically hired enslaved African Americans who were skilled in blacksmithing and other mechanical work. 63 Therefore, J. Maney's work at Dixie Works likely would have resembled the tasks of an engineer or mechanic.

Conclusion

James Madison Maney died of natural causes on April 24, 1932 around the age of eighty-nine.⁶⁴ J. Maney left behind three daughters and his wife, Eliza Maney. He was buried in Evergreen Cemetery.⁶⁵ Today, J. Maney's Jackson Street home no longer stands, leaving only a burial site as the marker to his life. While J. Maney's life is one of great success, his life also illustrates the struggles faced by many African Americans after the Civil War. Despite the ability to purchase a home, J. Maney was constantly reminded of his time as a slave due to his proximity to his former owners and their plantation. Once J. Maney returned to Murfreesboro, he never left. There is no record of Maney having lived or worked outside the boarders of Murfreesboro. Although Maney found work, he

 $^{^{62}}$ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death 8370," April 24, 1932, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶³ Mohr, On the Threshold of Freedom, 150.

⁶⁴ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death 8370," April 24, 1932, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN. Maney's age fluctuates between census records and other records; therefore, it is difficult to know his actual age upon his death. However, the age provided in his death certificate correlates with the approximated age given in his account of his time in the Civil War.

⁶⁵ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death 8370," April 24, 1932, in folder "Maney, James (+ Albert)," Murfreesboro, TN.

was never able to establish a strong career. He was consistently reliant upon the wealthy white population of Murfreesboro, including Major Lewis Maney and his family, to find work. Although the end of the Civil War brought freedom for African Americans, they were still trapped in a cycle of reliance upon their former slave owners. Despite the odds stacked against him, Maney provided for his family throughout his life, allowing his children the opportunity for a better life.

CHAPTER IV

Wesley Maney: "The Real Good Times"

"I was small in the time of slavery. I remember when the slaves was [sic] being used as slaves...[.]" During the Great Depression, Fisk University conducted several interviews with men and women who had been enslaved during the Civil War. These interviews provide insight into the memories of African Americans who remembered a time before they were granted freedom. One of the men interviewed was Wesley Maney. Public records indicate that his full name was John Wesley Maney; however, he was most often referred to by his middle name "Wesley." According to W. Maney's death record, he was born in 1858. W. Maney's interview somewhat contradicts birth records, stating he was somewhere between ten to twelve years old when the Civil War came to Murfreesboro. W. Maney recounted that his parents were separated and lived on two different plantations. W. Maney's father was enslaved by Maney family at Oaklands, and he and his mother lived on the Jones' plantation eight miles away from Oaklands. W. Maney claimed that his father travelled to the Jones' plantation every weekend to stay with his family and went back to Oaklands during the

¹ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, accessed August 23, 2019, file:///C:/Users/Audrey/Downloads/Wesley%20Maney%20(1).pdf, Nashville, TN, 1.

² Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death, File No. 2516," John Wesley Maney, Tennessee state records, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2376/33113_257980-00217?pid=77942&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3 Dtry%26db%3DTNDeathRecords%26h%3D77942&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUB Js=true& ga=2.105084291.1693620775.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

week. W. Maney also stated that his family was fortunate because none of his siblings was sold from the plantation.³

Throughout the interview, W. Maney provided several details concerning the tasks that were expected of him and his family before the end of the Civil War. W. Maney mentioned that he was tasked with keeping flies off of his master after dinner while he napped.

I remember they had brushes to keep the flies off with and the real wealthy white people had theirs made out of peafowl feathers and it was a might pretty sight to see them stuck on a stick and waving back and forth. I had to use that to keep the flies off the table and my old marster [sic] would take a nap after dinner every day and I'd have to keep the files off of him. Sometimes I would go to sleep myself and drop the brush on him and he would take it and hit me on the head with the other end.⁴

Outside of this task, W. Maney was also charged with running stock and caring for the pigs on the plantation. "I know after the men went to the War, we little ones of my size had to go to the field and work and shop." While he does not mention what was grown on the Jones' plantation, W. Maney claimed that his mother, and all the other women on the Jones' plantation, had to work the fields and spin four "cuts" of yarn before they were allowed to go to bed. 6

Maney also explained the rights enslaved African Americans had during the Civil War. Maney stated that the Jones "allowed" his slaves to attend church, but they had to

³ See: Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives.

⁴ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 6.

⁵ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 6.

⁶ See: Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives.

get a pass from the slave owner. Maney said that African Americans did not go to church very often and only had meetings taught by African American men who "preached the Bible as well as they knew." Enslaved African Americans made candles and conserved wax in order to have enough light to learn to read. W. Maney called enslaved African Americans from other plantations "free" because they did not need a pass to travel like those on the Jones' plantation. W. Maney said that "we had what we called good times but they were not real good times," and he related that enslaved African Americans knew that freedom was coming as a result of the Civil War, they just were not sure when they would gain their freedom. After the Civil War, W. Maney and his family reunited and found a home in Murfreesboro a few miles away from the Oaklands plantation.

Wesley Maney's Family

According to W. Maney's death certificate, Anthony Maney was his father; however, the record stated that his mother's name was unknown. ¹⁰ Shortly after the Civil War, there is one Anthony Maney who married Henrietta Jones on August 20, 1865. ¹¹

⁷ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 4.

⁸ See: Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 1, 4.

⁹ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 4.

¹⁰ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death, File No. 2516," John Wesley Maney, Tennessee state records, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2376/33113_257980-00217?pid=77942&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3DTN DeathRecords%26h%3D77942&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.105 084291.1693620775.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

¹¹ Marriage Record, "Anthony Maney to Henrietta Jones," August 20, 1865, Tennessee County Marriages, accessed August 26, 2019, from familysearch.org database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L93F-4W1L?i=75&cc=1619127.

These were most likely W. Maney's parents, as W. Maney's mother lived on the Jones' plantation. The date also lends credence to W. Maney's interview, which stated: "I remember well when the people had to marry over. They all come [sic] together and the magistrate would meet them and marry them. I remember my mother and father went and got married, but some slaves wouldn't do it." The 1870 census records Andrew and Henretta Maney living in the 19th Civil District of Rutherford County. Although the names vary somewhat, this appears to have been Wesley Maney's family directly after the Civil War. There is a John Maney, age seventeen, listed with the family which correlates with John Wesley Maney's account of his age and his given name. Maney also had several siblings living in the home with him as well. In 1880, W. Maney was living in a home by himself in the 19th Civil District of Rutherford County. Maney married Nannie Armistead on March 29, 1881 in Rutherford County.

¹² Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 5.

¹³ United States Census Records, "Maney, Andrew," *1870 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7163/4275524_00264?pid= 14338649&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1870usfedcen% 26h%3D14338649&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.227056157.1693 620775.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

¹⁴ United States Census, "Maney, Andrew," 1870 United States Census.

¹⁵ United States Census, "Maney, Andrew," 1870 United States Census.

¹⁶ United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," *1880 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com/database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6742/4244656-00596?pid= 41827583&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6742% 26h%3D41827583%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE261%26_phstart%3 DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE261&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true.

¹⁷ Marriage Record, J.W. Maney to Nannie Armistead, Tennessee State Record, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN.

Wesley and Nannie Maney had four children together. Their eldest daughter, Susie Maney, might have been born before Maney's marriage in 1881 as all public records give her birthdate in the mid-1870s. However, if this were the case, Susie Maney would have been recorded in the 1880 census and this is likely simply a case of incomplete records. W. Maney's oldest son, Wesley Jr., was born in 1885. W. Maney had two more daughters, Elizabeth and Willie I., born in 1887 and 1896 respectively. In 1900, all of W. Maney's children were living in his household. Susie was listed as Susie Minter and also had two children, Willie and Nannie, living in the household. Nannie died sometime between 1900 and 1910; however, no death records were produced in the United States until 1909 and an exact death date is difficult to determine. W. Maney was listed as a widower in the 1910 census and was living in the Darrow household working as a butler.

¹⁸ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," *1900 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7602/4118727_00915?pid=61078197 &backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1900usfedcen%26h%3D6 1078197&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.105624707.1693620775.1 566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

¹⁹ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1900 United States Census.

²⁰ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1900 United States Census.

²¹ Folder Summary, "Maney, Wesley aka John Wesley Maney, J. Wesley Maney, or J.W. Maney (ca 1856-1935)," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN.

²² United States Census, "Maney, Wessley," *1910 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7884/4449874_00866?pid= 27433717&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1910US CenIndex%26h%3D27433717&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.2073 30835.1693620775.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

John Wesley Maney Jr. married Lora Ediste Fields on June 10, 1913 in Lawrence County, Tennessee.²³ By 1920, Wesley and Lora had moved to Nashville, Tennessee.²⁴ Lora either died or divorced Wesley between 1920 and 1929. Wesley remarried on October 11, 1929 to Bernice Olive Ellis.²⁵ Wesley and Bernice were living in Nashville in 1930 and were caring for Wesley Maney, Sr.²⁶ There are no records indicating that Wesley, Jr. ever had any children with either of his wives.

Not much is known about Susie Maney's life before 1900. There are no records which document her marriage or the birth of her children. By 1900, she was listed as Susie Minter and was living with her father as a widow with two daughters, Willie and Nannie Minter.²⁷ By 1920, Susie was renting a home and living by herself in

²³ Marriage Record, John Wesley Maney to Lora Ediste Fields, Tennessee State Records, June 10, 1913, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1169/VRMUSATN1780_061364-00467?pid=2273163&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D1169%26h%3D2273163%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE263%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE263&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.140079539.1693620775.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

²⁴ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

²⁵ Marriage Record, John Wesley Maney Jr. to Bernice Olive Ellis, October 11, 1929, Tennessee State Records, accessed August 2, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1169/VRMUSATN1780_077350-02324?pid=2985168&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE274& phstart=successSource, recorded in Marriage Record Book 12, page 107.

²⁶ United States Census, "Maney, John W. Jr.," *1930 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4548154_00279? pid=68121429&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6224%26h% 3D68121429%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE278%26_phstart%3Dsucce ssSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE278&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true.

²⁷ United States Census, "Minter, Susie," *1900 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7602/4118727_00915?pid=61078197 &backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1900usfedcen%26h% 3D61078197&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.105624707.16936207 75.1566823994-1883762117.1566309872.

Murfreesboro.²⁸ Susie remained in Murfreesboro for most of her life. In November 1941, Susie was deemed "incompetent" and placed under the guardianship of her brother, Wesley Maney Jr.²⁹ Susie died December 18, 1941 in Nashville at Central State Hospital and was buried at Evergreen Graveyard in Murfreesboro.³⁰ Susie was buried alongside several other "Minter" family members in Evergreen Graveyard.³¹

Wesley Maney's Homes

In 1880, Wesley Maney had a home in the 19th civil district of Rutherford County.³² W. Maney lived next to a home that two African American Maney brothers, Joseph and Anthony, who purchased together and a white Jones family.³³ It is likely that

²⁸ United States Census, "Minter, Susie," *1920 United States Census*, accessed August 28, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6061/4392010_00260?pid= 36074228&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6061%26h% 3D36074228%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE301%26_phstart%3Dsucce ssSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE301&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true.

²⁹ Folder Summary, "Maney, Wesley aka John Wesley Maney, J. Wesley Maney, or J.W. Maney (ca. 1856-1935)," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN. See also: Rutherford County Daily Court Minute Book BBB, page 417, Rutherford County Archives and Rutherford County Daily Court Minute Book DDD, page 197-198.

³⁰ Death Certificate, "Certificate of Death: Susie Virginia Minter," Tennessee State Records, accessed August 28, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2376/33113_258078-01662?pid=1170958&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3DTNDeathRecords%26h%3D1170958&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.117014405.2099567594.1566999984-1883762117.1566309872.

³¹ Grave Index, "Evergreen Graveyard Memorials," search: "Minter," accessed September 11, 2019, from findagrave.com database, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/18264/memorial-search? firstName=&lastName=Minter.

³² United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," 1880 United States Census.

³³ United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," 1880 United States Census.

Joseph and Anthony Maney were also enslaved by the Maney family during the Civil War. It is possible that the Jones family living next door to W. Maney was part of the same Jones family W. Maney mentioned in his interview who enslaved him and his mother. The street on which W. Maney lived in 1880 was fairly evenly split demographically between African American and white residents.³⁴ Other residents living on W. Maney's street include another African American Maney and two African American Jones families.³⁵

In 1900, W. Maney owned a home on Evergreen Street in Murfreesboro.³⁶ Evergreen Street sits next to Evergreen Cemetery and is less than a mile away from Oaklands Mansion. The area of Evergreen Street where W. Maney lived consisted entirely of African American families.³⁷ However, by 1910, W. Maney did not have his own home and was instead living in George Darrow's household.³⁸ Mrs. Elizabeth Swope, mother-in-law of George Darrow, purchased Oaklands Mansion from Major and Mrs. Lewis Maney in a public auction in 1884.³⁹ Mrs. Swope willed the home to her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. George Darrow, in 1890.⁴⁰ The Darrows owned

³⁴ United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," 1880 United States Census.

³⁵ United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," 1880 United States Census.

³⁶ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1900 United States Census.

³⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1900 United States Census.

³⁸ United States Census, Maney, Wessley," 1910 United States Census.

³⁹ Historic American Buildings Survey, "Photographs Written Historical and Descriptive Data," National Park Service, Oaklands HABS No. TN-31, accessed August 29, 2019, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/tn/tn0100/tn0114/data/tn0114data.pdf, 2.

⁴⁰ Historic American Buildings Survey, "Photographs Written Historical and Descriptive Data," National Park Service, Oaklands HABS No. TN-31, 2.

Oaklands Mansion until 1912.⁴¹ It is uncertain when W. Maney moved into Oaklands Mansion to work for the Darrows. By 1920, W. Maney owned a home on 804 Evergreen Street and was living by himself.⁴² It is uncertain whether this is the same home that W. Maney owned in 1900. Like in 1900, Evergreen Street, and the surrounding streets, are predominantly inhabited by African American families.⁴³ Homes directly along "Maney's Avenue" are predominantly inhabited by white families, but most homes closest to W. Maney were owned or rented by African American families.⁴⁴ W. Maney moved one final time before his death. By 1930, W. Maney was living with his son and daughter-in-law in Nashville, TN at 1021 Fourteenth Avenue South.⁴⁵ Fourteenth Avenue South consisted primarily of African American families; however, Fifteenth Avenue South consisted primarily of white families.⁴⁶ It is likely that W. Maney stayed at his son's home until his death.

Wesley Maney's Work

Wesley Maney held several positions after the Civil War. In 1870, W. Maney and the rest of his family were listed as farm laborers.⁴⁷ Although he moved several times

⁴¹ Historic American Buildings Survey, "Photographs Written Historical and Descriptive Data," National Park Service, Oaklands HABS No. TN-31, 2.

⁴² United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

⁴³ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

⁴⁴ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

⁴⁵ United States Census, "Maney, John W. Sr.," 1930 United States Census.

⁴⁶ United States Census, "Maney, John W. Sr.," 1930 United States Census.

⁴⁷ United States Census, "Maney, John," 1870 United States Census.

between 1870 and 1900, W. Maney maintained his position as a farm laborer throughout the late 1800s. 48 It is uncertain where or for whom W. Maney worked as a farm laborer. The 1900 census stated that W. Maney had been unemployed as a farm laborer for five months by the time of the census. 49 It is likely that W. Maney started working for the Darrow family at Oaklands Mansion around this time, in search of a new job. W. Maney likely moved to Oaklands after the death of his wife, sometime between 1900 and 1910. By 1910, W. Maney was a servant for the Darrow family and was employed as a butler. 50 In 1920, W. Maney was still a servant for a private home and was working as a janitor. The 1920 census does not provide a record of where W. Maney was employed as a janitor. However, it is possible that W. Maney continued working for the Darrow family after Oaklands was sold. George and Tempe Darrow moved to a home on East Main Street upon selling Oaklands Mansion and were close enough to W. Maney to maintain him as an employee. 52

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⁴⁸ United States Census, "Manna, Wesley," *1880 United States Census*, See also: United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," *1900 United States Census*.

⁴⁹ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1900 United States Census.

⁵⁰ United States Census, "Maney, Wessley," 1910 United States Census.

⁵¹ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

⁵² United States Census, "Darrow, George," *1920 United States Census*, accessed August 30, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6061/4392010_00329?pid= 36077638&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6061% 26h%3D36077638%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE327%26_phstart%3 DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE327&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.169587618.2099567594.1566999984-1883762117.1566309872#?imageId=4392010_00329.

While W. Maney was never able to escape the work stereotypes placed on African Americans, his children were able to find work in areas other than farm labor or servanthood. W. Maney's oldest daughter, Susie, was employed as a school teacher in 1900.⁵³ Susie kept her position as a school teacher throughout the early 1900s and became the principal of Little Hope School in the 1920s.⁵⁴ Little Hope School was located next to modern-day Brown's Chapel and Lillard Chapel Methodist Church in Symrna, Tennessee.⁵⁵ In 1930, Susie was working for a private home as a practical nurse.⁵⁶ Wesley Maney Jr. also held several positions throughout his life. In his World War One draft card in 1918, Wesley simply states that he is a laborer for a man named A.M. Shook in Nashville.⁵⁷ Wesley's home address is the same as the provided business address, indicating that Wesley, Jr. lived in the building or home where he worked.⁵⁸

⁵³ United States Census, "Minter, Susie," 1900 United States Census.

⁵⁴ Reverend Melvin E. Hughes, "A History of Rutherford County's African-American Community," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN, Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church, 1996.

⁵⁵ Reverend Melvin E. Hughes, "A History of Rutherford County's African-American Community," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN.

⁵⁶ United States Census, "Minter, Susie V." *1930 United States Census*, accessed August 30, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4547918_00887?pid =66619658&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry%26db%3D1930usfedcen% 26h%3D66619658&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.118086666.2099 567594.1566999984-1883762117.1566309872.

⁵⁷ Draft Card, "Registration Card Order No. 4044," John Wesley Maney, 1918, accessed August 30, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6482/005152421_02969?pid= 22835785&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6482%26h% 3D22835785%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE341%26_phstart%3Dsucce ssSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE341&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true& ga=2.76247190.2099567594.1566999984-1883762117.1566309872.

⁵⁸ Draft Card, "Registration Card Order No. 4044," John Wesley Maney, 1918.

By 1920, Wesley, Jr. held a position as a printer for a printing house in Nashville.⁵⁹ A Nashville directory stated that Wesley later took a position as a porter in 1924.⁶⁰ In 1930, Wesley had taken a position as a bank teller in Nashville.⁶¹

Conclusion

John Wesley Maney Sr. died in Davidson County, Tennessee on December 8, 1933.⁶² W. Maney died of terminal pneumonia at the age of seventy-five.⁶³ W. Maney was taken back to Murfreesboro for his burial.⁶⁴ Today, little is left of W. Maney's legacy. His name and family have been forgotten to history. Like others in his position, W. Maney struggled to establish himself in a white-dominated world. Each of his jobs were reminiscent of his position as a slave on the Jones' plantation, even becoming a servant for another family at the very home where his father had been enslaved. Still, W. Maney looked upon his new life and saw freedom and relished in "the <u>real</u> good times." "Yes, slaves knew (freedom was coming) but the slaveholders said it would never be,"

⁵⁹ United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," 1920 United States Census.

⁶⁰ Directory, "Maney, Wesley," 1924, Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, Wesley Sr. (1856-1935) + Nannie Armstead (1863-1910)," Murfreesboro, TN.

⁶¹ United States Census, "Maney, John W. Jr.," 1930 United States Census.

⁶² Death Certificate, "John Wesley Maney Sr.," December 8, 1933, State of Tennessee Record, accessed August 30, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2376/33113 _257980-00217?pid=77942&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3Dtry% 26db%3DTNDeathRecords%26h%3D77942&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&usePUBJs=true & ga=2.243439750.2099567594.1566999984-1883762117.1566309872.

⁶³ Death Certificate, "John Wesley Maney Sr.," December 8, 1933, State of Tennessee Record.

⁶⁴ Death Certificate, "John Wesley Maney Sr.," December 8, 1933, State of Tennessee Record.

⁶⁵ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, 4.

recalled W. Maney; "... they told us so much that it was a joy to the slaves ... when it come [sic], they hardly expected it." 66

⁶⁶ Interview, Wesley Maney, October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, file:///C:/Users/Audrey/Downloads/Wesley%20Maney.pdf, 4.

CHAPTER V

Stepping Stones to the Future

On the corner of downtown Murfreesboro's North Maple and Lytle Streets stands Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church. Tracing its origins back to 1872, the historically African American congregation continues to meet in the second church building the congregation built every week. According to the church "The Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church began with the spirit of adventure." Due to an undescribed dispute that arose among members of the African American National Baptist Convention, a large rift formed between members of the Baptist Church in Murfreesboro. The convention meeting which split the Baptists in Murfreesboro took place within downtown Murfreesboro's First Baptist Church. It was due to this separation that Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist was founded. In his memoirs, Murfreesboro native John Spence recounts the founding of African American churches in Murfreesboro in the 1870s. Spence stated that the former Missionary Baptist Church building "[had] been sold to the colored Baptist [sic], who [had] apparently a large flourishing membership."

The original Mount Zion Baptist Church was built in the mid-1870s and was located at the site of the present-day Pinnacle Bank parking lot. In 1884, the members of

¹ Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion," Accessed September 16, 2019, https://www.mtzionmaple.com/about-us.

² Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion.".

³ John Spence, *Annals of Rutherford County: Volume Two 1829-1870* (Murfreesboro: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 276.

the church built a new structure on the corner of Maple and Lytle Streets. This structure still stands in the same location and continues to serve as a house of worship for Murfreesboro's African American community. The church was built as a "sister Church [sic]" to Murfreesboro's First Baptist Church and was architecturally designed to mimic the larger church. Upon completion, the church established itself as Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church.⁴

According to church history, Reverend Jimmy Steward was the first pastor of Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist.⁵ Spence mentioned Murfreesboro's early Mt. Zion congregation in 1870, a few years before the church was officially established. Spence stated that this congregation contained about forty African American members.⁶ According to church historical records, J. Wesley Maney and his family were listed among the founding church members and played key roles in the church's founding. W. Maney was credited as one of the church trustees who handled the land purchase for the current church site. W. Maney also was named the first Sunday school superintendent. W. Maney's daughter, Susie Minter, also served as president of the Baptist Training Union, a Bible study organization.⁷ Upon emancipation, W. Maney's family involved themselves in the Murfreesboro community. They worshipped and contributed their time to activities they deemed important, a privilege not formerly afforded to them.

⁴ See: Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion."

⁵ Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion."

⁶ Spence, Annals of Rutherford County, 292.

⁷ See: Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion."

African American Communities and Churches

Prior to emancipation, African Americans turned to religion to find temporary reprieve from the oppression of slavery. According to historian Daniel Fountain, Christianity was the "single most important belief system of mid-nineteenth century African American slaves." Pre-emancipation African Americans often attended church with their owners. Since many African Americans attended white church services, the Biblical narratives they heard attempted to justify slavery. In his interview, W. Maney stated that "colored people didn't have no [sic] churches of their own; they had to go to the white people's church when they were through and usually they had to use the white folks [sic] preachers." Maney also stated that African Americans typically were not tied to a specific denomination, "they just preached the Bible as well as they knew." 10

After the Civil War, many African Americans left predominantly white churches and formed their own congregations. ¹¹ The message of African American churches turned away from the teaching that supported white supremacy and instead "embraced the liberating power of Jesus' example: His sense that all... were children of God." ¹²

⁸ Daniel L. Fountain, *Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation: African American Slaves and Christianity, 1830-1870* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 6.

⁹ Fountain, Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation, 8.

¹⁰ See: Interview, "Wesley Maney," October 15, 1932, Fisk University Archives, , accessed October 17, 2019 from file:///C:/Users/Audrey/Downloads/Wesley%20Maney%20(1).pdf. 1, 4.

¹¹ Eddie S. Glaude, *The Uncommon Faith: A Pragmatic Approach to the Study of African American Religion* (eBook: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 12, accessed September 19, 2019, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/j.ctt22nmbx3.6?refreqid=excelsior%3A783e03 aa6b1326bd4b31c6df54aad53b&seq=8#metadata_info_tab_contents.

¹² Glaude, *The Uncommon Faith* (eBook: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 15.

African American churches were esteemed in the African American communities during the Reconstruction Era because they were one of the few institutions not controlled by whites. ¹³ Since African American churches were free of white influence, they became key community centers. African American churches were societal, political, and educational centers that gave newly freed slaves a new sense of identity. ¹⁴

African American Churches in Murfreesboro

As African Americans sought to establish their lives after the Civil War, they quickly built churches within the confines of Murfreesboro. John Lodl, the archivist for Rutherford County, stated in his master's thesis that "Refugee and emancipated slaves in Murfreesboro showed an eagerness to establish independent black churches." Records indicate that an African American First Baptist Church was established in Murfreesboro as early as 1866. Church history states that this sect of First Baptist Church was established in 1853, before emancipation. This may indicate that a church for African Americans was established before the Civil War. It is unlikely that any African American Maneys would have attended First Baptist Church until after the Civil War. Dr. James

¹³ Fountain, Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation, 104.

¹⁴ Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 320.

¹⁵ John Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1860-1880," (Master's Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2004), 48.

¹⁶ Reverend Melvin E. Hughes, *A History of Rutherford County's African American Community* (Murfreesboro: Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church, 1996), 14.

 $^{^{17}}$ First Baptist Murfreesboro, "Our History," October 1, 2019, https://fbcmurfreesboro.org/about-us/our-history.

Maney and his family were Presbyterian. ¹⁸ Therefore, it is likely that the Maneys would have required their slaves to attend Presbyterian services if they allowed them to attend church with the family. The first location for the First Baptist Church was on the corner of Spring Street and Sevier Street in Murfreesboro. ¹⁹ The 1878 Beers Map shows a "colored Baptist church" between Spring and Sevier Streets. ²⁰ The first pastor of the church was Reverend Napoleon Bonaparte Frierson. ²¹ Among the first deacons of First Baptist Church was a man named Dave Maney. ²² In 1870, D. Maney lived in the same ward as Oaklands Mansion and worked on the railroad. ²³ It is uncertain how many African American Maneys attended First Baptist Church. However, its proximity to the center of town and lack of ties to the Presbyterian church made it a viable option for those living within Murfreesboro.

A few years after the founding of First Baptist Church, "some members withdrew and formed the Mt. Olive Baptist Church, which later became Mt. Zion Baptist

¹⁸ Oaklands Mansion, "History," 2017, accessed October 1, 2019, http://www.oaklandsmansion.org/history-of-oaklands-2/.

¹⁹ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 14.

²⁰ D.G. Beers and Co., "Map of Rutherford County, Tenn.: from actual surveys," 1878, Library of Congress, October 1, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3963r.la000878/?r=0.673,0.307,0.088,0.044,0.

²¹ First Baptist Murfreesboro, "Our History," October 1, 2019, https://fbcmurfreesboro.org/about-us/our-history.

²² Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 14.

²³ United States Census, "Maney, David," *1870 United States Census*, ancestry.com database, October 1, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7163/4275524_00045?pid=7435221& backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D7163%26h%3D7435221%2 6tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE395%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE395&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true.

Church."²⁴ There were several Maneys listed as attenders at the newly established Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist, including W. Maney and a woman named Eliza Maney.²⁵ It is likely that W. Maney brought his entire family with him to church, and it is possible that his parents and siblings had also attended First Baptist Church before the split. The influence of Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church was such that W. Maney's children eventually followed his example and also became leaders within the congregation. Mt. Zion's original building was located within downtown Murfreesboro. However, when the congregation moved the location of the church, Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist church was closer to former plantation lands near Oaklands Mansion.

Outside of Baptist churches, there were two main African American Methodist churches in Murfreesboro established during the Reconstruction Era. There are no records to indicate if any African American Maneys attended either Methodist church. Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church was established in 1866 around the same time as First Baptist Church. The first building was located between State Street and Spring Street; however, the building was moved to Maney's Avenue in the 1880s. The during the church it is feasible to assume that Maney family slaves may have attended the church. The National Park Service claims that the church was actually moved so people could connect "the church to the area of Murfreesboro where free blacks had once worked and lived

²⁴ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 14.

²⁵ Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, "History of Mt. Zion."

 $^{^{26}}$ National Park Service, "Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church," United States Department of the Interior, February 27, 1995, 4, accessed October 1, 2019, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NRHP/95000291_text.

²⁷ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 9.

during the antebellum era."²⁸ Many African Americans who attended the church used skills which had been required by slave owners to build their church. For example, men dug basements, made bricks, and completed the carpentry work to build Allen Chapel A.M.E Church.²⁹ The other Methodist church established in Murfreesboro was the Key United Methodist Church, located on the corner of College Street and Highland Avenue.³⁰ Highland Avenue was formerly known as High Street, and it is possible that James Maney attended this church due to the proximity to his own home located on High Street.³¹ These four churches were established in Murfreesboro within twenty years of the Civil War. Each church was located in an area of Murfreesboro that was predominantly African American, providing a center around which these communities could gather.

African American Communities and Schools

Prior to emancipation, enslaved African Americans were not granted the privilege or opportunity to learn to read. Many slave owners feared that educated slaves who could read and write would lead to slave rebellion.³² Therefore, upon emancipation, African

²⁸ National Park Service, "Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church" United States Department of the Interior, February 27, 1995, 5.

²⁹ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 9.

³⁰ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 10.

³¹ United States Census, "Maney, James," *1900 United States Census*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DCB3-LYJ?i=33&cc=1325221.

³² Laura C. Jarmon, *Arbors to Bricks: A Hundred Years of African American Education in Rutherford County, Tennessee 1865-1965* (Murfreesboro: The Division of Continuing Studies and Public Service, 1994), 13.

Americans sought opportunities to educate themselves.³³ Learning to read and write would not only allow African American's to pursue new trades, but would also afford them the opportunity to learn their new rights under the law.³⁴ Education in the Reconstruction Era became synonymous with opportunity. Unfortunately, education was not widely available to many, and it often was not enough to overcome generations of prejudice. Silas Maney took his new freedoms with him to the Murfreesboro courthouse and defended himself against an unjust business settlement.³⁵ The court later ruled against him, citing documents bearing S. Maney's signature as ample evidence of business agreements and transactions.³⁶ However, the 1880 census shows that just five years after the court case, at fifty years old, S. Maney could neither read nor write.³⁷ This also is evidenced by the simple "X" S. Maney used to sign legally binding documents, signifying that he could not even sign his own name.³⁸ While education was available to

³³ Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (eBook: 2010), 153, http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook?sid=7b5b2ca5-4958-4fb4-9b5a-af783489a5a8%40sessionmgr103&vid=0&format=EB.

³⁴ Lodl, "Building Viable Black Communities."

³⁵ Court Records, "L.M. Maney et. al v. Silas Maney et. al. Crop Bill," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et al vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874," Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

³⁶ Court Records, "L.M. Maney et. al. v. Silas Maney et. al. Crop Bill," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et. al. vs. Silas Maney et. al c. 1867-1874," Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

³⁷ United States Census, "Maney, Silas," *1880 United States Census*, from ancestry.com database, accessed October 3, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6742/4244656-00420?pid=41825521&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&phsrc=SOt1&phstart=successSource.

³⁸ Court Records, "L.M. Maney et. al. v. Silas Maney et. al. Crop Bill," Rutherford County Archives, in folder "Maney, L.M. et. al. vs. Silas Maney et. al. c. 1867-1874," Chancery Court, Murfreesboro, TN.

African Americans, it was not accessible to many, and the lack of education served as a constant reminder of one's past and the lower status African Americans held in society.

At the start of the Reconstruction Era, the African American community welcomed educational opportunities and established the first schools for freed African American children.³⁹ The Freedmen's Bureau had been charged with establishing African American schools across the South. However, the Bureau often left school funding to the African American communities, which left the schools lacking financial stability. African American schools often were underfunded and did not have the resources to staff these schools.⁴⁰ Despite these factors, African Americans quickly flocked to school and education for themselves and their children.

African American Schools in Murfreesboro

In compiling a history of Rutherford County, one historian stated that "mountains of prejudice have been overcome" by the establishment of African American schools.⁴¹

Tennessee passed legislation in 1856 that created public school systems for both white and African American children.⁴² While schools were meant for children, adults also attended classes and expressed joy at the opportunity to learn.⁴³ African American

³⁹ Ward McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s* (eBook, 1998), 91, http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook?sid=e258cbff-5171-498e-b186-ade7ea95455e%40pdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB.

⁴⁰ Jarmon, Arbors to Bricks, 23-25.

⁴¹ Carlton C. Sims, A History of Rutherford County (Murfreesboro: Carlton C. Sims, 1947), 156.

⁴² Antoinette G. van Zelm, "Hope Within a Wilderness of Suffering: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom During the Civil War and Reconstruction in Tennessee," Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, accessed October 3, 2019, http://www.tn4me.org/pdf/TransitionfromSlaveryto Freedom.pdf, 6.

⁴³ van Zelm, "Hope Within a Wilderness of Suffering," 6.

schools often reported higher attendance than white schools during the same time period. 44 The Freedmen's Bureau attempted to found schools as in Rutherford County as early as the fall of 1865, hiring eight teachers for five hundred African American students. 45 Following the Civil War, African American Murfreesboro residents moved quickly to organize and establish schools in the area. The first African American schools in Rutherford County were established a year before the first African American church was officially established in Murfreesboro. In fact, while only four African American churches stood in Murfreesboro, schools dotted the Rutherford County landscape. 46 This implies that education was of utmost importance to the African American community. Perhaps even more than having a church building, African Americans wanted to have a location where they could gain an education.

While the Reconstruction Era saw more schools built than churches, religion still played a large role in the establishment of educational facilities. During the Civil War, any "contraband" schools that formed were led by preachers and churches. ⁴⁷ This continued into the Reconstruction Era as several of the first schools were established by local churches. One of the first African American schools in Murfreesboro was "A School for Colored People." It was deeded by a Methodist Episcopal church on

⁴⁴ Carlton C. Sims, A History of Rutherford County (Murfreesboro: Carlton C. Sims, 1947), 156.

⁴⁵ Jim Leonhirth, "The Black Presence in Rutherford County: Fragments of a Past," *Griffith: Rutherford County Bicentennial Commission* (Rutherford County).

⁴⁶ Sims, A History of Rutherford County, 156.

⁴⁷ Jarmon, Arbors to Bricks, 27.

⁴⁸ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 68.

February 20, 1867 and was located at the corner of College and High Streets. 49 Allen Chapel followed this example and established a school within its church walls in 1889. 50 Several other schools were established in the late 1800s; however, very few of them were within Murfreesboro's town limits. 51

Due to limited funding and resources from the federal government and the Freedmen's Bureau, there was a shortage of teachers available to teach in African American schools.⁵² Reverend Melvin Hughes, former pastor of Allen Chapel, related the story of a teacher named Wright Bracy who would ride a bike several miles from Barfield to Flat Rock School every day.⁵³ Members of the Maney community also served in education. Susie Maney Minter was listed as a school teacher in the 1900 United States Census, and she became the principal at Little Hope School.⁵⁴ Despite the excitement for African American schools, of the fifty-four African American Maneys living in Murfreesboro in the 1870s, only three children are listed in the census as "at school."⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 68.

⁵⁰ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 68.

⁵¹ D.G. Beers and Co., "Map of Rutherford County, Tenn.: from actual surveys," 1878, Library of Congress, October 4, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3963r.la000878/?r=0.673,0.307,0.088,0.044,0.

⁵² Jarmon, *Arbors to Bricks*, 24-25.

⁵³ Hughes, A History of Rutherford County's African American Community, 70.

⁵⁴ United States Census, "Minter, Susie," *1900 United States Census*, from ancestry.com database, October 4, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7602/4118727_00915?pid=61078202& treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=SOt6&_phstart=successSource. Also see: Hughes, *A History of Rutherford County's African American Community*, 72.

⁵⁵ Information extrapolated from the 1870 United States Census, from ancestry.com database, accessed October 4, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/cen_1870/?name=_Maney&count=50&location=2&name_x=s_1&priority=usa&residence=_rutherford-tennessee-usa_2576&residence x= 1-0.

These three children were all females and between the ages of ten and twelve. ⁵⁶ While schools were important and desired amongst the African American community, the realities of life during the Reconstruction Era made it difficult to take advantage of many opportunities. The 1870 United States Census shows that other children who were about the same age as those attending school were working in some capacity in Murfreesboro. The financial expectations placed on African Americans after the Civil War created the need for families to work in order to survive.

The Maney Community in Murfreesboro

The African American Maney community established themselves in Murfreesboro following the Civil War. In 1870 there were fifty-four African Americans bearing the last name Maney who most likely had been enslaved by the Maney family. Fifty-two percent of this community worked as farm laborers in and around Murfreesboro. As the Reconstruction Era ended, the African American Maney community began to dwindle. By the turn of the century, the 1900 United States Census records only twenty-eight African American Maneys living in Murfreesboro. The number of people who descended from African Americans enslaved by the Maneys but no longer bore the Maney name may account for some slight discrepancy in the numbers. In 1900, most Murfreesboro residents who shared the last name Maney were older

⁵⁶ Information extrapolated from the 1870 United States Census.

⁵⁷ Information extrapolated from the 1870 United States Census.

⁵⁸ Information extrapolated from the 1870 United States Census.

members of the community, those who were old enough to remember the Civil War, or young children who were not old enough to travel on their own. There were very few Maneys between the ages of eighteen and thirty living in Murfreesboro. While the main occupation was no longer "farm laborer," many African Americans continued to work in low-income positions, several of them noted as "servants" in the census. ⁵⁹ It is possible that this shift occurred because members of the community had gotten too old to participate in manual field labor. Younger residents likely joined in the Great Migration movement and moved out of the segregated South in search of more employment opportunities.

It appears that those who had the means and opportunity to leave Murfreesboro left quickly or married. This is true for the children of both James Maney and Wesley Maney. Both of J. Maney's two surviving daughters left the state of Tennessee. His oldest daughter, Cenia Catherine Wright, left Tennessee and died in Michigan. ⁶⁰

J. Maney's youngest daughter, Eliza Maney, moved from Tennessee and died in Illinois. ⁶¹ While W. Maney's children did not leave the state of Tennessee, his oldest son

⁵⁹ All information extrapolated from the 1900 United States Census, from ancestry.com database, October 4, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/cen_1900/?name=_Maney&count= 50&location=2&name_x=s_1&priority=usa&residence=_rutherford-tennessee-usa_2576&residence_x=_1-0&_ga=2.224679442.947908366.1570159065-2037785835.1570159065&_phtarg=SOt23&queryId= 2qrwK7Ev82e7W5diuTUavw%3D%3D&successSource=Search.

⁶⁰ Death Certificate, *Michigan Death Index 1971-1996*, Michigan State Records, accessed August 15, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=mivitals&h=1156305.

⁶¹ Death Certificate, "Elizabeth Maney," November 11, 1981, Illinois State Record, from Familysearch.com online database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2MJ-5DW4.

moved to Nashville and resided in the state's capital city. ⁶² In fact, W. Maney himself eventually left Murfreesboro and joined his son in Nashville. ⁶³ This movement outside of Murfreesboro indicates that those connected with Oaklands Mansion and the Maney family hoped to break away from the shadow that slavery continued to cast on the community. Of James and Wesley Maney's children who moved from Murfreesboro, each found jobs outside of "servant" or "farm laborer." These individuals found opportunities that were not available to them in Murfreesboro.

Conclusion

Four years ago, in 2015, Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church celebrated its one-hundred and forty-fourth anniversary.⁶⁴ The church has a thriving congregation and looks forward to future growth.⁶⁵ Of the four churches established in Murfreesboro by African Americans during the Reconstruction Era, all four congregations are still active today in Murfreesboro and consist of predominantly African American communities. While many African Americans bearing the last name Maney left Murfreesboro in the wake of

⁶² United States Census, "Maney, Wesley," *1920 United States Census,* accessed August 26, 2019, from familysearch.com database, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9RNZ-LSY?i=23&cc=1488411&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AMNGX-F59.

⁶³ United States Census, "Maney, John W. Jr.," *1930 United States Census*, accessed August 26, 2019, from ancestry.com database, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4548154_00279? pid=68121429&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D6224%26 h%3D68121429%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DrOE278%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rOE278&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true.

⁶⁴ Connie Esh, "Mount Zion Keeps the Faith, Downtown," *Murfreesboro Post*, September 23, 2015, accessed October 4, 2019, https://www.murfreesboropost.com/community/mount-zion-keeps-the-faith-downtown/article 99c2f776-f68e-58c2-becf-27065cedd47a.html.

⁶⁵ Esh, "Mount Zion Keeps the Faith."

reconstruction, their influences still are very much present. The legacies left by the Maney slaves may not be memorialized in monuments, museums, or even in name. However, the footprints they left behind were stepping stones to better lives for each generation after them. Though forgotten by most and unheralded by few, their lust for freedom and equality remains.

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